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THE SUPPRESSION OF THE SEPOY REVOLT.

BY

CHARLES MACFARLANE,
AUTHOR OF "OUR INDIAN EMPIRE," "TRAVELS IN
TURKEY," ETC., ETC.

AND THE

REV. THOMAS THOMSON,
AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF SCOTLAND," SUPPLEMENT TO
"LIVES OF EMINENT SCOTSMEN," ETC., ETC.

THE WHOLE REVISED AND EDITED BY THE REV. THOMAS THOMSON.

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THE COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK X.—CONTINUED.

CHAPTER XXXI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1792.

GEORGE III.

The French revolutionists impatient for foreign wars—Necessity of war at this time for France—Predominance of the Girondists in the government—Introduction of pikes and caps of liberty—Grounds of quarrel between France and Austria—Eagerness of Dumouriez for a war between the two countries—Becquey's arguments in favour of peace—They are disregarded—France declares war against Austria—France divided into three military commands—Its armies and commanders—Disagreement of the French generals about the plan of the campaign—War commences against Austria—Panics of the French troops at the commencement—They complain that they are betrayed by their officers—The clubs of Paris take up the cry—Robespierre's proposal to make war with the press as well as with armies—Prevalence of suspicion and fear in Paris—Crowding of the prisons—Commencement of the "Reign of Terror"—Dr. Priestley confides his son William to a member of the French assembly—William Priestley presented by it with letters of naturalization—Penalties denounced on priests who had refused to take the *serment civique*—The king refuses to sanction the decree—Insolent treatment of Louis by the *sans-culottes* ministry—Pedantic conduct of Roland, minister of the interior—His notable letter to the king—Roland dismissed from office—Mischievous effects from the publication of his letter—Resolution of the Parisian mob to break into the Tuileries and indoctrinate the king—Their ominous banners and emblematic devices—They demand permission to enter the national assembly—Debate of the assembly on the propriety of granting their demand—They rush in without leave—Imperious harangue of the mob to the assembly—They march through the hall—They attack the Tuileries—They are admitted by the national guards—Their violent conduct—Their reception from the king—Their rude treatment of Louis and the royal family—Addresses of sympathy to the king from several parts of France—La Fayette uselessly returns to Paris—His increasing unpopularity—Tidings of hostile movements of the King of Prussia—A feast of the pikemen, &c., in the Champ de Mars—The king and his family are present at the spectacle—Inefficiency of their presence to recall the loyalty of the people.

THE French revolutionists, not avoiding war but courting it, were in a most bellicose attitude at the end of the year 1791. They announced that the whole French people was eager to march into the Low Countries to attack the emigrants at Coblenz and elsewhere, and all the princes, whether an emperor or a little margrave, that harboured and assisted them. As early as the 1st of January the great Girondist orator, Gensonné, said in the assembly that there was no use in attempting to disguise the fact that they were ready to attack all the despots in Europe. On the 11th of January the war minister assured the assembly that from the completeness of their troops, fortresses, and preparations, they had nothing to fear from an immediate war. Upon this, fresh defiance

were hurled in the teeth of all the sovereigns in Europe, and fresh Jacobin emissaries were sent into the states of most of them. It was now found that foreign conquest would be the most profitable employment for a revolutionized and virtuous democracy. New rules were adopted for recruiting the troops of the line with more facility; and, when some economical deputies objected to the great expense which must attend this scheme, Lacombe exclaimed, "Do not be sparing of your money! With money we shall obtain troops, and victory, and conquests; and victory will bring us back plenty of money!" Thus early did the Jacobins adopt a principle which was destined to carry the French arms so far. Fresh *émeutes* broke out in Paris and the faubourgs on account of the dearness of bread and *sugar*, and the want of employment for the working classes. What employment was so easily

to be obtained and likely to be so profitable as that of war, for which the French people had so natural an inclination? Among many things which are obscure enough, this one is perfectly clear to every eye not blinded by prejudice:—if Austria and Prussia had never attacked France, they would have been attacked by the French.

The Girondists, or Girondins, as they were called from the district which had given birth to some of their leaders, now formed the majority of the new assembly. Though, for a time, figuring as constitutional monarchists or champions of the existing order of things, they were one and all republicans, and impatient for the overthrow of the last semblance of royalty. After breaking up the king's disjointed ministry, these triumphant Girondins entered the cabinet by storm, and inundated all the places of government. The husband of the ultra-republicaness, Madame Roland, became minister of the interior, and that true chameleon Dumouriez minister for foreign affairs; De Grave, who was soon replaced by Servan, got Narbonne's post as minister of war, and Lacost was appointed minister of marine; the finances were confided to Clavière, a poor republican stockbroker and man of letters from Geneva, who had first signalized himself by attacking his compatriot Necker; and the important department of justice was given to Duranton, a little lawyer from Bordeaux, after Roland, the virtuous, had failed in obtaining it for the obscene Faublas Louvet. Madame Roland, who had had much to do with the formation of this Girondist ministry, but who had not been able to appoint to all the places, and who had afterwards personal reasons to complain even of some who had obtained their posts with her good wishes and concurrence, speaks very slightly in her *Mémoires* of most of these new statesmen, finding not one of them, save and except her own husband, who was but the double or echo of herself, precisely what he ought to have been. The court called this ministry, which was formed in the month of March, the *sans-culottes* ministry. Between these Girondins and the Jacobins there was already a mortal feud. For a season the Jacobins had pretended to be anxious for the preservation of peace; but when Robespierre and his party saw that a declaration of war was inevitable, and that they might risk their popularity by opposing it too long, they originated or promoted measures for arming and strengthening the people; and the Girondins, striving with them for popularity, and shutting their eyes to the inevitable consequences of arming the mob, encouraged the same system, which was gradually to destroy the present ascendancy of the middle classes, and erect on a broad basis the dominion of the multitude—of the most desper-

ate and the neediest, the real *sans-culottes*. Brissot, a leader of the Gironde, was among the very first to recommend that pikes should be forged in every section of Paris, in every department, in every town in France; and that the hat should be thrown aside as a vile slavish thing, introduced by priests and despots, and give place on every true French head to the *bonnets rouges*, or red night-caps, such as were worn by some of the lowest people. Brissot, in his journal, demonstrated that the *bonnet rouge* was the real Phrygian cap of antiquity, the proper cap of maintenance for the French people, the real cap of liberty; that such caps had been worn by the Greeks, the Romans, the Gauls, and all the great nations and illustrious men of antiquity; that Rousseau was a great partizan of the red cap as the symbol of liberty; and that Voltaire was equally proud of it, and always wore it.

This essay from the pen of Brissot appeared in February, and within a month the *bonnet rouge* was in high vogue. Pikes were forged faster than red night-caps were made, patriots and patriotesses subscribing or clubbing together to keep the smiths going; and still Brissot kept saying in his newspaper—"Citizens and patriots, let us forge pikes from one end of the kingdom to the other!" And Gorsas, and other newspaper-men, kept echoing, "Pikes! pikes! pikes! Nothing but pikes and bonnets rouges, and tricolor cockades to put upon them." There were soon pikes enough, with blood enough upon them!

The Emperor Leopold, who had fondly clung to peace, and to the hope that all difficulties might be settled by means of a congress, died suddenly on the 1st of March. His son and successor, Francis II, immediately saw that war was inevitable. In one single case he had matter enough to fill a manifesto and justify a declaration of hostilities. A number of German princes, holding large estates in Alsace, and thence called by the French *princes possessionnés*, had been deprived by the revolutionists and the decrees of the assembly of all their ancient hereditary rights, which had been acknowledged and confirmed by treaties, when Alsace (for the general misfortune of Europe) was allowed to be incorporated with France. The French had refused to give these dispossessed princes any equivalent or compensation whatever—compensation being a word obliterated in the political dictionary of these revolutionists, who, in like manner, had taken Avignon from the pope. As a guarantee of treaties, Francis, on the failure of diplomacy, and on the insulting refusals both he and his father had received, was fully justified by the law of nations in declaring hostilities. Instead of clearing of troops such of his territories as bordered on France, and prohibiting the gatherings of the

emigrants, as his predecessor Leopold had done, the young emperor, Francis II., it was said, collected troops, appointed generals, traced out camps, gave open countenance to the expatriated French princes and noblesse, and declared that the court of Vienna must and would insist on the restoration of the possessed princes to their rights in Alsace, &c.; on the restoration of Avignon to the pope; on the cessation of that French propagandism which was seeking to undermine all the thrones and established governments of Europe; and, finally, on the restoration of Louis XVI. to his liberty and royal dignity, or at least on some adequate guarantee that the peace and tranquillity of the neighbouring powers should not be disturbed through the present weakness of the internal government of France. Prince Kaunitz refused to treat any longer directly with French negotiators, or with the government now established in France; and the Baron de Cobentzel informed the ambassador whom Dumouriez and the Gironde had sent to Vienna, that Austria would on no account qualify or recede from this ultimatum. Dumouriez, who had obtained great influence over the mind of the king, who had formed in his own mind a grand plan of campaign, who intended, though now minister for foreign affairs and not war minister, to direct and manage the whole of the war, was overjoyed at this termination to diplomacy; and he immediately carried poor Louis with him over to the assembly, to give, in constitutional form, the note of war. It was the 20th of April, when Louis, with the confident and tricky Dumouriez by his side, and all the rest of his ministers at his back, rose to inform the national assembly that he had come there for one of the most important objects that could possibly occupy the attention of the representatives of the nation; and that his minister for foreign affairs would read them a report which he had made in council on the actual situation of affairs. When this was done or said, Dumouriez, whose schemes of conquest fell but little short of those that were subsequently entertained by Napoleon Bonaparte, commenced reading his report, with a voice and manner full of hope and hilarity. By suppressing every allusion to the revolutionary propagandism—the open war which the Jacobins had long before this declared against thrones—the infectious nature of rights of man and Jacobin principles—the indisputable invasion of the rights of the possessed princes—the barbarous treatment which the revolutionists had bestowed upon the queen, a daughter of Austria—it was not difficult for so brisk and adroit a man as Dumouriez to make out a terribly bad case against Austria, with its conferences at Mantua and Pilsnitz, its coalitions, completed or in progress,

its open protection of the emigrants who were in arms to invade France, and its haughty, imperious tone towards a country at least as great in the European scale as itself. Dumouriez, as the conclusion of his spirit-stirring report, announced that there must be an immediate declaration of hostilities, and that the king, whose honour and good faith were indisputable—that Louis XVI., the constitutional king of the French, who was the depository of the dignity and security of France—was quite ready to make this declaration of war.

Becquey, a moderate man, and one who had obtained a reputation for ability and prudence, ventured to say that reformed France ought not to be so eager for hostilities; that if they invaded the Netherlands they would provoke a general war; that England was bound to protect Holland; that if the war was once begun, there was no seeing where and when it would end; that Austria, after all, had taken none but defensive measures; and that France had placed three formidable armies upon her Belgian frontiers, while Austria had only a very inferior force in the country beyond those frontiers, which was her own. "*You know this,*" said Becquey, "*and without doubt, you only wish to attack her at this moment, because you are certain that you are better prepared for a war than she is!*" Becquey might have added that the assembly knew equally well that the Belgic revolutionists, who had only been put down in 1790, were very willing to rise again by the spring of 1792; that an incessant correspondence had been carried on between these revolutionists and the French Jacobins; that those who were stronger than diplomatists and ministers, or any established or tottering authority in France, had promised succour and co-operation, fraternity, and a democratic liberty of the widest extent; that other emissaries besides the Demoiselle Théroigne and Bonne-Carrère had been sent, during the last two years, and were at this moment constantly going to Luxemburg, to Liege, to Brussels, to Bruges, to every town in Brabant and Flanders, to excite the people to rise and arm against the Austrians; and to Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the other United Provinces, to induce the people there to take the same course against the stadtholder and his party. Becquey boldly predicted the evil reputation the French would acquire if they went to war thus hastily; and prosecuted the war, in the way proposed, by foreign invasion and conquests, and the propagandism of universal insurrection of peoples against their governments. "If," said he, "we attack Austria, in this manner we shall force all the kings of the earth to enter into a league against us, for they will see that we are shaking all their thrones! Let us content ourselves with preparing resolutely to defend our

own country; and then, in all probability, we shall have no war at all. If we begin the attack, we shall make our cause odious in the eyes of our neighbours. We shall obtain the character of aggressors; we shall be represented as a restless, turbulent people, disturbing the repose of Europe, in contempt of old treaties, and of our new laws, which forbid us to aim at conquests. You will have to combat, in the end, not only the kings of Europe, but the peoples of Europe, who will fight you with that natural animosity felt by every man against those who go to disturb the repose and well-being of his country!" The war party, the overwhelming and intolerant majority, had called for an unanimous vote; the mob in the galleries were ready to set down as traitors to their country all such as opposed the general wish; and, in the excited humour of the moment, there might have been imminent danger in voting in opposition to the galleries: only Theodore Lameth, Dumas, Becquey, and four other members, had the courage to stand up as a minority; all the rest, who disapproved of this precipitating of hostilities, remained seated and silent; and the question was declared to be carried in the affirmative, with a shouting and a noise as loud as could have been made if house and galleries had been in the act of charging the Austrian army. As soon as the "Vive la guerre!" "Vive la liberté!" "Mort aux tyrans!" &c., had somewhat subsided, Condorcet rose to state that it became the national assembly to publish a declaration of the political principles which had led them to their present resolution, and that he had such a declaration ready written for them. The assembly agreed that the philosopher and master in politics should be heard; and thereupon Condorcet began to read a long paper, the scope of which was to prove that the French people were forced into this war by the iniquity of despots, and that they had given no provocation whatever. Gensonné, who had been working with a committee appointed to draw up the decree of war, soon stepped forward with that decree written and finished; and forthwith the assembly adopted it unanimously, and appointed a deputation of twenty-four to carry it to the Tuileries for the king's signature and sanction.¹

The poor helpless king, who hoped that the chances of war might liberate him from his captivity, if they did not restore him to his former power, gave the required assent, and war was declared, to the universal satisfaction and joy of the people. Becquey, who had been hissed and hooted in the assembly, was almost the only public man that deprecated hostilities, and quite the only one that had the boldness to declare that the French from the beginning were aiming

at aggressions and foreign conquests, and were looking to war as the most profitable occupation in which their unbridled, half-famished democracy could be engaged. Robespierre and his party regretted the declaration of war, only because they considered that the army had not yet been sufficiently democratized, and that La Fayette and the generals of the old monarchy would be sure to betray the people. The language of the Jacobin Club was—"Let us have sans-culottes generals, sans-culottes officers, and none but sans-culottes for soldiers, and, by arms and by adroit emissaries, the tricolor cockade will make the tour of the globe."

At the moment when war was declared, the vast frontier of the kingdom from Dunkirk to Huningen was divided into three great military commands; and was watched, besides, by numerous corps of national guards, and a whole people more or less armed. On the left of this long line, from Dunkirk to Philippeville, was the army of the north, commanded by old Rochambeau, and consisting of 40,000 men and 8000 horses. Between Philippeville and the lues of Weissenburg was the army of the centre, commanded by La Fayette, and counting at least 45,000 men and 7000 horses; and to the right of this centre, and stretching away from the lues of Weissenburg as far as Basle, was the army of the Rhine, commanded by Luckner, and consisting of 35,000 men and 8000 horses. The frontier of the Alps and the Pyrenees, where attacks were expected from the King of Sardinia and the King of Spain, was watched by General Montesquieu with another army, which, for the present, had nothing to do, as the Italian and Spanish courts were not yet ready to act in concert with the emperor. Of the three generals on the northern frontier, where the war was to commence, La Fayette was the best stationed; and, as he was also the youngest, it was expected that he would be the most active of the three. He had spoken loudly of the great things he would perform, but he was destined soon to find that he could do little or nothing; that he was suspected by his own troops, and that the widest differences of opinion prevailed between him and Rochambeau and Luckner, and again between all three of them and Dumouriez, who, though minister for foreign affairs, acted as war minister and took upon himself the entire direction of the campaign, the Girondist De Grave, the nominal war minister, being a young man, and equally without experience and ability. Dumouriez insisted from the beginning that they ought to commence operations by making a dash upon Belgium, where the people were ready to rise and join them. "The number of the discontented in that country," says Dumouriez himself, "was so very encouraging! The dismantling of

¹ *Ibid.* *Parlement*

the fortifications, and the rupture of the barrier treaty, caused by the late Emperor Joseph, had prepared the Belgic provinces to receive the law from France, because there was nothing to protect them from invasion. The people appeared to solicit our assistance. In short, whether friendly or unfriendly, it was wise to select this as the first theatre of the war, in order to anticipate the house of Austria. . . . Besides, but little preparation was needful for the attack. The Austrians had not more than 30,000 men there. The country was rich and fertile and everywhere open, and the people expected us with impatience: as a proof of which it is to be recollected that they received us with joy six months after, notwithstanding the shameful disasters that accompanied our first ill-managed attempts at invasion." But Rochambeau, when this plan was opened to him at Paris, had strongly disapproved of it, had recommended remaining on the defensive, had called Dumouriez a fool, and had set out for his head-quarters on the frontiers in a pet. La Fayette, who had been so eager to assist the Belgian revolutionists two years before, when the Emperor Leopold was reducing them to order, and when Austria had given no provocation whatever to France, not only approved of the plan of invasion, but endeavoured to appropriate to himself the original conception of it. He not only attempted to deprive Dumouriez of his glory, but, according to that brilliant adventurer, the most trickish and intriguing of men, he tried to trick him and dupe him in other matters, and set forth ambitious claims, which could not have been listened to without disgusting Rochambeau and Luckner, and giving to him (La Fayette) more power than any party was disposed to intrust him with.

The plan being somewhat modified, a part of the invading force, which was all to be concentrated under the present command of La Fayette, was drawn from Rochambeau's army of the north, and a part from Luckner's army of the Rhine. By the 1st of May, La Fayette got all his heavy artillery as far as Givet; but instead of pressing forward for Namur, which he might have taken on the 2d of May, he began making a fixed position of Givet. General Biron, setting out from Valenciennes, crossed the Belgian frontiers on the 29th of April, and on the 30th pressed onward for Mons. But scarcely had his people caught sight of some Austrian light troops which General Beaulieu had sent out of Mons, when they set up a terrible shout that they were betrayed, and this was presently followed by the cry of *Sauve qui peut*. Two regiments of dragoons, who are said not even to have seen the enemy, galloped back into the ranks of the in-

fantry, swearing that they were surrounded and betrayed; and the infantry, thrown into perfect disorder by this unsoldierlike movement, took them at their word, and followed them in their mad flight. In vain Biron, young Rochambeau, and other officers conjured them to stop; there was no rallying them; and they never stopped till they reached Valenciennes, where they threatened to massacre all their general officers. These 10,000 runaways were pursued by only 500 or 600 Austrian light horse, who captured Biron's baggage and military chest. On the very same day and hour Major-general Theobald Dillon's division of 3000 men, which had left Lille and advanced as far as Bessieux, manifested the same panic at the apparition of 800 or 900 Austrians who had sallied out of Tournai; and they fled back to Lille without ever looking behind them, abandoning artillery, baggage, and almost everything else. Theobald Dillon, who entered Lille after the fugitives, was massacred by his own men, as well as a lieutenant-colonel of engineers. The bodies of these two victims, together with that of an unsworn priest, were hung up on a gallows; and, the populace joining the soldiery, all kinds of excesses were committed, including the butchery of some Austrian prisoners of war, who had been surprised and taken near the frontier at the first irruption.² No one dared to hint that brave men ought to have stayed to see how they were betrayed before they fled; all joined in crying that their superior officers were aristocrats, and engaged in a plot against liberty. La Fayette would no longer venture to move from the position he had chosen at Givet, and he stayed there, doubting of his troops and complaining of Dumouriez and the rest of the Gironde ministry, till his provisions began to fail him. Although they agreed on no other point, old Rochambeau united with La Fayette in writing letters to the king and to the national assembly, to throw all the blame of what had happened upon Dumouriez and his plan of campaign, and at last to declare that they could no longer obey the orders of an ignorant Gironde council and a presumptuous minister.

The Parisian clubs took up the cry of the soldiery, that they had been betrayed by their aristocratic leaders. The Cordelier Club sent a deputation to the bar of the assembly, to complain that the lives of their brave soldiers had been treacherously sacrificed by their generals. But in simple truth, there had been no fighting whatever, for except a few stragglers, none of the French had got within reach even of an Aus-

² The reader will look in vain for this horrible fact in M Thiers and the French writers of history. We derive it from a letter addressed by La Fayette to the minister at war, dated Givet, the 2d of May.

trian rifle; if they had stopped in their panic flight, and had formed, the Austrians must have run back without fighting, for they were solely light troops, without artillery or anything whatever to support them; but the journalists and popular harangues had always been talking about Thermopylæ, and the orator of the Cordelier deputation was determined that a Thermopylæ there should be, or should have been, with a perfect parity of numbers to the ancient one. "Three hundred of our brethren," said they, "have perished! They have had the fate of the Spartans at Thermopylæ! The public voice, always truer than the ministerial voice, makes us believe that they have been the victims of treachery and treason!"

During all these days, or from the arrival of the news of the disgraceful flight of the troops on the frontier at the beginning of May, down to the dissolution of the king's guard at the end of that month, many significant debates and proceedings had taken place in the great Jacobin Club; and it may be imagined whether the teeming Jacobin press lay unproductive or silent. After Chabot had declared that not only Dillon, who had been massacred, but that all the other generals were rank traitors and conspirators, Robespierre undertook to explain the results which might be expected in future, if the whole army was not put under true sans-culottes generals. He also delivered a discourse, and printed it afterwards in his own newspaper, "On the means of making war usefully." In this discourse he said that the idea had often been emphatically announced that the French printing-press would be as terrible an engine as French artillery in prostrating kings and tyrants; yet, under a corrupt administration, no life and activity had been put into this revolutionary press. Why had there not been printed manifestoes and short essays to develop the doctrines of the rights of man, and the true principles of democratic liberty? Why had not such papers been translated, under the eye of the French government, into the German language and the Belgic patois? Why had not such translations been distributed, by tens of thousands, among the people and the soldiers of the Austrian army, before the French columns attempted to move into Belgium? This was a monstrous omission. If the French really wished for victories, and the destruction of kingships and aristocracies, they must thoroughly convert the common people, the popular masses, in the countries which were to be the seat of their wars; they must indoctrinate and revolutionize the standing armies of all the despots; and, in working in this sense, the French press would be indeed more terrible than French artillery. But before they could carry on the war usefully

abroad, there was one general measure that was absolutely indispensable: this was to make war at home upon aristocracy, perfidy, and tyranny! If they struck down the enemies to the people, if they thoroughly worked out the glorious principle of the rights of man within France, they might expect victory and every advantage without, but not otherwise. After warning the people to beware of La Fayette, and of every other commander, Robespierre concluded by saying, "Frenchmen, if you would conquer, be patient, intrepid, cautious, proud, cool, and distrustful!"

Urged on by suspicion and fear (the two great sources of the national cruelty) numerous arrests were made; the prisons were crammed with unsworn priests and with men who had had the misfortune to be born in the condition of gentlemen; riots and *émeutes* were made in Paris and elsewhere; it was announced that Paris alone contained 40,000 conspirators against the rights of man, who must be watched and kept down by the true sons of liberty from the departments; a cry for blood ran through the whole kingdom, and that this thirst might be satisfied, the Girondins, uniting with the ultra-Jacobins, passed a decree, calling to the capital 20,000 of the provincial federates—the most needy and desperate of those armed rabbles which La Fayette had mainly helped to call into existence. These desperadoes were for the most part sans-culottes in the literal meaning of the term. When they joined and fraternized with the now pike-armed *canaille* of Paris and of the faubourgs, they were irresistible; and the reign of terror, with its wholesale massacres, may be said to have begun from that day.

At this critical moment Antoine François, a member of the assembly, and a native of Nantes, where, before the revolution, he had exercised the double calling of lawyer and officer of customs—a thrifty, shifty man, who was now a hot republican, but who, like so many others, became an imperialist under Napoleon and a royalist under the restored Bourbons—announced that the great Dr. Priestley had confided his son William to his care, in order that he might make a good Frenchman, or citizen of the world, and republican of him. Priestley himself, in a farewell address which he or his friends took care to print, said to his son, "Go, and live among a brave and hospitable people! Go, and learn from them to detest tyranny and to love liberty!" François of Nantes, after reading a long eulogium on the science and exalted liberalism of the English father, demanded letters of naturalization for the son. Lacépède, the naturalist, who had acquired fame before the revolution began by a treatise upon reptiles, seconded the motion, and the letters of naturalization were granted unau-

mously. This being done, William Priestley presented himself at the bar of the assembly, to express his gratitude for that national adoption which had admitted him into the number of French citizens, &c. Together with the decree for calling up the provincial federates, the assembly also presented, for the king's sanction, a terrible law, awarding transportation or imprisonment to all priests who had refused to take the *serment civique*. "This prince," says Dumouriez, "was not only scrupulous, but courageous, when religion was concerned." Louis laid the decree of law upon the council-table, and declared that nobody should ever prevail upon him to sanction it. Dumouriez told him, that far from saving the priests by his veto, he would expose them to the danger of being massacred. The queen objected to the proposed federated camp. "Think, sir," said she to Dumouriez, "how hard it is for the king to sanction a decree which will bring 20,000 rogues to Paris, perhaps to massacre him!" The constitution established allowed the king a suspensive veto, but his present Girondist ministers, in common with the assembly, were determined that he should not exercise any such power. These sans-culottes ministers insulted Louis to his face, browbeat him, and turned the council-chamber into a bear-garden; they frequently quarrelled with one another in the royal presence; and, on one occasion, a quarrel came very nigh to the drawing of swords and the shedding of blood under Louis's eyes. The virtuous Roland, who assumed to be a sort of premier, behaved towards the king in a heartless and treacherous manner. He was leagued with all the men that were most eager for the abolition of royalty and the overthrow of the constitutions they had so solemnly and so repeatedly sworn to maintain at the cost of their lives; and, while occupying the post of a minister of the crown, he was incessantly sneering at monarchic institutions. Now he obstinately persisted in reading a long letter at the council-table, which he had addressed some two or three days before to his majesty. This precious piece of political pedantry and republican insolence was written, not by Citizen Roland, but by the citizeness his wife, who was in the habit of drawing up nearly all his plans, and writing nearly all his papers; and who magnanimously declares, in her *Mémoires*, that for her husband she could even have condescended to write homilies and sermons!

The Girondist lecture to royalty, like nearly all the productions of that school, is long and tediously verbose; it has been printed in many places, and may be found entire in the book of M. Thiers, who calls it "that famous letter;" but the substance of it was, that, through various iniquitous means, the constitution had got lamed,

and could not march; that the king had been guilty of perjury, &c.; and that nothing could make the constitution go, except the rigorous execution of the new decree against the priests, and the immediate assembling of the patriotic camp of 20,000 men. After telling the king that it was vain for him to think of drawing back or of temporizing, this amiable republicanism, who soon saw blood enough, and whose own veins soon went to swell the red torrent, said in this letter, which her husband read to the king's face—"The revolution is in the mind of the people; it must be purchased at the price of blood, and be cemented by blood, if wisdom does not prevent it by adopting measures which are still possible!" "Monsieur Roland," said Louis, "it is now three days since you transmitted a copy of this letter to me: it was therefore useless to read it to me before my council; and, besides, you told me it was to remain an eternal secret between you and me." The king then withdrew. By the advice of Dumouriez, the king dismissed Roland and his satellites, Servan and Clavière. Upon this Roland wrote a letter to the assembly, and basely inclosed in it his letter to the king, which he had solemnly declared should never be known, except to Louis and himself. The assembly read "that famous letter" with enthusiastic applause, and forthwith ordered it to be printed, and sent to the eighty-three departments. The menaces and sinister prophecies it contained insured, in a manner, their own fulfilment; and Roland's telling the king all that he had to fear from the people was, indeed, suggesting to the people all that they had to do against the king.¹

The publication of this letter to the king, which, as Dumouriez says, actually pointed daggers at the breast of that unhappy prince, would have produced some terrible *émeute*, without any other agency, public or secret. But there were secret and most powerful agencies that had been most actively employed ever since the moment that Louis turned out the Girondist ministers; and nothing was more true than the intelligence Dumouriez gave the king, that the Girondists, united by Mayor Petion and the municipality, were agitating the Faubourg St. Antoine. Petion—Virtue Petion, as he was now styled by the sans-culottes, who, in little more than a year, drove him away, to perish by famine or by poison, and to be devoured by wolves—had all the necessary knowledge of persons and places. He called upon the brewer Santerre, the butcher Legendre, the ex-Capuchin Chabot, the ex-Marquis St. Huruge, and other men of that stamp; he held several meetings with them, and urged them to make a demonstration with their Parisian pikes, which, by this time, were counted at some 30,000

¹ Dumont.

or 40,000. Petion even made up matters for the nounce with Robespierre, whose *esteem* he had lost by identifying himself with the Gironde party; and the immense popular influence of the Incorruptible was added to that of the mayor of Paris.

It was soon resolved to break into the Tuileries, and give the king and queen a moral lesson. On the 20th of June, at the dawn of day, an immense mob began to assemble in the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marcel to beat of drum. About eight o'clock they began to form themselves into marching columns; but it was not until nearly eleven o'clock, when Brewer Santerre, at the head of a strong detachment of invalids and other old soldiers, joined them, that they began their march towards the Tuileries. Nothing could be more terribly clear than their em-

enough to express their opinion, declared that the assembly ought not to admit this armed multitude; but the Jacobins and the Girondists, with louder and bolder voices, declared that the citizens, who only wanted to present a petition, ought to be received by the representatives of the people with civility, respect, and a welcome. Vergniaud, "the most eloquent orator of the assembly, whose soul was devoured with the love of the public good," mounted to the speaking-place, and told the assembly that these were not times to be too particular, and that petitioners not a few had been admitted there before. Dumolard, on the other side, said that everybody knew that that shameful abuse had been established; but that it was now time to put an end to it, if they did not wish the assembly and the king to appear

equally, in the eyes of all Europe, the merest slaves of an insolent mob. But, while he was speaking, the lumbering of cannon, the roll of drums, and the shouts, and shrieks, and shrill cries of men, women, and children, announced that the faubourg columns had arrived in the square outside the Salle de Manège, and a letter was handed in from Santerre to the president. This letter, which was read with that promptness which was demanded by any missive from such a quarter, stated briefly that the patriots of the faubourgs merely wanted to be admitted to the bar, in order



SANS CULOTTES AND BONNETS ROUGES.—From Bertaux's Etchings

blems and devices. Their standard, *par excellence*, was a pair of old black silk breeches extended on a tall cross-staff, with these words underneath:—"Tremble, tyrants! the sans-culottes are coming!" On another tall staff they carried a bullock's heart, pierced through with the steel head of a pike, and having inscribed beneath—"Aristocrat's heart." Women and children marched in column with the men, and all were armed with pikes and iron-shod clubs. From the pike-heads streamed tricolor ribands; and banners were distributed along the line of march, with inscriptions like these:—"Without breeches, but free," "Down with the veto;" "Long live liberty;" "Death to all tyrants;" "Advice to Louis XVI.," "When the country is in danger all sans-culottes rise;" "The people are tired of suffering, and will have an entire liberty or death;" "We only want union, liberty, and equality;" &c. They halted at the door of the assembly. All the côté droit who had courage

to confound their calumniators, and prove themselves still the men of the 14th of July, 1789. In the midst of an idle debate—most idle and absurd in every respect, for if they had wished it, the assembly could not have kept out the pikes and the clubs, the bullock's heart, and the black breeches—the impatient mob rushed into the hall, and filled it almost to suffocation. Then Guadet made a speech, not merely to excuse, but to justify their coming; and to propose that they should be permitted to defile, with their arms and banners, before the assembly. Crowding into some order, the head of the columns came up to the bar; and then Santerre, with a naked sword in his hand, being flanked by St. Huruge, who held another drawn sabre, delivered an oration in his loudest voice. The burden of it was that the sovereign people must have their way in all things; that the king had committed a crime against the nation by the late dismissal of that patriotic minister Roland; that the armies,

instead of being in the high career of victory and conquest, were inactive and paralyzed; that it was suspected that this inactivity was owing to the executive power, and that, if this were true, the executive power ought to be annihilated forthwith. When this precious harangue was finished, the president (M. François of Nantes, the same who had made Dr. Priestley's son a French citizen) replied, with what some French writers call "remarkable dignity." He told Santerre and the pike-armed rabble that they were all fellow-citizens, and that the people and the assembly were but one; that the assembly, as the representatives of twenty-four millions of men, announced to them through his organ that they would disconcert all the plans of the conspirators by the sword of the law, as the law alone ought to avenge the people, &c. By that time there were at the least 30,000 men, women, and children in the Place du Carrousel, and they all intended to defile through the hall with their pikes and their bludgeons, their swords and guns. One formalist of a deputy wished to know whether the citizens of the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marcel were to be permitted to traverse the hall thus armed; but the assembly, to save their dignity, called him to order, and, without mentioning arms, decreed that the citizens should traverse the hall. While this idle talk was going on among the legislators, the sovereign mob formed, and began to march through the hall, coming in at one door and going out at the other, and shouting "Down with the veto!" "Long live liberty and equality!" "Long live the patriots without breeches!" and dancing the Carmagnole, which was their war or liberty dance, and singing, in deafening chorus, the *Ça ira*, or "It will go" song. A very long time was necessarily consumed in these performances; and it appears to have been about four o'clock in the afternoon before the patriot citizens got clear of the hall, and consolidated their columns for an assault on the Tuilleries. They had scarcely cleared out when another formidable deputation, though not quite so numerous, marched up to the bar of the house, as if to give an additional, but scarcely necessary proof of how much the Girondists had had to do with this insurrection. The deputation consisted of armed men from the first and second battalion of the department of the Gironde, who were going, they said, to the frontiers, and who could not, in passing through Paris, neglect to pay the homage of their respect and fidelity to the assembly. As soon as their orator had read his oration, and the complacent president had replied to it, the house adjourned till the evening, and the deputies went to their dinners. In the meantime the patriot columns, with the transfixed heart at their head, moved along the

strong iron railing which incloses the garden of the Tuilleries. Some faint hope was entertained that the gens d'armes and the national guardsmen would stand by the king; but the gens d'armes refused to load their muskets, and the national guards surrounded the artillery, swearing that they would not permit them to fire upon the people. If the king's guard, so recently and so opportunely disbanded, had been there, matters might have taken a different turn; but, with such precious defenders as Louis had, he could do nothing but submit. The national guards threw open the gate, and the living torrent rushed into the garden, with Santerre and a cannon at their head. Near the door of the palace a number of respectable citizens surrounded the brewer, and endeavoured, by persuasion or by terror, to prevent his entrance. They told him that he would be responsible for whatever might happen; that he was the sole chief of that most unconstitutional movement; that he had basely deceived the people, and would soon be regarded by all as a scoundrel. Santerre turned pale; but Butcher Legendre gave him an encouraging wink, and then the brewer cried out, "Gentlemen, I take you all to witness that I refuse to march at your head into the king's apartments!" and then the *gentlemen* who carried pikes and the bullock's heart, perfectly understanding what was meant, closed their ranks, pressed forward, and swept on before them Santerre and those who were remonstrating with him. They found the strong oak door of the outward apartment closed upon them; but they dragged a cannon up the broad staircase, and pointed it against the door, which presently flew open. At the same moment other divisions of the patriots broke open other doors and windows with sledge-hammers and axes, and entered different parts of the palace at once. Nothing remained between the king and the mob, save one inner door, which presently shook and cracked under the blows of the sans-culottes. Louis ordered it to be opened, and even advanced to meet the mob, expecting instant death, but being prepared to die unflinchingly like a martyr. "What is it you want?" said he. The foremost patriots recoiled awe-stricken; but anon the masses in the rear, who could neither hear his words nor see his calm, unmoved countenance, drove them forward, and in they rushed by hundreds. Some of the grenadiers of the national guards who belonged to the more respectable classes had got into the room by a private staircase. M. de Bougainville, fearing that, if they did not murder the king with their pikes and axes, the in-rushing multitude would throw him down and smother him, cried out to these grenadiers to carry his majesty into the embrasure of one of the windows, and place benches and tables before him

to keep off the crowd. This was promptly done, and the few grenadiers placed themselves immediately in front of the benches between the king and the rabble. "Sire, fear nothing," said one of the grenadiers. Louis took the man's hand, and, placing it over his heart, said, "Feel whether I fear!" Twice, it is said, a pike was thrust at his body, but parried by one of the national grenadiers. But there was another member of that doomed race who could meet martyrdom with a heart as unpalpitating as Louis, and who had active courage as well as fortitude and the power of enduring. At the deadliest part of the hurly-burly and fury, Madame Elizabeth attempted to run to her brother. The irresistible mob, were uttering frightful imprecations against the queen, and calling for her head. "Ah!" said Elizabeth, "let them believe that I am the queen, so that she may have time to escape!" The noble-minded woman could not reach the king, nor could the queen and her children escape out of the palace, which was invaded on every side, and completely surrounded without. They, too, were prudently carried into the embrasure of a window in the council-chamber, which was within the apartment where Louis was standing; and there they stood, behind chairs and tables—the queen, her little boy and girl, Madame Elizabeth, the faithful Princesses of Lamballe, the Princess of Tarente, and three other ladies. A national grenadier had the forethought to hand the queen an enormous tricolor cockade, and this she stuck in her cap. Many of the sans-culottes had got drunk on bad wine, which had been copiously distributed to them by Santerre and others. One of them in this condition presented to the king, at the end of a pike, a cap of liberty or bonnet rouge, one of those red worsted night-caps which Brissot had learnedly recommended as the proper head-gear for republicans: Louis calmly took it, and placed it on his head; and, further to pacify the madmen, he joined in the cry of "Long live liberty!" "Long live the nation!" By this time the heat was suffocating. The king complained of thirst: a black bottle was handed to him from the mob, and he drank out of it—to the health of the nation. The grenadiers had placed him on a table, as near as possible to the window, and there he stood for full four hours with the red cap on his head. A young man mounted another table in front of him, and kept repeating for a long time, "I demand, in the name of the 100,000 souls who surround me, the recall of the patriot ministers! I demand the sanction of the decree against the priests, the sanction of the decree for the camp of 20,000 men! I demand the immediate execution of both decrees, or you shall perish!" The only answers that these and other

terrible and indecent threats could extort from the king were that this was not the form or the manner in which to demand his assent—that he would never depart from the strict line of the law and the constitution. The assembly, who had adjourned and gone to their dinners, in order not to be called upon to interrupt the moral lesson of the mob, did not re-assemble until past six o'clock. Then, to preserve some appearances, they sent a deputation to the palace to request the mob to withdraw, and to tell the king how sorry they were for all that had happened. About the same time Mayor Petion found his way to the Tuileries, to allay the storm—to conjure the foul fiend which he more than any other man had raised. Approaching the king, he said, with one of the most barefaced lies that ever came from the lips of Jacobin or Girondist, "Sire, I have only this instant learned the situation in which you are placed." Louis calmly replied, "That is very astonishing, for I have been in this situation these two hours!" And there, in spite of the coming of Petion and the deputation from the assembly, he was destined to remain nearly two more mortal hours, half-stifled by the heat and stench, half-deafened by harangues here and harangues there (there were fifty orators speaking at once in different parts of those state-rooms), and by shouts and clamours inside and outside, that never ceased for a single second. In the end, between eight and nine in the evening, it being considered that the moral lesson was complete, Santerre, "the king of the faubourgs," got all his patriots out of the palace. Vergniaud and the republican deputies, who had come over from the assembly in deputation, could scarcely have desired to see royalty in a more degraded state, or a palace more perfectly sans-culottized. The sadness of the scene, and perhaps still more the tone of the queen's voice, and the expression of her countenance, drew tears even from the eyes of that lost Jacobin, Merlin, who was one of the deputies whom the assembly had so opportunely and appropriately sent to the king. Marie Antoinette perceived his emotion, and said to him, "You weep, M. Merlin, at seeing the king and his family treated thus cruelly by a people whom he has always wished to make happy." "It is true, madame," replied Merlin, "I weep for the misfortunes of a woman, handsome, endued with sensibility, and the mother of a family; but, do not mistake me, there is not one of my tears shed for the king or for the queen: I hate kings and queens—this is the only feeling they inspire in me—this is my religion." Thus ended that doomsday of monarchy, the 20th of June, in the Tuileries; for no pen has attempted to put upon record the scenes which passed in that palace when rabble and legislators were all

withdrawn, and the royal family were left to themselves.

Eight thousand Parisians, not of the sans-culottic order, had signed a petition against the federate camp, and 20,000 of the same class of citizens now signed an address to the king. Some other addresses came up from Rouen, Havre, and several large towns. All the respectabilities of the national guards vowed—now that it was far too late—that they would stand by the king, and resist the pikemen, who were threatening the most complete and most sanguinary anarchy. La Fayette, too, brimful of confidence, resolved to go to the capital, and there bring the Jacobins and pikemen to order, and set all things straight. He who was, in very truth, “by dint of experience improving in blunders,” quitted his army, and suddenly appeared in Paris on the 28th of June, at an early hour of the morning. Old Luckner had told him that the sans-culottes would surely cut off his head; and several persons on his road had entreated him to give up his desperate project. His arrival, the news of which was heard with astonishment, was soon known throughout Paris. He went to the bar of the assembly, and said that “the acts of violence committed on the 20th at the Tuileries have excited the alarm and indignation of all good citizens, and especially of the army!” This was doing worse than nothing. He saw the king and queen at the Tuileries, and told them that he was going to save them and the monarchy from destruction; but he had no rational, feasible plan of deliverance to propose, and their majesties would not and could not trust him. It was said that the queen declared to those about her, that it was better to perish than to trust a man who had done them so much harm. After passing a night or two at Paris, not without the risk of being assassinated, this hero of two worlds fled rather than travelled back to his camp on the frontiers. He had not got many miles on his road ere he was burned in effigy by the Parisians, with horrible imprecations; and at the same time Jacobin emissaries, travelling nearly as fast as himself, were wending their way to the army to preach mutiny and murder to the common soldiers. That nothing might be wanting to keep up the ferment, Mayor Petion placarded the streets of Paris with an alarming proclamation, commencing, “Citizens, the storm is preparing!” As it was a Sabbath-day, when all the world was idle and abroad, this placard was seen by everybody. It led to a deal of scuffling and fighting with sticks in the streets and public places; and several individuals who belonged, or were supposed to belong to La Fayette’s party, were wounded and all but killed in the Palais Royal.

It was not long after this that certain intelli-

gence was received of the hostile movements of the King of Prussia. On the morning of the 11th of July the assembly voted that the country was in danger. This decree made the people more suspicious and more ferocious than ever; and the dethronement and imprisonment of the king were now loudly called for on all sides. La Fayette had made a federation of respectabilities; but now it had been resolved to have a feast of the federation of the pikemen, and the 20,000 desperadoes from the provinces. On the morning of the 14th of July, the federates assembled in the Faubourg St. Antoine with the most desperate of the sans-culottes; the pikemen and pikewomen were admitted into the ranks of the national guards, whose commanders had been all changed; the gendarmerie on foot and horseback, and all the troops of the line then in Paris, drew up on the boulevards; and from the square of the Bastille to Porte St. Martin nothing was seen but troops and an armed multitude, the rough pikes being rather more numerous than the bayonets. Some of La Fayette’s respectability battalions were observed to be sadly thinned; the bankers, the stockbrokers, the merchants, the lawyers, the men of property or gentlemanly habits, had refused to serve under the sans-culotte commandants that had been appointed. A faubourg orator delivered an harangue upon this text:—“All the kings of the earth are conspiring against us; therefore let us swear the ruin of all kings.” The members of the assembly, the municipal authorities, and all manner of constituted bodies joined the armed mob. Nearly every man wore on his hat the words, “Long live Petion!” or “Petion or death!” The virtuous mayor was the real hero or idol of this feast, as La Fayette had been of the federation of 1790; but already his glory had reached the culminating point. The wretched king, who had not been able to prevent this new federation, made up his wavering mind to be present at it, with some most faint hope that, by showing himself in the midst of the people and these much-dreaded federates from the provinces, and by protesting and taking fresh oaths, he might turn the ceremony to his own advantage, disarm the popular animosity, and still that terrible cry for *déchirance*, which could only be a synonyme for death. The queen, who showed on every occasion a determination to share in the dangers of her husband, insisted upon accompanying him. They took the little dauphin with them to the Champ de Mars, where they arrived long before the procession, and where they were kept waiting, without receiving one sign of respect or good-will, except from a few timid hirelings whom Bertrand de Moleville had paid to cry “Vive la reine!” when the queen should hold up the dauphin in

her arms to show him to the people. The Champ de Mars was surrounded with eighty or more pieces of artillery; and every inscription, emblem, or device looked like a threat and a malediction to royalty. At last—at about five o'clock in the evening—the multitudinous procession, loosely estimated at from 400,000 to 500,000 men, women, and children, began to arrive, deafening the royal ear with shouting "Long life to Petion!" "Petion or death!" and revolting the strong religious feelings of the king by filling the air with church incense, burned before the only god of the French, the plaster-of-Paris image of Liberty. When the federates and the pikemen, the national guards, and the troops of the line, had volleyed their oaths, as if they had been firing shot at the ene-

my, the king proceeded on foot, from a tent which had been pitched for him and his family, to the deal altar of the country, to swear again to that constitution which was falling all to pieces, and which was so soon to bury him and his under its ruins. The president of the assembly and a host of other functionaries committed, knowingly and wilfully, the same act of perjury, in the midst of cannonading, shouting, and *Ça ira* singing. Louis then descended, and traversed again the confused mass of the people, which rolled and roared like the Bay of Biscay in a storm. These people never saw him again until they saw him, firm and composed even as he now was, upon the guillotine scaffold in the Place Louis XV., re-named "Place de la Révolution."

CHAPTER XXXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1792.

GEORGE III.

Fresh attack of the Parisian mob upon the Tuileries—Louis in vain presents himself to them—He and his family compelled to take refuge with the assembly—Assault upon the Tuileries after his departure—Defence made by the Swiss guards—Their brave resistance—They are overpowered and massacred—Consternation of the national assembly during the conflict—Their incoherent deliberations—Their decree for the suspension of royalty, &c.—A new government hastily formed—Its chief ministers—The king and royal family imprisoned in the Temple—The arrest of La Fayette determined—He escapes into the Austrian dominions—His capture and imprisonment by the Austrian government—Disorganized state of his army at his flight—Slow advance of the Prussians upon France—They capture Longwi—Measures of resistance decreed by the assembly—Danton's plans for the national defence—He recommends a rule of terror and the destruction of the royalists—The Girondists offer no opposition—Danton commences the reign of terror—The royalists cooped up in the prisons—Preparations for their wholesale butchery—Proceedings and decrees of the national assembly—Their apathy about the coming fate of the royalists—The prisons forced and their royalist inmates murdered—Continued interference of the assembly—Roland's justification of the prison massacres—Account of the Princess de Lamballe—Her horrible murder by the mob—Republican massacres throughout France—Various statements of the numbers who perished.



Y the reception of two terrible and most ill-timed manifestoes of the Duke of Brunswick, commander-in-chief of the Prussian army of invasion—the arrival of more republican federates from the south—the re-modelling the Paris municipality—and the fury of the clubs, excited by Robespierre, Marat, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, and men of that stamp—a more sanguinary invasion of the Tuileries was soon occasioned. The king had been permitted to collect, for the defence of the palace, the Swiss guard and some of the cannoneers of the national guard. On the night of the 9th of August the tocsin was sounded in the faubourg and throughout Paris, and early on the morning of the 10th the mob and the federates began to assemble in the Place du Carrousel, where they massacred four individuals, because they were dressed like gentlemen, and wore small

swords at their sides. For some time there was hesitation and fear of red-coated Swiss among the sans-culottes of the faubourgs. That burly brewer Santerre, who had a very loud voice and very little courage, proposed that the business should be put off for a day or two. But Westermann, the hero of this 10th of August, caught the brewer by the throat, and told him that he must march or die. At about six o'clock the heavy firing of cannon told the court that their merciless foe was coming. "Sire," said the queen, "this is the time to show yourself, or never." Louis put on his hat, and descended to the gardens to address his troops. Some grenadiers of the national guard belonging to a respectable section put their caps on their bayonets and cried for the last time "Vive le roi!" But the rest looked with mixed anger and contempt at the king, and, irritated at the cry of the grenadiers, and encouraged by the arrival of some of the

cannoneers, who came to point their guns, not against the people, but against the palace, they shouted "Vive la nation!" "Vive la liberté!" "A bas le veto!" "A bas le tratre!" "Vive Pétion!" and presently mingled with such cries hooting and cursing. Røederer, one of the highest municipal authorities, who appears to have been employed to frighten the royal family into taking refuge among the legislators, now told the king and queen that they must flee to the assembly. While Røederer was speaking, another municipal officer arrived, and said that the people demanded *only* the dethronement of the king. "But," said the queen, "after this dethronement, *what will happen?*" The municipal was silent. "Sire," cried Røederer, "your majesty has not five minutes to lose! there is no safety for you except in the assembly." "But, sir," said the queen, "we have troops yet— . . ." "Madame," replied Røederer, interrupting her, "all Paris is marching!—*tout Paris marche!*" And then addressing the king with greater earnestness than before, the procureur-général added, "Sire, time presses; it is no longer a prayer that we make to you, it is no longer an advice that we take the liberty to give you; we have but one thing to do in this moment, and that is, to demand permission to drag you to the assembly!" At these words poor Louis, who had been seated near a table with his hands on his knees, and his eyes fixed on the ground, raised his head, looked fixedly at Røederer for some seconds, then turning towards the queen he said, "*Marchons—let us march,*" and then rose. His affectionate sister said to the procureur-général, "Monsieur Røederer, you answer for the life of the king?" "Yes, madame, with my own life," replied Røederer, who then opened the death-march. At the foot of the great staircase Louis halted, and said to Røederer, "But what is to become of all those persons left up stairs?" meaning the members of the diminished court, his faithful servants, and the devoted men who had run to the palace in the course of the preceding night to share in his danger. It was never in the heart of Louis to be indifferent, as monarchs so often are, to the fate of his friends and servants; nor could any extremity of danger or distress drive them from his mind. Røederer replied, that, as all the gentlemen appeared to be in plain clothes, they had nothing to do but to leave their swords and come out—that harm could scarcely happen to them. The king continued his march. As they passed along the terraces of the Tuileries gardens, they had to walk over leaves which had fallen abundantly from the trees in the course of the night, although it was only the 10th of August. "Here is a great fall of leaves," said Louis; "they fall early this year!" Some days before this, Manuel had writ-

ten in a newspaper that the king would only last till the fall of the leaves. The little dauphin playfully kicked the leaves about, all ignorant of the prophecy and its actual fulfilment. The president of the department ran beforehand to the assembly to announce that the king was coming. A deputation came forth from the assembly to meet the king. "Sire," said the president, "the assembly, eager to concur in securing your safety, offers you and your family an asylum in its own bosom."¹

With the departure of the king all motive for resistance seemed to cease at the palace, where the means of defence were diminished by the departure of the grenadiers and others who had helped to escort the king. The gens d'armes, who had so implicitly obeyed Procureur Manuel, quitted all their posts, and joined the people with cries of "Vive la nation!" the national guards that remained in the great courtyard and in the gardens of the Tuileries were now all of one mind, for those who were well disposed to the king saw now no chance of saving their lives except by declaring for the insurgents; but the brave Swiss—500 or 600 men, for some of this corps too had gone to give escort to the royal family—remained at their posts within the palace, nothing daunted by the tens of thousands that were gathering around them; and there they determined to remain until their orders to that effect should be revoked by those who had given them. On the other side, the Marseillaise and the Breton federates, who had come to fight, and who could not brook the idea of being disappointed of the pleasure of storming the château, were resolutely bent upon entering the palace; and the party, or rather the parties, whose impulses they obeyed, wished for some grand scene there that might terrify all non-republican members, and drive the assembly to a rapid solution of the *déchéance* problem. To scare the Swiss, who, with their muskets on their shoulders, were looking out at the windows and doors of the palace, the mob paraded along the Feuillant terrace with four bleeding heads stuck upon pikes. Finding that this had no effect, some of the insurgents parleyed with the Swiss, who, in sign of peace and friendship, threw cartridges out of the windows, but intimated at the same time that they must do their duty. Westermann, who had removed the indecision of Brewer Sauterre in so energetic a manner, could, as a native of Alsace (which was still more than half German), speak a bad German dialect with facility; and, as he fancied the Swiss might not well have understood those who

¹ Røederer, *Chronique de Cinquante Jours*: "Proceedings of the Assembly," as given in *Hist. Parlement*; Pétion's "Account," *ibid.*; Cléry, valet de chambre de Louis XVI., *Journal*; Madame Campan; Toulougeon, *Hist. de la France depuis la Révolution*; Marquis de Ferrières, *Mémoires*: and other mémoires of the time.

had parleyed with them in French, he spoke to them in his Alsatian German. Still the brave, stern men from the mighty Alps and the high Swiss valleys, remained firm as their native rocks,

time entirely cleared the Place du Carrousel. Many of the fleeing rabble never stopped until they reached the Faubourg St. Antoine, and never re-appeared on the scene of action until the only work to be done was to butcher helpless prisoners. Westermann, who had risked life and limb like a soldier, rallied the Breton federates, and the Demoiselle Théroigne, a lady of the Palais Royal, who had had a great deal to do with every revolutionary demonstration since the march to Versailles, ran from rank to rank, crying "Vengeance! vengeance! victory or death!" Even some of the runaway pikemen rallied; and some of the national guardsmen who had remained within the iron railing of the Tuileries, infuriated at seeing Frenchmen flee before the Swiss, and the blood of their countrymen shed by foreigners, fired upon the Swiss on flank and rear.



SWISS GUARDS.—From prints by Bertaux and Wille.

the only men or things that were firm on that day. Not only was the Place du Carrousel now crowded, but the quays on the other side of the Tuileries, and every spot of ground near the palace, were covered with armed multitudes, who, for the most part, were kept in ignorance of the fact that the king and his family were no longer there, and who consequently urged on the attack with a blind fury. Some voices nearer at hand roared out, "Only give up the château to us, and we are friends!" But the Swiss made no answer. The next message or summons on the part of the patriots was spoken by three loud cannons that fired over or into the roof of the Tuileries. Such of the nobles and gentlemen in black, and such of the servants of the royal household as had not escaped before, now fled from the doomed place in the best manner they could. Many of them, however, were slain either by cannon balls within the palace, or by the pikes of the patriots outside of it. The Swiss returned the fire of the three great guns; and the insurgents then plied all their cannon and all their musketry, firing on the palace from different sides and angles, and aiming chiefly at the doorways and windows. But presently the Swiss made a bold sortie from the palace, drove the insurgents back from a barricade which they had almost mastered, and out of the great courtyard, seized one of the pieces of artillery which had been placed there, turned it against the retreating Marseillaise, gave many of them a lasting quietus, and in brief space of

The very battalions of Filles St. Thomas and Petits-Pères joined in this fusillade. The mass of the artillery of the besiegers was gradually collected on one good point; more guns, seized by the mob at the arsenal and in other places, were dragged forward; some barricades were raised, and a close concentrated fire was opened upon the Swiss and the château. But still the Swiss kept up their fire by volley and platoon, and, by dint of musketry and their single cannon, they captured three other pieces of artillery—but unfortunately without their linstocks. At this moment many lookers-on were very doubtful whether a complete victory would not remain to the Swiss. Napoleon Bonaparte—then a very young and a very poor officer of artillery, who was among the spectators, and who afterwards pretended that he was indifferent or merely led to the spot by curiosity, although in fact he was then professedly an out-and-out Jacobin of the school of Robespierre—thought that the Swiss must beat if they had only a skilful commander. But the Swiss, unable to use the three guns they had just captured, and assailed by the national guards as well as by the enemy in front, were soon compelled to fall back upon the palace. They had left, however, on the Place du Carrousel from 1000 to 1200 Frenchmen killed and wounded—so dreadful had been their fire, and so close and thick the masses against which it had been directed—and their case was by no means desperate when M. d'Hervilly arrived from the assembly.

with the king's order to them to cease firing. The Swiss, relieved from that duty for which alone they had been hazarding their lives against such fearful odds, would gladly have piled their arms; but the insurgents, who obeyed no orders, or at least none that came from the king or from any other constituted authority, kept firing on more vigorously than ever. Some few of the Swiss did, however, quit their posts to follow M. d'Hervilly to the assembly, where he promised them life and security; but the rest remained in the palace—and many of them, it is said, never knew, or had an opportunity of knowing anything about the king's order. Cannon-balls and bullets were flying about too thickly to allow d'Hervilly to make any long stay. He was scarcely gone ere Westermann led the Marseillaise and Bretons to another assault in front of the palace, while another body of insurgents attacked it with artillery on the side of the Louvre. Long and bloody was the contest, and many a Marseillaise and Breton fell dead on the terrace and on the marble steps before Westermann forced an entrance by the great door; and then the Swiss obstinately defended every step of the broad staircase. But, as soon as the Marseillaise and Bretons got footing in the interior of the palace, they were followed by thousands of national guardsmen of the sans-cullotic districts, and by thousands of pikemen from the faubourgs, by a living mass which might have seemed sufficient to make the old oak beams and rafters of the Tuileries crack and break, and so bury together in one hideous ruin Swiss and French, the assailants and the assailed. The republicans even dragged up heavy guns to burst open the inner doors with grapeshot. At last the Swiss, who were for the most part wounded and covered with blood, threw down their arms and cried for mercy. Never was such a cry more vainly raised, the French fell upon them, and commenced one of the most atrocious of massacres—a butchery in which mere children and women, armed with pikes and knives, took part. One division of the victims, from 200 to 300 strong, formed into a column, rushed out of the palace, and endeavoured to cut their way to the Champs Elysées, and thence on to Courbevoie, where were hundreds of their brave countrymen and brothers in arms, in barracks and doing nothing, but who, had they been kept in Paris, might have given a very different turn to the fortune of the day. They kept together and in perfect order for some time, defending themselves with their bayonets, for they had consumed all their cartridges before they quitted the palace; but, attacked from every side, fired upon by artillery and musketry, and seeing every avenue blocked up, they hesitated, halted, consulted, and then broke and fled in small parties,

and in every direction, crying, "Quarter! quarter! mercy!" Nearly every man of them was massacred by the ferocious mob, who mutilated their bodies, and stuck their heads upon pikes. Out of 700 or 800 brave fellows who had mustered in the palace on the preceding evening, not more than 150, or at most 180, outlived this bloody day; and many of these afterwards died of their wounds or of grief. But few were killed in battle; they were butchered when they were prisoners or utterly helpless. So madly savage were the Parisian mobs, or patriots and patriotesses, that they murdered all the door-porters they could reach, as some of those men were Swiss, and as they were all called Swiss—the word *Suisse* having become, in Parisian French at least, a synonyme for "door-porter." As a large party of them—fifty, or, according to other accounts, eighty—were on their way to the Hôtel de Ville, under escort of a detachment of national guards to whom they had surrendered—a ferocious multitude in the Place de Grève burst through the ranks of the national guards, and murdered the helpless prisoners in cold blood to the last man, the guardsmen looking on, and, it is said, making not the slightest effort to save men whose lives ought to have been sacred in their eyes.

The massacres were not all over till late in the evening; but as early as eleven o'clock in the morning the triumphant shouts of the people informed the republican deputies sitting in the assembly, Jacobins and Girondists, who had set them to this work, that they had conquered, and that the Tuileries was in their possession. Until the moment when this certain intelligence was received, these reformers and reconstructors of nations, though they had the king and his family in their hands, were quivering with agitation and alarm. The cannon which was fired close by—for their hall was not many hundred yards from the palace—shook the walls of their Areopagus, and their windows were nearly all broken by the concussion of the atmosphere and by random musket-shots. Some of the illustrious deputies rose and went to the door; but to go out where balls were flying like hail was more dangerous than to remain in; and so they returned to their seats or vaulted into the speaking-place to talk about the glory of dying for the country, and the imperative duty of all representatives of the people to remain at their posts in the hour of danger. As the guns boomed and the house shook, they talked the louder to keep up what heart was left in them. A portion of the armed mob rushed in at the door of the hall; but it was not the mob that these orators feared, and so they greeted the in-comers with shouts of "Vive la nation!" The next thing they did was to decree

an address calling upon the people to respect, not the palace they were attacking, but "the rights of man, liberty, and equality," and to order that this brief address should instantly be printed and placarded. As soon as this was decreed they had recourse to some more swearing, which they always employed like a dram: they all rose on their feet, stretched out their right hands, and to the loud accompaniment of the galleries, they swore that they would perish if necessary, for the defence of liberty and equality. Then a deputation from one of the sections, composed of daring men who had ventured to come to the house through the terrible storm that was raging, appeared at the bar to say that their section fully concurred in the petition for *déshéance* which Mayor Petion had presented, to declare that they too had sworn to die for liberty and equality, that they were all tired of the crimes of the court, and wanted to get rid of kings for ever. The king and his family were present, though stowed away in the reporters' box. After some more harangues from deputies of the mob, and some very long ones from deputies of the assembly, President Vergniaud, with the ordinary Gironde cant, spoke of his own tender feelings, and of the deep grief the assembly must necessarily feel in being obliged to have recourse to rigorous measures; but he ended with saying that these measures must be adopted instantly, or farewell liberty! farewell equality! farewell the existence of France as an independent nation! His propositions were twelve, but the essential ones were these:—1. That the French people were invited to form a national convention, to take place of the existing assembly. 2. The king was provisorily suspended from his functions, until the national convention should pronounce upon the measures proper to secure the sovereignty of the people and the tranquil reign of liberty and equality.

The uncrowned king, panting in the close hot box of the short-hand writers, had scarcely heard the assembly vote this decree, ere Guadet presented the plan for constructing a new popular ministry—a plain and simple rule, for the members of the assembly were themselves to elect all the ministers for the present. And as soon as this was agreed to, Guadet said that the same rule would do very well for choosing a governor for the king's son. Two things appear pretty certain: the Girondists must have had these decrees, and projects of decrees, and orations ready written in their pockets, and the *côté droit*, who had shown so much energy and boldness during the two or three preceding days, must either have kept away from the assembly for fear of being massacred, or they must all have lifted hands and taken oaths with the republicans in dread of the armed patriots, who crowded both the gal-

leries and the body of the house. Hitherto there had been no division, everything being carried by acclamation; nor can we find that, in the course of the whole day, or in the course of several following days, there was a single deputy that ventured to offer one word of opposition, or remonstrance, or protest. And the Jacobins, who were determined not to leave all the honours of the day to the Girondins, now proceeded rapidly to propose and carry decrees which could not be otherwise than fatal to the Gironde, who had little or no hold on the popular masses. Jean Débrie proposed that the assembly, having just sworn so solemnly to maintain and carry out the principles of liberty and equality, ought forthwith to admit the natural right of universal suffrage, and ought to decree that, for the approaching convention, every citizen of the age of twenty-five, and living by the produce of his labour, should have a vote; and this, too, was adopted unanimously. Choudieu demanded, as measures very essential to the general safety, that a camp should be formed under the walls of Paris, to be composed of the people of Paris, and of all other patriots that chose to repair to it; that the Parisian cannoneers who had been so active in this day, should be allowed to place their artillery battery on the heights of Montmartre, which commanded the capital; and that from this moment the assembly should remain in permanent session. As soon as all this had been decreed unanimously, Lacroix, another most thorough-paced Jacobin, demanded that the assembly should instantly appoint a committee, or commissioners, to go to the army on the frontiers to announce the changes which had taken place, and to keep the soldiers in the right path.

When this and more was done, Isnard called the attention of the house to the new cabinet that it was to form. "And," said this Girondist, "since the assembly declared that *Roland, Clavière*, and *Servan* carried with them the regret of the nation, we owe it to the public opinion to reinstate those three virtuous ministers immediately by an unanimous vote!" The house voted as he proposed, and thus, through the bloody paths of insurrection and anarchy, the husband of Madame Roland found his way back to the cabinet. The assembly then proceeded to elect the three other ministers by simple vote. Danton, who had gone into the Tuileries when all the fighting was over, with a drawn sword in his hand, was appointed minister of justice by an overwhelming majority; Monge, the mathematician, was named minister of marine, and Lebrun minister for foreign affairs. At half-past three in the morning the assembly suspended their labours for a few hours. The king and his family were conducted to four small rooms on the upper

floor which had been destined to the use of Camus the archivist. On the afternoon of the 13th, they were all conveyed from the assembly to the dismal prison of the Temple, situated in the filthiest

that country, and confessing (as he does repeatedly) that he was fully convinced that England was the only country in Europe in which he could be secure from arrest and captivity, he re-



ROOM IN THE TEMPLE, PARIS, where the Royal Family was confined - From Bertaux

part of Paris. "And thus," says Dulaure, who is an historian worthy of his subject, "thus the antique monarchy of the Franks, the dynasty of the Capets, established by force in barbarous times, was annihilated by force in civilized times!"

The vapouring confidence, the pride of La Fayette had a terrible fall. He was compelled to run from the monster whom he had unchained. The assembly sent three members of their house to arrest him in his camp, and then ordered Dumouriez, who had been appointed to the command of a division of the army on the frontiers, to march against him as a rebel to the people. When he appealed to the soldiers in his camp, they told him that they were all sans-culottes, and threatened to lay hands on him; and, on the 19th of August—only nine days after the bloody affair of the Tuileries—the hero of two worlds found himself under the humiliating necessity of fleeing from the fury of his own troops into the territories of the Austrian emperor. His kind words and deeds towards our country during the American war are pretty generally known, but not so is the fact—though derivable from his own writings—that, during his brief revolutionary greatness in France, he had proposed a scheme for lighting up the flames of rebellion and civil war in Ireland;—and this too at a time when we were at peace with France, and more than two years before our friendly intercourse was threatened with interruption! Yet, despairing of making a new insurrection in Holland (another of his darling projects), and even of being safe in

resolved to honour us with a visit, and claim the protection of our laws and the benefits of our hospitality. Perhaps it would not have been easy for the most ingenious of men to traverse the Low Countries at such a moment; but La Fayette chose his course so badly that he went but a very few miles ere he fell into the hands of an Austrian detachment, and was taken prisoner together with the few companions of his flight. He remained in captivity until the peace of Campo Formio in 1797, when he owed his liberation from the dreary fortress of Olmutz to Napoleon. He filled the wide world with

his loud complaints of Austrian injustice and cruelty, but if he had been caught on his flight by his own countrymen, either he would have been torn to pieces, or he would have perished under the guillotine. As it was, the assembly outlawed him, and the commune had his effigies destroyed by the common hangman. La Fayette, in quitting France, had boasted that he had put his lines in excellent order for repelling the foreign invaders. Dumouriez says that he found all the dispositions La Fayette had made as bad as they could well be: the army was divided into two bodies; the advanced guard, consisting only of 6000 men, occupied an extensive camp on the right bank of the Meuse, which it would have required 40,000 men to defend; the main body, consisting of 17,000 men, was posted three leagues in the rear, in a bad camp on the heights that overlook Sedan. He says that the consternation was general; that the soldiers considered all their officers as traitors; that no one took upon him to issue orders, and that, assuredly, if the Duke of Brunswick, any time between the 22d and 28th of August, had but pushed forward 10,000 men towards Sedan, La Fayette's army would either have dispersed itself among the fortified places, or have fled as far as Paris. But the Duke of Brunswick was moving in a different direction, and by marches that were not forced marches. Slow, however, as was their progress, the Prussians sat down before Longwi on the 23d of August. This town, on the Moselle and the north-eastern frontier of France, was small and poor, but it had a fortress on a rock, which had been

constructed by the great Vauban. After summoning the place the Prussians commenced bombarding it. The garrison was in a terrible state of disorder and indiscipline; their commandant had no control over them; and the inhabitants, although they had all sworn to die for the country, had not fixed the when or the where, and were anxious not to die just yet. In a very few hours the place was surrendered to the Duke of Brunswick, who allowed the garrison and the commandant to retire to other fortresses more in the interior of France. The Prussians then blockaded Thionville, and advanced upon Verdun. On the 26th the news of the surrender of Longwi was known all over Paris. It produced the greatest alarm and rage: the people, who attributed the surrender to treachery, believed that they and their cause would be betrayed everywhere, and that the Duke of Brunswick would be allowed to reach the capital and execute his tremendous threats without any valid opposition. Cambon demanded that the assembly should instantly decree a levy of 30,000 men in the department of Paris and the departments nearest to the capital. The proposition was voted by acclamation. It was then hinted that though men might be ready enough to march, they could not well march without muskets; and this led to the passing of resolutions, that all those citizens who were not going to march to the frontiers should deliver up their guns to those who were; that domiciliary visits should be made, and that muskets and all other arms should be seized whenever they could be found. It was also voted that every citizen in a besieged town who talked of surrendering should be punished with death.

But it was in the municipality or commune that the greatest fervour and energy were displayed. Danton, who attended there much more constantly than in the council of ministers, recommended the measures of vigour and rigour that ought to be adopted at the present crisis. It was he that suggested the taking into pay and arming all the indigent men in and about Paris. It was Danton's plan that the barriers should be strictly guarded and closed for forty-eight hours, and that the domiciliary visits should not be made merely in search of arms, but also for the arrest of all aristocrats, of all unsworn priests, of all who had put their names to anti-revolutionary petitions—of all, in short, who were in any way *suspect*. In order that all these victims might be seized within Paris, the strictest and most terrible orders were given to let no living being pass the barriers; and the pikemen and the sans-culotte national guardsmen, who watched those barriers and every issue from the capital, wanted neither threatening nor prompting to make them keen in their duty. On the morning of the ter-

rible 29th, news was received that the Austrians were advancing rapidly, and that nearly the whole of La Vendée was up in arms. The panic and the fury were trebled. The Girondist ministers lost what little heart had been left in them, and proposed abandoning the capital and retiring to Saumur. But here Danton raised his sonorous voice, and said—"You cannot be ignorant of the fact that all France is in Paris! If you abandon the capital you are lost for ever, and you deliver up all France to the enemy. You must maintain yourselves in Paris, cost what efforts it may. It is also impossible to think of fighting under the walls of the capital: the 10th of August has divided France into two parts, one attached to royalty, and the other wishing for a republic. The republicans, whose extreme minority in the state you cannot conceal from yourselves, are the only men upon whom you can rely—are the only men that will fight. The rest will refuse to march; they will agitate Paris in favour of the emigrants and foreigners, while your republican defenders, placed between two fires, will get themselves killed in endeavouring to repel the invasion. If they fail, as it seems to me they must do, the ruin of France and your own ruin are certain: if, contrary to every expectation, they should return as conquerors of the coalition, still this very victory will be a defeat for you; for it will have cost you the lives of thousands of brave republicans, while the royalists, even now more numerous than you, will have lost none of their force or influence. My opinion therefore is, that, to disconcert their measures and stop the foreign enemy on his march, we must strike terror into the hearts of the royalists!" The Girondist ministers understood the sense of these terrible words: it is said they shuddered at them, and remained speechless. "I tell you," rejoined Danton, "that there is nothing for us but terror! We must terrify the royalists and all our enemies here at Paris! (*Il faut faire peur!*)" Gentle Roland, honest Clavière, amiable Servan, mathematical Monge, are said to have continued to sit silent and horror-stricken, staring with eyes of wonder at their brother-minister Danton and one another; but, whatever was their wonder, whatever their horror, it is not shown or even said by any one that they made the slightest effort to stop the realization of the scheme of terror and slaughter proposed by this truly revolutionary minister of justice. We know their utter powerlessness, we know that no efforts they could have made would have prevented the massacres which had already been determined upon; but just and brave men, enthusiasts in all the higher virtues, as the Girondists pretended to be, would have made the attempt, and would have been massacred themselves rather than

have lived to witness such infernal cruelties, such an eternal disgrace on the character of their country. But these men were hollow pretenders: they only felt for their own personal danger, which is said to have been great, inasmuch as some of the directors of the massacre wished to include them in it; and when their own danger was over, they would have shaken hands with the blood-stained ruffians who had relieved them from all future dread of royalty and aristocracy.



DANTON — From a French print of the period

From the council Danton strode to the Hôtel de Ville, to give the last directions as to the proper means of beginning the reign of terror. The chief men who acted under him or with him were Marat, Tallien, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Panis (a little lawyer, and brother-in-law to Brewer Santerre), Sergent (an engraver and Cordelier), Duplain, Lefort, and Jourdeil; but the active agents in the arrests, which were preparatory to the massacre, included nearly every member of the commune, whose total number was at this moment from 500 to 600. All kinds of subterfuges and suppressions are employed by French writers to diminish the numbers of the butchers of the revolution, and to make the world believe that all the worst crimes were not only conceived, but were absolutely perpetrated by a few individuals; but their ingenuity can deceive no one that will look into the facts. Before these hundreds of municipals began the domiciliary visits, they knew as well as Danton himself their meaning and their object.

At the appointed hour the drums beat to arms, the tocsin was sounded, alarm-guns were fired, and the visitations were begun. Many hundreds of victims of both sexes and of all ages were torn from their homes or from their hiding-places, and

crowded in upon the many thousands that already occupied the prisons. Nobles, officers, men of letters and journalists that had taken the wrong side, or that had not gone far enough or fast enough with the revolution; ladies who had belonged to the old court, and ladies who had never belonged to any court, but who had emigrants or some other aristocrats for their husbands or lovers; priests who had not taken the civic oath, and priests who had taken it and repented of it afterwards; men, and women too, who had never taken any part in political matters, but who had been denounced as *suspect*, by personal enemies or by busy-bodies, to the committees of research and surveillance, were all clutched by the municipals and their armed force, and put into prison like sheep into pens to be ready for slaughter. These operations were continued during the following day and night. On Saturday, the 1st of September, they ceased, and the barriers were once more opened for a few hours. But in the course of the day it was reported (prematurely) that Verdun had fallen.—and fallen, like Longwi, through treachery. Hence fresh panic, and fury and madness, and hence a cry for blood from every faubourg and section, from every street, lane, place, and corner of that large mad-house—a cry which encouraged Danton, and gave him the assurance that all Paris, or the sans-culotte part of it to a man, would either co-operate in his great work of terror or look on complacently. The burly minister of justice or blood went again to the Hôtel de Ville, and helped the commune to decree that on the morrow the tocsin should be sounded, the guns of alarm should be fired, and the citizens should all meet in arms, with their muskets or their pikes, in the Champ de Mars. The decree added, for form's sake, that these armed citizens were to march off on Monday morning for Verdun: but no one was deceived by this pretence, and those who had relations or friends in the prisons, and who had courage enough to show their interest in them, well knowing that the prisons were to be forced, and that all in them were to be murdered, hastened to supplicate and implore the commune to liberate the objects of their affections.

The morrow, the 2d of September, was a Sunday; it had been chosen because most of the people would be idle, and so have time to spare for the bloody work. Most of the grand crimes of the revolution were, for the same reason, committed on Sabbath-days. The commune issued a proclamation to tell the people that the country was in far greater danger than ever; that the enemy was almost at the gates of Paris; that there was nothing but Verdun between them and the capital. A report was also circulated that the aristocrats were going to break out of prison that

very night in order to put Paris to fire and sword. The national assembly met in the morning, and, while the sans-culottes were assembling in the streets, or marching to the Champ de Mars, the honourable deputies, who must have known what was coming, spent their time in speech-making and in spinning rhetorical figures. That there might be no mistake, two members of the commune came to the bar to announce that the tocsin was going to sound, and that all the patriot citizens of Paris were assembling in the Champ de Mars in order to march against the enemy. The assembly thanked their municipals in the name of all France for their beautiful patriotism, and invited them to the honours of the séance. Orator Vergniaud poured out a long rhapsody. "It is to day," said this great Giroudin, "that Paris will really show herself in all her grandeur! From this day forward we have nothing to fear!" After talking about the corrupting gold which the enemies of liberty were distributing, and after making use of other arguments and figures which, however he might mean it, certainly tended to keep up the popular fury and thirst for blood, Vergniaud proposed that the assembly should every day send twelve of its members to work with the people in digging trenches on Montmartre. At this proposition all the house rose and shouted, and all the galleries did the same; the decree was passed in a whirlwind of enthusiasm. Soon after this scene the tocsin was heard ringing from the Hôtel de Ville, and all the church towers, the Salle de Manège was shaken by tremendous discharges of artillery, and Danton came to the bar with a radiant countenance. "Gentlemen," said this minister of justice, "it is very satisfactory to the ministers of a free people to have to announce that the country is going to be saved. Everything is moving, everything is shaking itself, every man is burning with anxiety to fight. You now know that Verdun is not taken, but only invested. You know that the garrison have sworn to immolate the first man that proposes a surrender. One portion of the people of Paris are going to march to the frontiers, another portion are going to work at the entrenchments, and a third will defend the interior of the city with their pikes! . . . The tocsin that you hear is not the signal of alarm; it is only sounding the charge on the enemies of the country! To conquer them, to annihilate them, what is wanting? Audacity, audacity, and still audacity!—*toujours de l'audace, et la France est sauvée.*" The assembly applauded, the assembly approved all that he and the commune had done, saying nothing, hinting nothing about the first and immediate consequences of this universal insurrection and meeting in the Champ de Mars.

The honourable members went quietly to their

dinners at four o'clock, and returned to the house at six, with a fuller knowledge than ever of what was to be done; but still no generous effort was made, no voice was raised to plead the sacred cause of humanity. They knew that the barriers were again closed—that the prisoners in all the prisons and strong houses in Paris, that the royal family in the Temple were in agonies of alarm, and expecting instant death; yet they passed their time in listening to deputations who came to make vapid speeches, and to offer for the service of the country a new musket, an assignat of fifty livres (not then worth five-pence), a pair of hackney-coach horses, a uniform coat, &c., &c. A deputation of citizenesses came into the hall to make the significant demand that all such as were detained in prison merely for debt should be instantly liberated, in order that they might not be confounded and punished with the traitors. Yet still the assembly did nothing, said nothing, to avert the horrible doom that was hanging over many thousands of their countrymen and countrywomen; nay, at this very moment they agreed to a demand that the state prisoners at Orleans should be brought nearer to Paris, or nearer to torture and death. Some mad Englishman had just offered a musket for the defence of liberty, when news was brought that the prisons were forced, and that the massacres were beginning; and a minute or two after, Fauchet announced that 200 priests had been already butchered in the church of the Carmelites, which, like other churches, had been converted into a prison. Then the assembly, without any evident or extraordinary emotion, appointed a deputation to go forth and tranquilize the people; and for this object they selected only five of their members, and those five were men more likely to encourage the people than to check their savage rage: they were the ultra-Cordelier-Jacobin Bazire, the Jacobins François de Neufchâteau, Dussaulx, and Lequinio, and the Girondist Isnard, who is generally reputed the most enthusiastic or maddest of his faction. As soon as these members had quitted the hall, other deputations arrived to make more speeches about dying for one's country; and there sat the assembly listening to these orations, while young and old, the innocent and the helpless, were dying in heaps all round them. At one o'clock in the morning it was reported in the hall "that the disorder continued, and that the people were still killing the prisoners." Then for the first time—when the massacres had been going on for nine hours—the assembly made an application to the omnipotent commune. And what was the nature of this application? Was it an earnest entreaty, a solemn injunction, a passionate appeal to the commune to put forth its whole strength, and stop these murders *en masse*? No!

it was nothing of the sort; it was merely to request the commune to give the assembly "precise information" as to what was passing. At half-past two in the morning three commissaries of the commune, Tallien, Truchot, and Giraud, presented themselves in the hall in order to give this "precise information." Truchot, who spoke first, said with a coolness that could only have proceeded from his approbation of all that had been done, "Gentlemen, most of the prisons are now empty; about 400 prisoners have perished. At the prison of La Force to which I repaired, I thought it my duty to get out all the persons detained there only for debt. I did the same at the prison of St. Pélagie," &c. Tallien, who spoke next, was equally cold-blooded. "The people," said he, "went first to the Abbaye. They demanded from the governor of the prison his register and list of prisoners. All the prisoners detained for the affair of the 10th of August, or for forging assignats, perished at once. The council of the commune sent a deputation to oppose this *disorder*. [The villains would not even call it a massacre.] The procureur of the commune employed all the means suggested by his zeal and humanity. He could do nothing, and saw several victims perish at his feet." What the assembly did for some hours after we know not; we only know that the massacres continued, and that no effort was made by them or by any of the Gironde ministers to stop them. This duty more especially concerned the virtuous Roland, as minister for the home department; and Roland did nothing until the evening of the 3d, when he *complained* to the assembly—or rather until the 4th—when he wrote a pressing letter to Santerre for a military force, which Santerre never sent.

We cannot enter upon anything like a complete account of these orgies of human blood, which did not entirely cease until the 9th. Such an account, compiled from the innumerable narratives left by eye-witnesses, would fill a larger volume than ever has been written upon the Sicilian Vespers or the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, and would contain details infinitely more atrocious than any connected with those two celebrated butcheries of human beings. The slaughterers—the *égorgeurs*—proceeded systematically with their bloody work, enlivening their toils with song and dance, and exhibiting as much of the monkey as the tiger part of their character. The first victims sacrificed on the Sunday were twenty-four priests who had been arrested that morning for refusing the *serment civique*. They were put into six hackney-coaches and were literally hewn to pieces in the streets, with the exception of one, the Abbé Sicard, the celebrated teacher of the deaf and dumb, who was bravely and miraculously rescued by a watch-maker who

knew him. Billaud-Varennes, at this time a member of the council of the commune, dressed in his insignia of office, applauded this butchery of aged helpless men, and told the people they were doing their duty. This being done, 200 priests who lay under lock and key in the church of the Carmelites were massacred to a man, not without much laughter and many jests on the part of their murderers. Being refreshed with wine sent to them by the committee of the section, the *égorgeurs* went to the Abbaye, wherein were confined from 200 to 300 persons, including Swiss, gardes du corps, deputies of the first assembly, priests, ladies, and others. These were nearly all despatched in the course of the night; and during that same night, throughout which the assembly sat, some hundreds were massacred in other prisons, and many scores in the streets.

On the following day, Monday the 3d, Roland and that other extra-virtuous Gironde minister, Servan, appeared in the assembly, to request that some stop might be put to the popular excitement, "which had been produced by a few malicious men." The house agreed on a proclamation to the people, which was to be read by sound of trumpet. But it was late in the evening of the 3d before this proclamation was drawn up, although, from morning till noon, from noon till night, the *égorgeurs*, with short intervals for rest, continued their work. Roland, who had accompanied Servan to the bar, did not speak, but he handed in a long-winded, pragmatical, pedantic letter, full of generalities, commonplace axioms, and self-laudation. Madame, his wife, applauds his wondrous courage in being the first to raise his voice against the massacres. Yet how did virtuous Roland speak of these multitudinous and gigantic abominations? Why, he mingled praise with his blame, and, in most gently condemning what had happened, half hinted at the usefulness of the popular fury; and he openly and directly eulogized the 10th of August, which threw both the throne and the assembly under the feet of a rabid democracy, and which led directly to these very massacres. "The wrath of the people," said this self-sufficient, cold-blooded formalist, in this letter to the assembly—"the wrath of the people and the movement of the insurrection are to be compared to the action of a torrent which sweeps away obstacles which no other power could remove, but the over-flooding and rush of which spreads ravage and devastation, unless it return very soon into its bed. Without the day of the 10th of August [a day rendered, by the massacre of the Swiss, as atrocious as any single day of blood that followed it], it is quite evident that we were all lost; the court, fully prepared long before, was only waiting the moment to fill up its treasons,

to spread over Paris the flag of death, and to reign by terror! The feeling of the people, always just and prompt when their opinions are not corrupted, anticipated the moment marked for their ruin, and rendered it fatal to the conspirators! It is in the nature of things, and in the nature of the human heart, that victory should bring with it some excesses: the sea, agitated by a violent storm, continues to roll and roar for a long time after the tempest is over; but all things have their limits." Could Danton, could Robespierre at any time, could Marat himself have spoken of blood and horror with more coolness than this? In another part of his letter, virtuous Roland said, "Yesterday was a day, on the events of which we ought perhaps to throw a veil. I know that the people, terrible in their vengeance, yet observe a sort of justice: they do not take for their victim every man that is presented to their fury; they direct their fury against those whom they believe to have been too long spared by the sword of the law, and whom the perilous circumstances of the times persuade them to immolate without delay. But I know that it is easy for scoundrels, for some traitors, to bring about an abuse of this effervescence, and I therefore know that it ought to be stopped. I know that we owe to all France the solemn declaration, that the executive power has been able neither to foresee nor to prevent these excesses; I know that it is the duty of the constituted authorities to put an end to them, or consider themselves annihilated. I also know that this declaration exposes me to the rage of some agitators: well, then, let them take my life; I only wish to preserve it for liberty and equality," &c. He eulogized the gentleness and docility of the French people, and said he was quite sure that if they were only properly informed, and placed "on a level with the circumstances of the times," all would go well until the meeting of the convention, which was close at hand, and which could not fail of securing tranquillity and happiness under the best of republican institutions. The assembly had opened their debates at the usual hour in the morning, and apparently without feeling any interest in the massacres that were in progress. A letter was transmitted from Mayor Petion, who coldly and lyingly affirmed that he knew nothing of the events of the night, until it was too late to apply any remedy! Brissot announced that Verdun was still holding out, and that the enemy had met with a repulse at Montmédy; and was honoured with loud applause. A milliner came to present some trinkets for the service of the country, and to offer to mount guard in Paris as a soldier: her patriotic daughter, who came with her, presented a silver thimble and fifteen sous. Not a word was

said about the butcheries which were going on more actively than ever at some of the prisons, and no further allusion was made to them until the day was far advanced, when the council of the commune requested that the assembly would be pleased to name six of their own members to act conjointly with them "in calming the effervescence." [The most atrocious, the most immense and astounding of crimes was, in the language of Petion's colleagues, only *disorder* or *effervescence*.] The assembly instantly did as they were ordered, and named six deputies to act with the commune—Bazire, Chabot, Choudieu, Thuriot, Dussaulx, and Lacroix. Four of these six were disciples or admirers of Marat—were Jacobins of the very worst kind; and the remaining two, to say the least of them, were men impatient for a republic, and who were sure not to expose themselves to danger by counteracting their bloodthirsty colleagues, or by opposing the will and energy of the sovereign people. The individuals selected by the council-general of the commune to act with them in calming the effervescence were Robespierre, Manuel, and Deltroy. Business was then suspended in order that the deputies might have time to dine—for men dined in the midst of all these atrocities, sipped their coffee and their *chasse-café* while the streets of Paris were running with blood; and the graceful and gracious Madame Roland was giving her dinner-parties and displaying such wit as she had, and turning fine phrases in her *hôtel du ministère* all the while—at least she gave her usual five o'clock dinner to her husband's colleagues in office and the select members of the Gironde on this very day, the 3d of September, entertaining the madman Anacharsis Clootz, who then and there undertook to prove that the massacres in progress were indispensable and salutary. Yet this woman, who tells us these facts about the dinner, tells us also that the massacres were continuing; that they lasted at the Abbaye from Sunday afternoon till Tuesday morning, at La Force still longer, at Bicêtre four days, &c.

It was on the morning of this day, the 3d of September, and while the assembly and the council of the commune were both sitting, that one of the most damnable of all the murders—that of the Princess de Lamballe—was committed. This lady, a foreigner of royal blood, descended from the ancient house of Savoy, had come into France at an early age to be married to the Prince de Lamballe, a branch of the house of Bourbon-Penthièvre. Marie Antoinette had become greatly attached to her, and had lived with her for many years as an equal and a sister. Hence, when that torrent of obscene slander and libel began, which preceded the revolution, the name of the princess was always coupled with that of the queen, and

she was charged with nearly every vice and turpitude that is to be found in Juvenal's sixth satire. At the time when the reign of liberty began, the princess was a widow, and superintendent of the queen's household. She was and ever had been gentle in her manners, generous in her actions, graceful and kind-hearted to all people, and, though in her fortieth year, her face and form were eminently beautiful. She had never interfered in any business in court or cabinet, except to procure pardons for offences, or promotions and favours for others; but all these things weighed lighter than a feather in the balance against the foul imputations which had been cast upon her for years, and the fact of her being the friend and confidante of the defamed queen, next to whom she was the most hated woman in all France. Her life had been repeatedly threatened—had at one time, when the court was brought from Versailles to be imprisoned in the Tuileries, been threatened daily—and the poissardes, the dames de la halle, and the other furies who had been wont to sit "kneeting i' the sun" under the walls of the palace and in the Tuileries gardens, had often sung in her hearing songs which expressed the happiness they should feel in carrying her bowels on their pike-heads, along with those of the Austrian woman. At the time of the flight to Varennes, the princess got safely out of this pandemonium; she was living in security and honour in England when the king accepted the constitution, and when her generous affection and devotion to the queen induced her to return to Paris. She followed her royal mistress to the dungeons of the Temple, and was barbarously torn from her at the end of a few days, to be sent alone to the prison of La Force. She was there when the massacres began on Sunday afternoon; she was there when her chamber door was burst open, and she was told that she must go to the Abbaye. She said she did not wish to be removed; that she was as well at La Force as she could be at the Abbaye, or in any other better prison. A national guardsman approached her bedside—for she was lying on her bed, though not to sleep—and told her that she must go; that her life depended on her obedience. Having with difficulty obtained permission to be left alone for a minute, she rose from the bed and arranged her dress. When the ruffians went in with their infernal "*Allons, marchons,*" and when she saw the blood upon their faces and their hands, she almost sank to the earth or into it; but two men supported her, and leaning upon them she walked or was dragged down to the terrible gate. All agree in relating that she had scarcely crossed the threshold of the prison ere she received a blow on the head from a sabre which made her blood spout; that the blow was presently repeated;

that she fell dead among the heaps of dead, and that then the people (horrible to be told!), *women* mixed with men, stripped her beautiful body stark naked, cut off her head, and committed



THE PRISON OF LA FORCE, PARIS—From a sketch by T S Boys

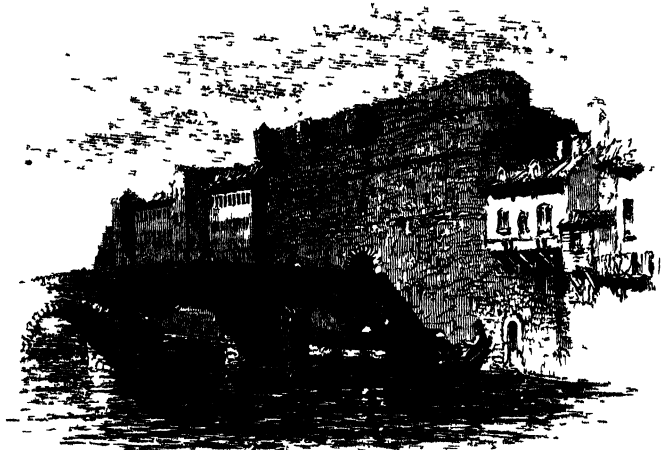
other mutilations and *acts* which cause the pen to drop from one's hand in thinking of them. They stuck her head, her heart, her limbs, and other parts of her body upon pikes, and singing and dancing they promenaded them through Paris. When they had done their worst there was a worse behind—when all that they could do to the remains of a beautiful, noble-hearted woman could only damn them to eternal fame without hurting her, an accursed villain cried out, "*We must carry her to the foot of the throne, Allons, au Temple!*" and to the Temple they ran, to show her to the queen, with their horrible shrieks and hell songs, rounded off from time to time with the "*Ça ira,*" "*Vive la nation!*" "*Vive la liberté!*" and the Marseillaise hymn, the only hymn now sung in revolutionized France. While these massacres were raging in the capital, fifty-three political prisoners were sacrificed at Versailles.

In various towns and municipalities the people rose with the avowed intention of murdering all political prisoners, all priests, all aristocrats—all men whatsoever who outraged the principle of equality by possessing property and elegant houses or dresses; but in many instances the communes would not consent to take their lesson from Paris,

and the national guards, not yet sufficiently sans-culottized, courageously opposed the égorgeurs. At Meaux fourteen individuals were butchered in the prison of the fort, and a day or two later a good many priests of the town and neighbourhood were put to death by the mob, who carried their heads upon pikes through the streets. At Caen, at Rouen, other horrors were committed; at Roanne seventeen heads of priests and officers were promenaded on pikes, at Gisors the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, ex-president of the directory of the department of Paris, was cut to pieces under the eyes of his mother and his wife; at Rheims, eight priests and laymen were put to death. In the south there were many massacres; at Lyons nearly every prisoner in the Château Pierre-Eucise was despatched, and Avignon, where fighting and massacring had never ceased since the expulsion of the Papal authorities and its annexation to France, became a universal slaughter-house. At Bordeaux, the headquarters of Girondism, attempts were made to seize the priests, but the mayor and the municipality made head against the insurrection, and it happily appears that not many were murdered there.

No two accounts agree as to the total amount of these wide-spread massacres. Nothing like an exact account was attainable at the time, and now no such thing is to be expected. The *Histoire de l'Espion*, a work of some authority, states broadly that the number of all who were massacred in the course of the month of September, at Paris and in all parts of France, was 15,000. Barrère and Berville, who published their *Mémoires* in 1823, make the numbers of those who were égor-gés in the prisons of Paris alone, amount to 12,800. In this calculation there is evidently some great exaggeration. Peltier, the royalist writer, calculates the number killed in the prisons at 1005; but he omits several of the prisons in his account, and among them that of Bicêtre, where, according to every relation, the murders were the most numerous, and attended with the most horrible circumstances. Maton de la Varrenne, speaking only of the prisons, and not of all of them, sets down the number of the killed at 1049, of whom 202 were priests; but he relied upon prison registers, which were very imper-

fectly kept, and took no account of the murders that were committed in the streets and in private houses, or of the massacres perpetrated in Paris after the 5th.¹ There was only a lull then; and though the prisons were emptied by the butcheries of the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th, the work of killing was loosely renewed on the 6th and 7th, and was not entirely over on the 9th, while the massacres were well nigh recommencing with as much fury as ever on the 16th and 17th. It is not very probable that any very exact list was taken at any of the prisons of the immense numbers that



PRISON OF PETIT CHÂTELET, PARIS.—FROM *L'UNIVERS PITTORESQUE*

were sent into confinement by Danton's domiciliary visits just before the massacres began. As there was no possibility of escape—as the barriers were strictly guarded all the time the massacres lasted—as the people had lists of the names of many thousands of obnoxious individuals—as the butchery indisputably lasted four days and nights, in full activity—and as assassinations were performed from time to time during a whole fortnight—we believe it may safely be assumed that from 4000 to 5000 victims perished in Paris alone, and that in all France there fell in the course of this dismal month, by murder alone, some 7000 souls, or near upon half the number stated by the author of *L'Histoire de l'Espion*.

¹ This is Peltier's list.—

Aux Carmes et à Saint Firmin	244
A l'Abbaye Saint Germain	140
Au Cloître des Bernardins	73
A l'Hôpital de la Salpêtrière,	45
A la Conciergerie, .	55
Au Châtelet	214
A l'Hôtel de la Force,	164

CHAPTER XXXIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1792—1793.

GEORGE III.

War of the allied powers against France—Their dilatory proceedings—Military condition of the contending parties—Dumouriez's plan of operations—His successful occupation of Argonne—His resistance to the Prussians at Valmy—Sufferings and disappointments of the Prussians—They retreat—Dumouriez marches against the Austrians—Battle of Jemappe—Defeat of the Austrians—French conquest of Flanders—Dumouriez captures Mechlin—Facilities in recruiting the French republican armies—Dumouriez defeats the Austrians at Tirlemont—The Austrian Netherlands conquered by the French—Dumouriez prevented from invading Holland—He captures Aix-la-Chapelle—The French invade Germany—Their successes under Custine on the Upper Rhine—Their capture of Mentz and Frankfort-on-the-Main—The French resolve to invade Savoy—Arms used to win over the Savoyards—Savoy invaded and overrun by the French—Massacre committed by the French at Oneglia—Events in Paris—Election of its deputies to the convention—Character of the deputies—Dr. Priestley becomes a French citizen and deputy—Parties into which the convention was divided—The trial of Louis XVI. commences—Charges against him and his answers—Popular urgency for his condemnation—He is voted guilty—Clamorous demands for his execution—Meeting of the convention upon the final question—Variety of punishments voted—Conduct of the spectators during the voting—The Duke of Orleans votes for the king's death—Indignation of the convention at the interference of Spain in behalf of Louis—Humane attempt of Duchâtel to save the king—Louis by a majority condemned to die—Execution of Louis XVI.



FROM these civil proceedings it is a relief to escape, even to the horrors of war, for the worst of them are less revolting. It is admitted by a French military man, writing shortly after the crisis, that, notwithstanding the discordant views of the allied powers, there was a moment when everything was possible; but they suffered that moment to be lost. The French people had been expecting invasion, and preparing to meet it for many months—for more than a year France had been one great drill-ground. There was a time when a large part of the population, not yet indoctrinated by the clubs, or emboldened by success, or committed by daring and extreme acts, were wavering and uncertain; but the allies waited to make their attack till the moment when the unity of feeling and the popular enthusiasm were at their highest pitch; and even then, instead of beginning the campaign early, so as to have all the summer before them, they did not enter France until the month of August. Before Verdun surrendered to the Prussians, Dumouriez called a council of war at Sedan, composed of Lieutenant-general Dillon, four major-generals, Petit (his principal commissary), and his own staff, which consisted only of three experienced officers. He opened the map of Champagne, into which the Prussians were penetrating; and he showed that, Longwi being taken and Verdun invested, while another body of the enemy had advanced beyond Thionville, and were threatening Metz, there were no means left either to form a junction with Marshal Luckner, or to receive succours from any other quarter

in time to deliver Verdun; and that accordingly there was nothing to be depended upon but his own army. This army was far inferior in number to that of the Duke of Brunswick: but then the cavalry of it was composed of the best regiments of France, and was upwards of 5000 strong; more than one-half of his infantry (exceeding in all 18,000 men) was formed of regiments of the line; the rest consisted of national guards, being well disciplined, rendered warlike by a year's encampment, and by continual marches and skirmishes with the Austrians; the artillery, too, being excellent, counting a park of sixty pieces, besides battalion guns. With such means there was no reason to despair; he thought that this army might be the salvation of France. It had the inestimable advantage of acting in its own country, where everything was to be expected from the enthusiasm of the people. On the other hand the Prussians would be retarded by the sieges, by the difficulty of finding provisions, by the delays incident to their own convoys, and by the terrible quantity of their heavy artillery. The equipages of so many princes, the number of draught-horses necessary to drag their cannon, stores, and baggage over rough roads, must make their march exceedingly slow. On the contrary, his own army, which could not possibly remain where it was, might move with great rapidity. But in what direction should it move? After various schemes had been proposed, Dumouriez, who abounded in that military genius of which his late rival La Fayette had never given a token, pointed to the forest of Argonne upon the map, and exclaimed, "Behold the Thermopylæ of France! If I

can but arrive there before the Prussians, all will be saved!" The forest of Argonne is a belt of wood running on elevated rocky ground, nearly all the way from Sedan to Passeyant, a league beyond Ste. Ménéhould, the entire length being about fifteen French leagues, its breadth very unequal, varying from four leagues to half a league.



GENERAL DUMOURIEZ —From a French print

It separates the Bishoprics (Les Trois Evéchés), a rich and fertile country, from Champagne the Hungry, or the Lousy (as *pouilleuse* properly signifies), a district cursed by nature, in which was neither water nor wood, forage nor pasturage, but one cold bed of clay, without towns or bourgs, with no habitations but a few wretched villages scattered here and there and far apart. The forest was intersected with rocks, water-courses, bogs, and marshes, which rendered it impenetrable to the march of an army except by five openings or passes. As there were no other means of advancing on the French capital, where the Duke of Brunswick had promised to dine by a certain day, it is astonishing that he should not have secured one or two of the best of these passes; but he had done nothing of the kind, wasting several days in the sieges of Longwi and Verdun, places which he might have left in his rear without any danger. But if he could now discover Dumouriez's intentions, he could hardly fail of remedying his blunder; and, as he was considerably nearer to the best of the passes, or those which led most directly to the capital, the French general must move with the greatest rapidity, or see his plan frustrated. But Dumouriez not only moved with admirable rapidity, but also marched in such a way as to conceal his intention, until it was too late for the Duke of Brunswick to attempt anticipating him. He moved his army in several separate columns; and

by the 4th of September all the five passes of the forest of Argonne were occupied by different divisions of his army, which was every day reinforced by the arrival of national guards and volunteers. He had also transmitted orders to Beurnonville to quit the fortified camp of Maulde and march straight to Argonne with his 10,000 men, a considerable portion of whom consisted of Belgians who had revolted against the emperor and joined the French; and Beurnonville was expected to arrive in a very few days. Other troops—another army, in fact—were collecting in his rear at Rheims under General d'Harville.

It was not until the 8th of September that the Duke of Brunswick extended his front, and approached the forest and passes of Argonne. His head-quarters were constantly distracted by conflicting opinions, and disturbed by the petulance and evil counsels of the emigrants, who pretended that, as Frenchmen, they must best know how to manage a war in France, and who evidently misled him from the beginning of the campaign to the end of it. There were several very narrow chances; at one time Dumouriez was driven from his fortified camp: at another a panic seized his new levies, and more than 2000 men fled with incredible speed to the distance of thirty leagues, publishing everywhere that the army was betrayed and annihilated, and that Dumouriez and all the generals had gone over to the enemy. But the able strategist contrived to keep the Duke of Brunswick and his army at bay; and by the 19th of September, Dumouriez, being joined by Beurnonville and Kellermann, found himself at the head of a force far superior in number to the army of Brunswick. On the 20th the Prussians made a somewhat spiritless attempt to drive the French from the steep hill of Valmy. The affair has been very properly called the *Cannonade of Valmy*: each of the two armies fired more than 20,000 cannon-shot, and yet lost no more, in killed and wounded, than 300 or 400 men each. It however gave great encouragement to the French, by proving to them that their steadiness and their fire could arrest the progress of so formidable an enemy. The young Duke of Chartres (*then* plain M. Chartres, and afterwards Louis Philippe, King of the French), was in this battle or cannonade, serving as a general officer, and having for his aide-de-camp his younger brother, the Duke of Montpensier, then a youth of seventeen. Kellermann praised the valour and conduct of both princes, and honourable mention was made of them in the bulletins sent to Paris. Fresh armies were now collecting round the Prussians, who found themselves still entangled in a sterile country, in want of forage and provisions, a prey to a cruel dysentery, occasioned by the badness of their food and by the drenching

of the autumnal rains, which now fell incessantly for many days, making the bad roads still worse, swelling all the rivers and streams, and ruining all the baggage.¹

At the beginning of the campaign the Duke of Brunswick had been assured by the sanguine emigrants, that the mass of the population, who must by this time be disgusted with the revolution, would rise and join him, and fight under the French princes who were with him; and, in short, that the campaign would be nothing but a pleasant promenade along the banks of the Marne. But, instead of joining him, or even of remaining neutral, the population of the country seemed armed to a man against him, the peasantry cutting off and butchering all his stragglers, fighting in ambush on almost every road, and not unfrequently intercepting his convoys; and at Valmy he had found that the sans-culottes were commanded by skilful and experienced generals—that shoemakers and tailors were becoming very good officers, and that the new levies, mixed with old troops, could keep their ground. It was clear that neither he nor the emigrants had sufficiently reflected on the aptitude of the French people for the art and practice of war; or upon the fact that such revolutions must nearly always produce great soldiers. The Prussians were pedants in war, believing that it could only be a successful art when subjected to their own rigid rules; and, as for the emigrants, it was one of the few articles of their limited belief, that *roturiers* could never make good officers—a conviction which was scarcely removed from their minds until the sans-culotte armies, under sans-culotte officers and generals, had overrun half Europe. On the 30th of September, at the dead of night, Brunswick struck his camp, having sent before him his artillery and heavy baggage. On the morning of the 1st of October, Dumouriez detached General Dampier to occupy the abandoned camp of La Lune, which was found strewed with the carcasses of men and horses, and offering such startling proofs of the epidemic malady or maladies which had been raging there, that Dampier precipitately abandoned the post, lest his men should be infected. Dumouriez, whose vanity was at least equal to his genius, hurried to Paris to show himself at the theatres, to receive compliments and laurel crowns, to solicit for more troops in order that he might conquer Belgium, to see which party was getting strongest in the con-

vention, and to make friends accordingly. In many respects his reception was as flattering as he could have desired; but some of the Jacobins thought that he had not done all that he might have done, and other Jacobins were mortally offended at his having punished some federates who had brutally massacred four deserters from the emigrants. He was, however, enabled to march against the Austrians, who under the Duke of Saxe-Teschen had been obliged to abandon the siege of Lille, and to recross the Belgian frontier, a few days after the Duke of Brunswick's retreat from the Argonne. On the 4th of November, two French armies under Dumouriez entered the Austrian Netherlands in nine columns; and on the 5th, being reinforced by another corps d'armée under D'Harville, they came up with the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, who occupied an excellent position on some wooded hills near the village of Jemappe. But if the Austrian position was good, their disproportion in number was very great, Saxe-Teschen not having more than 15,000 or 16,000 men to oppose to 50,000 or 60,000 French.

On the morning of the 6th the French began a general action by cannonading, to which the Austrians replied from some well-placed redoubts. This heavy firing continued without intermission, and without any great effect on either side, till ten o'clock, when the young Duke of Chartres, or, as he was now called, young Egalité, recommended an attack with fixed bayonets.² From eleven o'clock till one in the afternoon several charges were attempted, but every time the French were driven back by cannon-ball and grape-shot. At one time their centre, after losing a great number of men, was thrown into complete disorder, and was not rallied by the young Duke of Chartres without extreme difficulty. While the duke returned with the centre to attack the village of Jemappe on Saxe-Teschen's right, Dumouriez, putting himself at the head of two fresh brigades, and singing the Marseillaise hymn, "*Allons, enfans de la patrie*," moved rapidly to attack some redoubts towards the enemy's left. He was accompanied by several regiments or strong squadrons of horse, and not relying solely on the bayonet, he carried some light artillery with him. These redoubts were defended by some Hungarian grenadiers, who fought most desperately; but attacking by the gorge of the redoubts, and bringing their artillery within musket-shot, the French at length carried the works, when a fearful butchery of the Hunga-

¹ Dumouriez, the Duke of Brunswick, the Jacobin commissioners, Goëthe, the French newspapers, the English newspapers of the day, all mention these dreadful rains. But a critic in the *Edinburgh Review*, in commenting on Mr. Carlyle's account of the campaign of Argonne, doubts or denies that there was any rain at all, and assures us that September is not a rainy month on the Continent!

² The Duke of Orleans, on being elected a member of the convention, had taken the name of Philip Egalité, or Philip Equality. Doddsley's *Annual Register*, and other works of the day, speak of General Egalité, and of the bravery he displayed at Jemappe, without any notion that he was the Duke of Chartres, the son of the Duke of Orleans.

rians ensued. Dumouriez, anxious about his centre, put himself at the head of his cavalry, and was proceeding at a smart trot to its succour, when he met the young Duke of Montpensier, who was galloping to tell him that the centre was victorious, and that his brother had gained possession of the village of Jemappe after a bloody engagement. This decided the affair; it was only two o'clock, and the Austrians were in full retreat for Mons. The conquered moved off in admirable order, carrying with them all their artillery except seven or eight pieces; the conquerors had scarcely secured their victory ere they were seized with a terrible panic, and, imagining that the Austrians had undermined the hill and that they would all be blown into the air, five battalions abandoned the heights they had gained, and fled in the utmost disorder to a village at some distance. Dumouriez says that it was in consequence of this panic, and of the cowardice of one of his generals and of the disobedience of others, that he could not molest the Duke of Saxe-Teschén on his retreat. The battle of Jemappe decided the fate of the Netherlands, so miserably weak was the force collected for the defence of that rich country, and so disaffected were the Belgians to the house of Austria. Dumouriez states his own loss in killed and wounded at 2000, and that of the imperialists at twice that number; but there is reason to doubt whether, from the nature of the combat and of the ground, and from the want of pursuit, the French did not lose as many men as the Austrians. On the 8th, Tournai opened its gates to Labourdonnaye, Dumouriez's second in command; Courtrai, Menin, and Bruges, which had been well jacobinized beforehand, sent deputations to the commander-in-chief and to the convention; and, as soon as the intelligence of the battle of Jemappe arrived, the French commandant of Dunkirk, with only 1800 foot and 200 horse, marched to Nieuport and Ostend, which received him with joy. Without a single musket having been fired, all Flanders was subdued—or rather, the people joined the French and removed every obstacle to their progress. The exultation of the Flemings and Brabanters was in the course of a very few weeks considerably damped by the arrival of Jacobin commissioners from the assembly, who plundered them most mercilessly, levying contributions, taxing and harrowing them, as if they had really been a conquered people. Even Dumouriez himself gave them a sad proof of what they had to expect: for almost as soon as he had entered Mons, where the inhabitants received him with the utmost joy, he issued an ordinance requiring from the clergy a forced loan of one year of their revenues; and subsequently, in managing contracts for provisions, he forced

the Belgian contractors to accept of payment in French paper money, which was every day becoming more discredited and worthless. His excuse is, that the convention had no money to give him, and that the troops, engaging in a winter campaign, were almost naked.

Old Marshal Bender, who had once so terrified the Belgian patriots by the threat of pulling on his boots, was left in Brussels, not to offer any resistance, which was impracticable, but merely to arrange a capitulation. On the evening of the 13th the marshal was summoned by the Alsacian Westermann, become a colonel in the armies of the French republic by virtue of his exploits in the Tuileries on the 10th of August. Old Bender made the best terms he could, and on the 14th, Dumouriez entered Brussels amidst the acclamations of the people, and shouts of "Long live the French! Long live liberty and equality!" Having called upon all the towns in Belgium to raise and equip volunteer corps and militia, Dumouriez left Brussels on the 19th of November, when Labourdonnaye was already laying siege to Antwerp, while Valence was blockading Namur. He captured Mechlin, where he found a great quantity of ammunition and arms, and an excellent foundry for casting cannon. This enabled him to improve the equipment of his troops, and to arm crowds of volunteers who had come from France, where they had been starving for want of employment, to take part in this harvest of glory and gain. The situation of France continued for years to furnish the like adventurers in prodigious numbers; for there was starvation at home, and no calling within the reach of the common run of men was half so profitable as that of arms. To these must be added numbers—not inconsiderable—of downright republican enthusiasts; and of men passionately fond of war for the mere sake of war and its glories; and again other numbers who could only be safe from the Jacobins and the guillotine by throwing themselves into the ranks of marching armies. All this enabled the revolutionary generals to be careless whether a given operation cost them thousands of lives more or less; the immense numbers which fell were replaced by fresh arrivals: the want of regular employment at home, and the system of terror, were by themselves sufficient to recruit their armies. On the 22d, Dumouriez was astonished by finding the Duke of Saxe-Teschén firmly posted at Tirlemont. Another battle took place. The Austrians, though defeated, continued their retreat in admirable order, abandoning the country foot by foot, and fighting again on the 27th in front of Liége. At the beginning of this war of the revolution many of the Austrian retreats, if properly examined, will be found to be more extraordinary things

than the French victories. Liège, which swarmed with revolutionists and Jacobins, who in various ways had hampered the operations of the emperor's general, welcomed Dumouriez as a deliverer on the 28th. The strong fortress of Antwerp surrendered about the same time to the Peruvian Miranda, whom Dumouriez had sent to supersede Labourdonnaye; Namur surrendered to Valence on the 2d of December; and thus, one month after opening the campaign, the French found themselves completely masters of all the Austrian Netherlands, excepting the duchy of Luxemburg.

Dumouriez, having sent Miranda forward to Roermond, wished to continue his winter campaign by capturing Maestricht, by calling up the Dutch democrats, and by revolutionizing Holland, and all those Seven United Provinces. It was true the Dutch government had not declared war or entered into the coalition against France; but its predilection for the Austrians, Prussians, and emigrants, and its aversion to the French revolution, were not disguised. But greatly to Dumouriez's mortification, the convention and the executive would not send him the order to attack the Dutch; thinking it better, *for the present*, to maintain a neutrality with the stadtholder, until the Dutch democrats were better prepared for insurrection. Thus circumstanced, he resolved to capture Aix-la-Chapelle. But he was sadly impeded by a pestilent Jacobin poet, Ronsin, who had been sent by the convention to superintend the civil concerns of his army. On the 7th of December the Austrians fought another battle; but they were far too weak to secure or cover Aix-la-Chapelle, and on the 8th, Dumouriez entered the ancient city of Charlemagne as a conqueror. On the 12th, when little more than ten leagues from the Rhine, he put his army into winter-quarters.

But it was not alone in the Netherlands that the French, from being invaded, became invaders. The energetic men of Paris had resolved that Germany should be entered. General Custine, who had been attached to the French army on the Upper Rhine, commanded by Biron, made, with 18,000 or 20,000 men, a dash into the little circles of the empire, where there were no troops in the field, and none but weak garrisons in the fortresses. These silly German electors had all been indulging in the pleasant dream that the Duke of Brunswick would get to Paris, and therefore they had not thought it necessary to make any extra exertions. Spire and Worms capitulated to Custine on the 30th of September and 5th of October, and on the 21st of October Mayence (Mentz) threw open its gates, all the garrison laying down their arms, except some 800 Austrians, who marched out and joined the grand army of the coalition. All these successes

could have been obtained only through the disaffection of these Germans to their rulers, and the dissemination among them of French principles. Custine had no artillery or material for conducting any siege, and the least resistance must have preserved Mayence: but the town and university were full of democrats and believers in the new exposition of the rights of man; and these men had secret intelligence with Custine before he approached the place, and as soon as he had summoned it they urged the necessity of an immediate capitulation. In all directions the first progress of the republican armies was favoured by the people of the countries they invaded, so that the French press and their political propagandists were indeed of more service than French artillery. Custine soon gave the speculative Germans some cause for regretting the welcome they had given him. Quitting the banks of the Rhine, he rushed to Frankfort-on-the-Main. This free commercial town had remained neutral in all the wars, and her neutrality had been respected by the armies of kings and emperors; but these republicans were not so scrupulous, and they resolved to plunder it, notwithstanding the fact that the people were disposed in their favour, and were wishing them every success. They entered the open undefended place on the 27th of October, and levied contributions in the most rapacious manner.

Ever since the time of Louis XIV. the French had pretended that the natural frontiers of their country were the river Rhine and the high chain of the Alps; and that Belgium, Savoy, and Nice, which lay within these limits, belonged to France by the assignment of nature. Dumouriez, when minister, had recommended, as a beginning, the conquest and permanent occupation of these countries. We have seen how easily he overran one of them. General Montesquiou, beginning earlier in the season, found Savoy quite as easy a conquest; and General Auselme, who was detached by Montesquiou, and reinforced by 6000 Marseillaise, moved under the Maritime Alps to make a prey of Nice. In both these possessions of the King of Sardinia, the propagandists had long been at work, and their labours had been attended with very great success. Several days before they made their declaration of hostilities, the Girondist executive had given peremptory orders to General Montesquiou to attack Savoy, and drive all the troops of the King of Sardinia across the Alps, as these troops had been collected for no other purpose than to invade France, and to co-operate with the coalition. Before any blow was struck, the French had made pretty sure of the Savoyards, who hated the Piedmontese; and, by a variety of ingenious devices, they had gained all the information they wanted. A republican

general, who thought it no shame to play the part of a spy, took the dress and the name of an Irish priest; and imposed sadly on the credulity of Colegno, the commandant of Chambery, the

tress of Montmelian, which had been abandoned by its garrison, although well furnished with powder, ball, and provisions. On the side of Nice there was the same mixture of imbecility and



FRANKFURT, THE FISHERGATE, looking up the Main From Harding's Sketches at Home and Abroad

little capital of Savoy, and also upon the too easy faith of Count Perrone, the governor-general of the duchy. Other emissaries went among the citizens and the people, explaining the stupendous benefits they must derive from the French system, the promulgation of the rights of man, the overthrow of the aristocracy, and a fresh division of property. Montesquieu knew that the Savoyards would everywhere join him; and that the troops of the King of Sardinia, about which so much talk had been made, did not really exceed 10,000 men, and these, too, scattered over the country, through the false security or the treachery of those who had the command over them. On the night of the 21st of September, in the midst of a hurricane and torrents of rain, the republicans dashed across the frontier of Savoy, and took by surprise the important fortress of Sauparellian, which was garrisoned only by a handful of Piedmontese. Without losing a man, almost without firing a gun, the French reached Chambery, and were there received with transports of joy by the Savoyard patriots. After making a triumphal entrance, and installing a provisional council of government, composed of ardent democrats, who were invited to consider the expediency of an immediate union and incorporation with the French republic, Montesquieu advanced a few miles on the road that led to the pass of Mont Cenis, and took the formidable for-

treachery in those who commanded for the King of Sardinia, and the same sympathy among the people for the French and their enticing principles. Anselme crossed the river Var, which there forms the frontier, on the night of the 23d of September. An inconsiderable corps d'armée, composed of Piedmontese and Sardinians, retreated in the greatest confusion, and, without firing a shot, left the city of Nice open to the invaders. Without the least exertion

except that of marching to their prey, the republicans got possession of all that sea-board, of all the lower part of the country of Nice lying between the Maritime Alps and the Mediterranean, save and except the citadel of Mont Albano. To co-operate in this war of coasts the Gironde executive had despatched, from the near port of Toulon, Admiral Truguet, with eleven ships of the line, some frigates, and other vessels, having on board 2000 land troops. This fleet now came to anchor, and assisted in the siege of Mont Albano, which soon capitulated. Truguet perpetrated a horrible slaughter at Oneglia, a small but thriving town on the coast, the birth-place of the great Andrea Doria; and soon after this exploit he returned to Toulon, not without some apprehension of being intercepted by an English fleet, for the British ambassador had withdrawn from Paris in consequence of the dethronement of Louis XVI. and of all that had been done on the 10th of August. Two-thirds of a century have passed since these horrors were committed, but the memory of them has been transmitted from father to son in eloquent and exciting tradition, and there is not at this day, on all that coast, a mariner or peasant but will recount with flashing eyes the horrible particulars of the destruction of Oneglia.

We return to Paris. On the appointed day, the 21st of September, the members elected to the convention met in the Tuileries, the greater part of which was riddled by the cannon-balls of

¹ Carlo Botta, *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814*

the 10th of August. The elections for the city of Paris may enable the reader to judge of the spirit and influence under which they had been made, and will convey a tolerably correct notion of the character of the deputies returned by most of the departments. The Parisian deputies were—Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, David, Fabre d'Eglantine, Legendre, Panis, Sergent, Billaud-Varennes, Augustin Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, Dussaulx, Fréron, MARAT, Philippe Egalité, Thomas Manuel, Boucher Beauvais, Raffron, Robert, Lavicomterie, Osselin, and Laignelot. They included in their number all the members of the notorious committee of surveillance of the commune who had directed the égorgeurs or Septembrizers. Among them were three newspaper editors, a butcher, a painter, an actor, an engraver, a prince of the blood-royal, two street orators and authors, and one advocate—"which," says Thiers, "represented the confusion and the variety of existences which then agitated the capital of France." The first two returned by the Paris electors were Robespierre and Danton. Their success, about which there never could have been a moment's doubt, was hailed with enthusiastic joy by the Jacobin Club and by the commune, who, in fact, had secured their return. Marat had the same all-efficient support, and was passionately recommended to the Parisian electors by Chabot, who treated with contempt the remonstrances of such as represented that the friend of the people was rather too fond of blood and was already lying under two criminal accusations. Brissot, who was Marat's rival candidate, had no chance against him, and was obliged to get returned by one of the departments. These elections proved that he and his party could do nothing with Paris, and without Paris there was no hope of victory to them in the mortal combat they were entering upon with the ultra-Jacobins. After the failure of Brissot, some of the Girondins set up *Doctor Priestley* against Marat; but the divine was beaten by the horse-doctor. It might have been thought that the September massacres would have dispelled the admiration of the blinded or most frantic of the English republicans; but it was after these atrocities, and at a moment when the details of them were ringing throughout Europe, and filling men's minds with horror, that Priestley became a French citizen, and was elected a member of this convention, which, from the first, showed its determination of pursuing the same sanguinary course. Some have thought that the losing the honour of representing the city of Paris in the convention, and his mortification at being beaten by a man like Marat, may have contributed to keep Priestley away from France. Thomas Paine, who had gained additional consideration by publishing the second

part of the *Rights of Man*, was elected by the department of Pas de Calais. Priestley was elected by the department of Orne, but never took his seat in the convention; "because," as his friends said in the house, "he could not speak our language." Abbé Sièyes, who had not very patiently endured Robespierre's self-denying ordinance, was returned by the department of La Sarthe; and various other members of the first or constituent assembly, who had scarcely been heard of since the dissolution of that body, found their way into the convention. The departments of the south remained tolerably constant to their representatives in the legislative assembly, and there was not one Girondin of any note but found a place in the convention. These Girondins, who had sat on the left before, now took their places on the right, the Jacobins taking the left, and Robespierre with the deputation of Paris and all the most excessive Jacobins seating themselves at the summit of the left (*sur la crête de la gauche*), from which position they obtained the name—the memorable name—of "La Montagne," or the Mountain. What had been called the "Centre" was now called the "Plain;" and at the beginning, it was occupied by a very considerable portion of the house, some being moderates, some cowards, and a great many mere trimmers, ready to go with the Jacobins or with the Girondins, according to circumstances. The first president appointed was Mayor Petion. There was an immediate throwing down of gauntlets between the Girondins and the ultra-Jacobins. The Gironde ministers, by means of their orators in the house, attempted to discredit Marat and crush Robespierre, who still retained his name of the "Incorruptible." They failed completely, and only embittered by their attempt an enmity which was already implacable. But both parties soon agreed in bringing the king to trial and execution. In the meantime all the captives in the Temple—the king's sister Elizabeth, his queen, and his two young children, as well as Louis himself—were treated with the most execrable barbarity.

The mockery of a trial began on the 11th of December, when the king was brought to the bar of the convention. Although Louis had been diligently studying during his captivity the trial of Charles I. as related by Hume, he did not, like that prince, deny the authority of the court before which he was brought, or refuse to answer. He urged that up to June, 1789, there was no constitution, or no existing laws, which hindered his doing what he had done. The president then charged him with having surrounded Paris with troops in the month of July, 1789, and of having caused blood to be shed. Louis replied, that at the time he had the right of commanding the troops,

protesting that he had never had any intention of shedding the blood of any of his subjects. In this manner they went through the articles of charge, fifty-seven in number; Louis either answered by a simple negative, or insisted that what he had done had been done before the constitution, or was justified by the laws as they then existed, or had been done since the constitution, which threw all the responsibility upon his ministers. In reply to the charge about the journey to Varennes, he said that he must refer to what had passed in the constituent assembly at the time, which assembly had set aside the charge for ever by restoring him to the throne, and by swearing with him to the monarchic constitution. He scarcely showed any warmth or vehemence, except when the president charged him with having caused all the bloodshed on the 10th of August, 1792, when he cried out with a loud voice, "*No, sir! No! that was not I!*" . . . The Tuileries was threatened, in a way which all constituted authorities witnessed. The mayor and other municipality saw it; and as I was a constituted authority, I had a right to defend myself; but I did not do even that—I sent for a deputation of the national assembly, and I came and took refuge here with my family." It was, however, resolved that all the blood poured out on the 10th of August should be laid directly to the charge of the king; and it was by the cry of vengeance for this blood—a cry incessantly kept up by the mob, the clubs, and the newspapers—that these proceedings were precipitated. On the 30th of December, deputations began to present themselves at the bar to tell the honourable deputies that the citizens of Paris were wearied out by their long delays. Eighteen of the Paris sections sent petitions and committees; and the men who had been wounded on the 10th of August, and the widows and orphans of the patriots who had perished on that day, came in one grand dramatic group to the convention to demand vengeance and blood for blood. Some of the wounded dragged themselves slowly along upon crutches, and one of them was carried in a litter. Their orator delivered a terrible speech to the "fathers of the country, legislators of all mankind," telling them that Louis must perish on the scaffold forthwith; that there would be no *humanity* upon earth until all kings were destroyed; and that there would be no virtue until all priests were destroyed also. The president made them a very complimentary speech in return, and invited them all to the honours of the sitting. The greater part of them went and sat on the benches with the members of the house.

A.D. 1793. On the 1st of January more addresses were presented from the departments demanding the immediate execution

of the king, who had been voted *guilty* on the night of the 28th of December, in the midst of the joyous acclamations of the blood-thirsty mob that crowded the galleries of the house, and frequently took part in the debate. It was timidly hinted by some that the English government would resent the death of the king. Billaud-Varennes said that this was a dishonouring and groundless apprehension, and that he was astonished the French executive had not sent over an address to the English *people*, which had been prepared some time ago. "Everybody," said Billaud, "knows the sad situation of the English *people*, and that they are our friends. The oppressed English desire nothing better than to fraternize with us." Men and women were now crying through the streets of Paris, "There has not been blood enough!" "Let the scythe of equality strike off more heads!" "Give us bread and equality!" "Put the traitor to death, and then we shall have both equality and bread!" "The cause of all our woe is in the Temple and in a part of the convention!" &c. Some of the Gironde, fearing the consequences rather than pitying the king, would fain have stopped short of immediate execution on the scaffold; but they were powerless, they had helped to surrender all power to a sovereign mob, and, while sitting in the assembly or skulking in their lodgings, they trembled for their own lives. One of them had the extraordinary courage to declare that all forms of justice and all feelings of humanity were outraged, and that the convention was deliberating under the daggers and cannons of a faction; but these self-evident truths made no impression either upon the mobs in the galleries or upon the men of the Mountain, who had the cannons and the daggers under their control. Out of 721 members present there was not one who would venture to say that the king was not guilty, and only thirty-seven who declared that they were incompetent to pronounce judgment, or who recommended some punishment short of death.

After a long and most riotous debate on the 16th of January, the house proceeded to vote the execution. A secretary began to call over the muster-roll, in order to show who were present and who were not; for all such as should be absent or refuse to vote on this solemn occasion had been threatened with destruction by the clubs and the mob. It was eight o'clock at night, and the hall was only imperfectly lighted up with lamps and candles. All faces were either pale or flushed—the heads and shoulders projecting from the galleries seemed about to fall upon the members sitting in their seats. By a drawing of lots, or by some operation styled a *roulement*, the deputies of the Garonne, Gers, and the Gironde, who nearly all belonged to the party named

Girondists, were the first called upon for their votes. The first of all who voted was Mailhe, and his vote was *LA MORT* (Death); but he demanded that the convention should afterwards discuss the point whether execution should follow immediately, or whether sentence should be suspended for a time, taking care, however, to add that his vote of death was independent of this proposition. The next two members that voted were Delmas and Projean, who both said *LA MORT*, and nothing more. As the business went on, the galleries applauded all who voted simply for death, and hooted and threatened all such as attempted to qualify the sentence, or to commute it into imprisonment or banishment. Early in the roll, Vergniaud, who was acting as president, was called upon; and pale and trembling, and cowering before the popular fury, he pronounced the monosyllable *DEATH*, although he had previously declared that his heart and conscience would never permit him to give such a vote against the unfortunate king. Guadet, who voted next, said *DEATH*, but recommended the suspension of execution (*le sursis*), which had been first suggested by Mailhe. Next came Gensonné, who followed up the concise vote *LA MORT*, by demanding that the convention, in order to prove to Europe that the condemnation of Louis was not the work of a faction, should deliberate immediately after judgment on the measures of security proper to be taken in favour of the children of the condemned, and against his family; and that, in order to prove that no distinction was made between villains (*scélérats*), the convention should enjoin the minister of justice to pursue before the tribunals the assassins and brigands of the 2d and 3d of September! In some few instances courage and humanity were found where their existence could never have been expected. Thus Grangeneuve boldly voted "*IMPRISONMENT* (*la Détenion*);" and Manuel, with equal boldness, said "*BANISHMENT*," and soon afterwards rushed out of the house for ever—but not before he had been hustled, kicked, and beaten, beaten on the very floor of the house, and then in the lobby. As the voting continued, one opinion, delivered by Servière, to keep the king in prison, and only execute him in case of the coalition again invading France, seemed to make some little impression; but it was only for a moment, as the conviction was by this time universal that republican France, instead of suffering invasion, might now invade all Europe, and, in alliance with the people, bring down every throne to the dust. Lepelletier Saint-Fargeau, a man of noble birth and large fortune, who had figured in the constituent or first assembly, and who had harangued and written largely for the abolition of all capital punishment, now, to save his own life, said,

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DEATH. Condorcet said, "*THE GREATEST PUNISHMENT SHORT OF DEATH*." Thomas Paine, who had previously urged his opinions with more courage than any of them, both in conversation and in writing, voted for *IMPRISONMENT TILL THE PEACE, AND THEN BANISHMENT*. Several members of the Mountain voted, like the majority of the Girondists, for *DEATH, WITH THE SURSIS*. As every member had to answer to his name, to ascend the tribune, to deliver his sentence *vivâ voce*, and then to write it and sign it in a *procès verbal*, the dismal business proceeded very slowly. Some of the deputies fell asleep in their places, and had to be roused by the ushers when their names were called. Others, choosing their time, ran out of the house to get dinner or other refreshments. The people in the galleries brought their refreshments with them, and were seen drinking wine and brandy as in a common tavern. One particular gallery set aside for distinguished visitors was occupied by Philippe Egalité's mistresses, and by other rouged and splendidly dressed dames, some of whom, with cards and pins, pricked down the ayes and noes as if they had been at the roulette-table or playing at rouge-et-noir. Deputies of the convention carried ices, and bon-bons and other condiments, to these proper priestesses of that temple of liberty; and love-making of the French fashion, and gallantry, and assignation, went on even as if the harlots and scoundrels had been at a merry play. From time to time some fellows went over to the neighbouring coffee-houses, where other cold-blooded scoundrels were betting upon the results of the *appel nominal*, or vote by name. Marat voted, *DEATH WITHIN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS*; Danton, simply *DEATH*; but Robespierre accompanied his vote of *DEATH* by a long comment, in which he said that the very reasons which had formerly induced him to call for the abolition of capital punishment now made him demand the death of the tyrant, and in him the death of all royalty. When the turn of Siéyes came, that ex-abbé said, shrilly and briefly, *LA MORT SANS PHRASES* (Death without speechifying). But the vote which made the most sensation, was that delivered by the ex-Duke of Orleans, who mounted the tribune between night and morning, and with a hollow, shaking voice said, "Solely occupied by my duty, convinced that all those who have made attempts, or shall hereafter make attempts against the sovereignty of the people, merit death, I vote for *DEATH*." There was a universal murmur, a sort of subdued groan; but this was all, and with the vast majority there collected, the feeling of horror was transitory. All through the next day, the 17th of January, this voting continued. At eight o'clock at night, when Chazal the younger gave the last vote of all, the president announced that

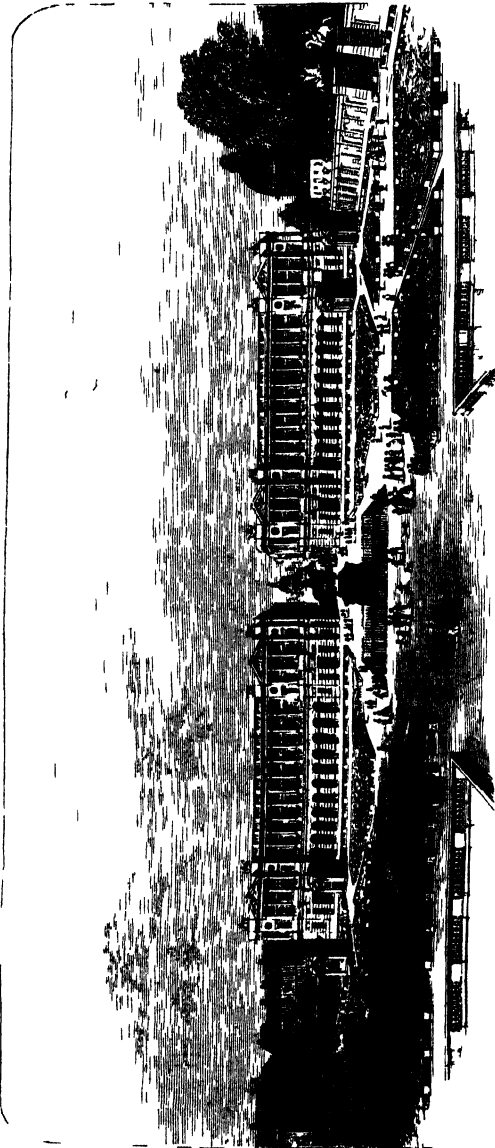
he had received two letters, one from Louis's counsel, the other from Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, who inclosed a note about the king from the Spanish ambassador. Garan-Coulon, and a great many more deputies, Girondists as well as Jacobins, shouted that the letter from the Spanish minister was an insult, and that it

was carried unanimously. The note of the Spanish ambassador, who offered, in the name of his sovereign, not only the neutrality of Spain, but her friendly mediation with the other powers, if they would only spare the life of Louis XVI., was thrown over the table and sent back unread to the foreign office; and, if all the courts of Eu-

rope had sent similar notes, they would all have been treated in the same manner. They then read the note from Louis's counsel, who begged to be heard once more at the bar. Robespierre insisted that the counsel could not be heard until the *appel nominal* had been scrutinized, and the result of it made known; and, after some debate or clamour, the house agreed with him. At this moment Duchâtel, a farmer from the neighbourhood of Thouars in Poitou, who had been returned to the convention by the department of Deux-Sèvres, and who had generously exerted himself in favour of the king, was carried into the hall in blankets, and with his head wrapped up. He had been lying on a sick bed, but had risen from it in the belief that one humane vote more would turn the balance. Draper Lecointre, Duhem, and some other Jacobins, contended that he could not vote, as the *appel nominal* was over, and the result of it known; but Valazé, who was acting as one of the secretaries, said that the scrutiny was not over, and the majority decided that the house could not refuse to any member his right of voting. Duchâtel crawled up the steps of the tribune, and gave his vote for BANISHMENT. Charlier, a member of the Mountain and a close adherent of Marat, demanded that the president should interrogate the sick member in order to make him confess who had sent to bring him there in that state; but this proposition was rejected with murmurs. The secretaries then presented the lists to the president (Vergniaud), who, putting on a solemn countenance, said, "Citizens, I am going to proclaim the result of the scrutiny. You are going to perform a grand act of justice. I hope that humanity will induce you to maintain the most profound silence when justice has spoken, humanity ought to have its turn."

After this preamble he read the result of the third *appel nominal*. The number of members absent on commission was fifteen, eight were absent through real or feigned sickness, and five had refused to vote. Of the 721 that remained, two had voted for the galleys; 286 for imprison-

¹ The place was subsequently named Place de la Révolution, and is now known as Place de la Concorde



PLACE LOUIS XV, PARIS. Scene of the Execution of Louis XVI. — From the Nouveau Plan Routier 1792

ought not to be read. Danton exclaimed, "I am astonished at the audacity of any power pretending to exercise an influence over our deliberations. If everybody was of my opinion, we would this instant declare war against Spain, were it only for this letter." Gensonné said he thought like Danton, and he moved the order of the day, which

CHAPTER XXXIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1793.

GEORGE III.

Feeling in London at the tidings of the execution of Louis XVI.—Popular demand for war against France—Parliament assembled early by royal proclamation—The royal speech preparatory to the question of war—Its complaints about the propagation of French insurrectionary principles—Its notices of French aggressions on the Continent—Its proposal to increase the naval and military establishment—Opposition of Fox to the royal speech—His apologies for the excesses of the French revolution—His deprecations of war with France—Windham's reply—His account of French propagandism in England—Speech of Dundas in favour of war with France—Statements of Burke of the connection of English revolutionists with the French convention—Fox again recommends a peaceful negotiation with the French government—He eulogizes the proceedings of the convention—Burke's reply—His appeal to the difficulty of negotiating with the anarchical government of France—Fox a third time proposes negotiation—Arguments in the debate for and against the measure—Review of the question—Provocations to war afforded by France—Impossibility of longer enduring or overlooking them—Necessity of war to the French rulers—Neutrality hitherto observed by Britain in the war of the allied powers against France—Patience of our government under French aggressions and insults—Recal of the British ambassador from Paris—Necessity of the step from the insecurity of the French government—Hostile proceedings of the convention against Britain—The dinner at White's Hotel in Paris—Sole condition on which war with France could be avoided—Its degrading character—The French continue their pretended negotiation with England—Their delay occasioned by the difficulties of the conquest of Holland—War declared by the convention against Britain—Universality with which the resolution was carried—Justification of British politics in entering into this war—Symptoms of the feebleness with which it was to be prosecuted.



ON the day that the death of Louis XVI. was made known in London, that immense city looked as if a great national calamity had happened. The news carried grief and consternation to other populous capitals, in many of which reigned the blood relations or the close connections of the unfortunate monarch, who might command the outward signs of mourning, grand masses for the dead, and pompous funeral services; but in none of those cities was the sadness so universal and spontaneous, so much the uncontrolled and undisguised feeling of the mass of the people, of all classes and conditions of men, as in London. The general conviction had been that the convention would stop short of death; and at first the report of the execution was scarcely credited; but a moment's incredulity, or stupor and bewilderment, gave way to indignation and horror; and, except in the case of some incurable political fanatics, the French people and their present rulers were execrated for the deed by every man, woman, and child in the three kingdoms. So vehement was this feeling that there arose a cry of war from every part of the island.

Parliament had met on the preceding 13th of December, several weeks earlier than had been intended, the government having by royal proclamation called out the militia on the 1st of December. The speech from the throne was much longer than usual, and full of alarm—alarm at the spread of French principles, not only on the Continent, but at home. It attributed the call-

ing out of the militia to seditious practices which had already been discovered, and to a spirit of insubordination, tumult, and disorder which had manifested itself in various places. It declared that there was some fixed design against the constitution, and that this design was evidently pursued in connection and concert with persons residing in foreign countries. It declared that his majesty had observed the strictest neutrality in the present war on the Continent, and had uniformly abstained from any interference in the internal affairs of France; but that it was impossible for him to see without serious uneasiness the increasing indications which appeared there of an intention to excite insurrection in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue schemes of conquest and aggrandizement. It mentioned the fate with which Holland was threatened by the French armies which had overrun the Netherlands; and it said that, under all these circumstances, his majesty had thought it right to adopt precautionary measures, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force. Fox, who was not yet disenchanted of his dream and idolatry of French liberty, and who perhaps had some reason to say that ministers were exaggerating the dangers to be apprehended from popular disaffection at home, made a brilliant speech, condemning every part of the address, and every sentiment that had been uttered in support of it. He declared it to be his firm opinion and belief that every fact asserted in the king's speech was false, that all its insinuations were unfounded,

that no improper spirit existed, and that the alarm had only been raised by the artful designs and practices of ministers. He rejoiced in the triumph of men fighting for liberty over the invading armies of despots, and said that when there had been a probability of the triumph of the armies of Austria and Prussia over the liberties of France his spirits had drooped, and his heart desponded. He bitterly condemned the calling out of the militia; he taunted government for daring to assume a power or control over the minds and speculative opinions of men; and he said, not without some foundation, that the ultra-loyal and Tory clubs and societies had been going to as great extremes in one direction as the reforming societies could have gone in the other. He did not think that England was in a state to go to war; he did not think that anything which had occurred in France, or in Belgium, or in Savoy, or anywhere else, would justify us in going to war with the French republicans. He condemned ministers for not sending *a new ambassador to treat with the present executive government of France*. Pitt was not there to answer him, but the reply came with more force from the lips of Windham, who had figured for so many years as one of the leaders and most eloquent chiefs of the Whig opposition, and who had been linked in such close friendship and fellowship with Fox. This eloquent and elegant man had been scared by the horrors perpetrated in France, and had followed Burke, whose political pupil and friend he had ever considered himself. He declared—and this was at the least as true as Fox's asseveration that the danger was exaggerated—that, whatever might be the amount of real danger, the real alarm was exceedingly great, was felt in every town, village, and hamlet in the kingdom, was agitating every man who had a veneration for the institutions of the country, or had property to lose, or had a proper English aversion to anarchy and bloodshed. For himself he believed that the alarm was not greater than the real danger. He knew of his own knowledge, and all men must know, that there had been and still was a constant communication between persons in Paris and persons in London, the object of which was the destruction of our present form of government. The effect was already felt in an alarming degree; for in every town and village, and almost in every house, these worthy gentlemen had their agents, who regularly disseminated their pamphlets. These agents delivered the pamphlets gratis; a proof that there must be somewhere a society that defrayed the expense, for the agents themselves were poor men. The greatest pains had been taken with the poorer part of the community, to wean their affections from government, to make them dis-

satisfied with their lot, and eager to pull down and plunder all who were above them in fortune and station. Windham believed that the motives of the combined armies that had attempted to march to Paris and liberate Louis XVI. were good. The maxim that no country ought to intermeddle with the internal affairs of another might be true in a limited sense, but he could not admit it as an unvarying rule, as some countries might choose to set up principles that were subversive of the government and tranquillity of all their neighbours; and, even without stirring beyond their own frontiers, or openly intermeddling in the affairs of their neighbours, they might commit incalculable mischief, which would call for repression and suppression. But, he would ask, how had France observed the rule that no country ought to interfere with another? How had she abided by her decree that she abandoned for ever all ideas of foreign conquest? What had she done with Savoy? She had converted it into a department. She was now treating the little republic of Geneva still worse. Her decree that she would give liberty to all mankind was no better than an avowal of a design to disturb every power of Europe. They talked, indeed, of giving to the people of every country where their arms were victorious a free choice of the form of government; but did they ever wait to take the sense of the majority? Not they. Mr. Grey, who remained an unchanged Foxite, replied to Windham, and Dundas to him. Dundas declared that the utmost arts and industry had been used to circulate Paine's *Rights of Man*, and other works of the same tendency, among the poorest and most ignorant of the people; and that they had been told that it was time for them to assert their own rights, to confound all distinctions, to seize and divide property, and, in short, to follow the example which the French had set them. The national convention had been eager to countenance every complaint of grievance from the factious and discontented in this country; and, in proof of this fact, Dundas read addresses which the convention had received with great applause, from several political societies in England. Was not this, on the part of the French, an unjustifiable interference in the internal affairs of another country? And had not leading members of the convention repeatedly declared that they would look not to the sovereign, but to the people of Great Britain—that they would appeal from the government to the republicans of England? Some might pretend to shut their eyes to the truth, but he would never believe that the passion of the French for conquest and aggrandizement had been changed by the change of their government from a monarchy to a democracy, or that the slightest trust

was to be put in their decrees, manifestoes, and proclamations, to which they had already given the lie by their conduct in Belgium, in Savoy, and at Geneva. He referred to the treaties which bound us to assist Holland, intimating that these alone imposed the necessity of our arming and preparing for the worst. The French, since their conquests in the Low Countries and the capture of Antwerp, had declared that they would open the navigation of the Scheldt. This must be ruinous to the commerce of the United Provinces, and England was a guarantee that this should never be allowed. Burke, who had seen many of his predictions already verified, and whose horror of the Gallic revolution was unbounded—Burke, who believed that, if Fox had been suffered to succeed in his project for the amendment to the address, he would for ever have ruined this nation, along with the rest of Europe—rose and spoke with extraordinary warmth. Considerations of party, he said, and all minor considerations, must now give way: he came forward not as the defender of opposition or of ministry, but of the country. He believed the country to be in great danger; he knew that there was a faction in England who wished to submit to France, in order that our government might be reformed upon the French system; and he knew that the French corresponded with and encouraged this faction, and were preparing to aid them. The cabals and conspiracies, the practices and correspondences of this French faction in England, were of public notoriety. Mr. Cooper and Mr. Watt had been deputed from Manchester to the Jacobins: these ambassadors had been received at Paris as British representatives. Other deputations of English had been received at the bar of the national assembly: they had gone the length of giving supplies to the Jacobin armies, expecting in return military assistance in England. A regular correspondence for fraternizing the two nations had been carried on by societies in London with the Jacobin societies in various parts of France. To prove the truth of these assertions, he read the addresses of the Englishmen and Irishmen resident at Paris; and of Joel Barlow and John Frost, deputies from the Constitutional Society of London to the national convention. He declared that the question was not whether they should make an address to the throne, but whether they should have a throne at all. There would soon be no throne or settled government in Europe, if French arms and French principles were allowed to take their own course; and he recommended and prayed for unanimity and determination in England as the best means of stopping the progress of French arms. The division, which did not take place till three hours after midnight, exhibited the

numerical weakness of the Foxites: 290 members voted for the address, and only 50 against it. The great majority of the Whigs, vexed at his imprudent conduct and alarmed at the tone held by men and societies which Fox frequented, had parted company with him for ever, and had followed the Duke of Portland and Burke. He, however, now gave notice that to-morrow he would move an amendment upon the report. And accordingly on the 14th of December, when the lord-mayor brought up the report of the address, he proposed the addition of a clause requesting that the king would enter into negotiations with the present Jacobin government of France. In his speech Fox threw the whole blame of the horrid scenes which had occurred in France upon the coalition, and eulogized the spirit and valour of the French republicans, who had taught the proudest men in this world that there was an energy in the cause of justice and freedom which nothing could defeat. "Thank God," said he, "Nature has been true to herself! Tyranny has been defeated, and those who fought for freedom are triumphant." He said that all the inhabitants of Europe sympathized with the French and wished them success, regarding them as men struggling with tyrants and despots. He could see no force in the objection raised by some men that France had actually no government to treat with. Surely that was a government which the people considered as such. Great Britain ought immediately to acknowledge that government and negotiate with it. He proceeded to contend that we could not go to war without the greatest hazard; that Ireland was disaffected, so that no man in his senses could expect any hearty support from that kingdom; that we could obtain no new allies on the Continent, and that our ally the King of Prussia could not be depended upon; and that no reliance whatever was to be placed on the emperor. Among *some* *exceptionable characters* Burke had classed and reprobated M. Roland, a man *eminent for many virtues!* [The cant about this "eternally virtuous" individual had reached England, and Fox probably did not yet know to what a condition of discredit and insignificance Roland had by this time fallen in France, any more than he knew that these Girondist rulers with whom he would have negotiated were to be swept away in the course of a very few months by the "exceptionable characters" to whom he alluded as being the only bad men in this new republic.] He said that such invectives did not tend to conciliate France; that such gross insults and injuries could not be forgotten or forgiven by a spirited people like the French. He said that sooner or later we must acknowledge this French republic. Was not the republic of this country readily acknowledged at

the time of Cromwell? Did not courts vie in their civilities to our commonwealth after the execution of Charles I.? If ministers' objection to receive an ambassador at present was that they did not know how to introduce a French republican minister into the king's drawing-room, he wished they would fairly confess it, to the end that the English people might see that their blood and treasure were to be sacrificed for a mere punctilio! [Many persons were hurt at this sarcasm, and none more than George III., who is said to have treasured it in his memory, and to have frequently repeated afterwards, that Mr. Fox would have presented to him Marat or Robespierre, or Samson the headsman.] He bestowed some pathos upon the unhappy prisoners of the Temple; but he soon passed from their sufferings to dwell more tenderly upon those of that "brave but unfortunate gentleman" La Fayette, whom the despots had locked up like a felon because he had always been a friend to liberty. Sheridan seconded the amendment, as being calculated to rescue the country from a war with France. Burke again rose to declare that he saw a spirit at work that would leave England no option between war and peace. Considering it as admitted that France must not be permitted to open the navigation of the Scheldt, and that she must be induced by negotiation or compelled by arms to restore the conquests she had made, he thought it a very extraordinary way of effecting either purpose to represent our internal situation as rotten, and all our allies as powers not to be depended upon. Would Mr. Fox make a choice of friendships and enmities, and renounce all former alliances with established governments to contract a close alliance with a country that had no government at all—with an anarchy? And were we sure that the French republicans, even if courted, would come to any reasonable terms with us? Yet this was the contingency for which we were to renounce our present allies, the ancient and established governments of Europe. The French republic had not yet been recognized by any power whatever. And what was the peculiar time when England was to be the first to recognize it, and to send over an ambassador to Paris? Why, it was the very moment, perhaps, when the merciless savages had their hands red with the blood of a murdered sovereign! To follow the course proposed would look like giving a sanction to a bloody act—like giving currency to regicide, and affording a preliminary to the murder of our own sovereign. He shattered at a blow the argument that Fox had drawn from the conduct of Europe towards Cromwell and the English commonwealth. The French republic, he said, was *sui generis*, and bore no analogy to any other republic

or system of government that had ever existed in the known world. The English commonwealth did not attempt to turn all the states of Christendom into republics; it did not wage war with kings merely because they were not democrats; it professed no principles of proselytism. The same might be said of the republic of the United States of America. But France wanted to make all the world proselytes to her opinions and dogmas—France was for turning every government in the world into a democratic republic. If every government was against her, it was because she had declared herself hostile to every government. This strange republic might be compared to the system of Mahomet, who, with a Koran in one hand and a sword in the other, compelled men to adopt his creed. The Koran which France held out was the declaration of the rights of man and universal fraternity; and with the sword she was determined to propagate her doctrine, and conquer those whom she could not convince. Wilberforce, though deprecating war, if war could possibly be avoided consistently with justice, concurred with the speech from the throne and the proposed address; and Fox's amendment was rejected without a division.

On the very next day—December the 15th, which was a Saturday, a day when parliament did not usually sit—Fox came forward with a third proposition, moving, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to give direction that a minister may be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the functions of executive government in France, touching such points as may be in discussion between his majesty and his allies and the French nation." Mr. Grey seconded the motion, declaring that an immediate embassy to Paris was the only means of averting the greatest of calamities, the most dangerous war that England had ever undertaken. Some gentlemen expressed a hope that Fox might be prevailed upon to withdraw his motion; some said that that motion was a palpable encroachment on the royal prerogative; and some bitterly censured him for his conduct during the last three days. Fox, however, pursued his object with so much heat and perseverance as to cause the house to sit into Sunday morning, a thing not known in parliament for many years.¹ Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Earl of Liverpool) was of opinion that the motion did encroach on the prerogative, and was otherwise improper and dangerous. He believed that there were disaffected persons in the country whose activity made them dangerous; but he thought that war, instead of increasing their power of

¹ Burke, letter to the Duke of Portland on the conduct of the minority, &c.

mischievous, would greatly lessen it. The King of Sardinia had endeavoured to negotiate and conciliate the French, and what had he gained by it? Ministers were blamed for not having taken the same course—for not having some months ago treated with the French; but for many months there had been nothing in France with which they could treat. And now, when persons and things were every day changing, when all rule belonged to a mob of robbers and assassins, where could we apply? What government could we acknowledge where there was actually no government? How could England recognize a constitution which the French themselves were every day violating? How could we negotiate with men who had declared a universal war to all governments? "On this very day," he exclaimed, "while we are here debating about sending an ambassador to the French republic—on this very day is the king to receive sentence, and, in all probability, it is the day of his murder! What is it, then, that gentlemen would propose to their sovereign? To bow his neck to a band of sanguinary ruffians, and address an ambassador to a set of murderous regicides, whose hands are still reeking with the blood of a slaughtered monarch?" The master of the rolls thought that Fox himself ought to be sent on this embassy. Perhaps he might be as well received as Frost or Joel Barlow; perhaps not. The French rulers might say to him, "Do you come from the King of Great Britain? If you do you can have no business here, as we have sworn eternal enmity to all kings; you had therefore better be gone!" Mr. Windham contended that not only experience, but higher principles, and the dictates of humanity, forbade any present recognition of the French republic. If Great Britain gave that recognition, which had been given by no other power, what would be the consequences? Some of those consequences would be the alienation of all those powers with whom she was at present allied, and a universal discouragement on the Continent: for, by giving the whole weight of her character to France, she would place all the rest of Europe in a situation truly deplorable—she would arm every subject of every kingdom against the powers that governed that kingdom—she would recommend and facilitate the imitation of what had been done, or was still doing, by the sans-culottes of Paris; and all this could not be otherwise than fatal to the future interests of the world. Mr. Grant, who had studied the law of nations, and who was well read in what the French now styled "the worm-eaten writings of Grotius, Puffendorf, and Vattel," replied to some gentlemen who chose to think that the forcible opening of the navigation of the Scheldt was not of sufficient importance to justify any loud

complaint on the part of the Dutch. Not only the trade, but also the internal security and independence of Holland depended upon that river. All the celebrated writers on the law of nations had laid it down as a clear and indubitable principle that rivers belonged to those who inhabited their banks, just as far and no farther than those banks extended. If the banks belonged to different peoples or nations, then the dominion over the river was divided, each people possessing the part of the river that was contiguous to their domain; and such was the policy of this distribution, that, if it had not been laid down by the law of nature, it would have been a positive stipulation under the law of nations, for without it no state traversed by rivers could be secure. If, as the French were now contending, the course of rivers was as open and common to all mankind as the sea itself, a fleet of French or Spaniards might sail up the Thames, and we should have no right to molest them until they actually began hostilities.

We can neither follow up the long and complicated debates (which did not end with the present session) upon the justice and propriety of England's engaging in this war, nor enter upon an adequate detail of the facts and reasons which justify the belief that the choice of peace or war no longer rested with the British government; that the direct provocations to hostilities did not originate with us; and that, whatever complaints may justly lie against the unwise manner in which the war was for a long time conducted, the government of the day must be wholly freed, by every candid mind, from the charge of heedlessly and wantonly running into hostilities.¹ In the incurable madness of party it is still vociferated that Burke drove us into a crusade against the French republicans; but, in sober truth, there was, on our part, no crusade at all: we raised our bucklers to prevent the French republicans from crusading over all Europe; we went to war because neither our duty to our allies nor our duty to ourselves, neither our honour nor our interest, allowed us to remain longer at peace. Unlike his father, the Earl of Chatham, Pitt was essentially a peace minister; his pride, his hope was

¹ For the true diplomacy of the time, and for a very clear recital of the course of events, supported by documentary proofs, we refer the inquiring reader to the *History of the Politics of Great Britain and France, from the time of the Conference at Pilnitz*, by Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, 2 vols. 8vo. This able work, in which no fact is stated without full and convincing evidence (taken chiefly from French decrees, manifestoes, declarations, and other state papers, and memoirs), was originally written in the German language—a language which a long residence at the university of Leipzig had rendered as familiar to the author as his own—and was first published at Leipzig in February, 1799. He translated it himself into English in the course of the same year; and it was published in London in 1800.

centred in measures which could be realized only in peace. The great aim of his life was to extend the industry and commerce, and improve the financial condition of his country; and he shrunk from the aspect of war so long as he could do so without absolute dishonour and unequivocal danger. No amount of neutrality and silence on his part could have long delayed the declaration of hostilities by the convention. The English people were prosperous, and welded to the arts of peace; the French people, armed to the teeth, had little to put into their mouths; their industry had ceased; they looked to war and invasion as means of living; and their rulers looked to their constant employment in foreign conquest as their only safeguard. "*Peace*," said the virtuous Roland, "*is out of the question; we have 300,000 men in arms; we must make them march as far as their legs will carry them, or they will return and cut our throats!*" And this dread of an armed multitude must have existed and have led to the same decision, of making them march as far as their legs would carry them, if Prussia and Austria had never given refuge to the emigrants, or remonstrated against the acts of violence and encroachment that were committed—if they had reduced their armies to the peace establishment, and quietly assented to all that France was doing at home and abroad; for the popular masses were armed long before there was any talk of foreign invasion; they were armed, not to contend with Prussia and Austria, but to put down, destroy, or drive out the aristocrats, by which term was understood every Frenchman that differed in opinion with the majority, and had property and a name. Before the conference at Pilnitz the principle had been adopted of arming the sans-culottes, as the class that was the most interested in the progress of the revolution, and best prepared for the privations and risks of war. Before there was any intimation of foreign interference France was converted into a great drill-ground, and the shock and convulsion which had taken place, the flight of the opulent and luxurious classes, had created a dearth of employment, which drove men to the army as their only resource. These legions, after doing the work of their rulers and legislators at home, would have demanded a proportionate reward, and their rulers would have sent them to glean it in the neighbouring countries, in the circles on the Rhine, in the rich fields of Belgium, and Piedmont, and Lombardy. This they would have equally done to save their own throats. Such an army could neither have been reduced nor maintained by any government in France; but, in the national passion for war and conquest, these troops would have been ready at any signal to throw themselves upon their neighbours to obtain

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not only free quarters, but excitement, fame, and the chances of high promotion, the highest ranks in the army being now not merely open to, but almost exclusively reserved for men of the lowest conditions. Thus, whatever course the European sovereigns and governments had pursued, there would still have been an European war.

In the conferences of Pilnitz, where, in the month of August, 1791, the emperor and the King of Prussia signed a declaration that they would take certain measures to rescue the King of France, provided other powers would support them, England took no part whatever; and when the conferences were over, and the emperor had returned to Vienna, she declared she was resolved to preserve the strictest neutrality. Besides the letter of the emperor, whom the British government could have no interest in deceiving, there are various other proofs that Great Britain, at that period, took no part in the coalition against France. It was an afterthought of the French republicans to charge Great Britain with being a party to that coalition: *they did not mention the charge in their present long declaration of war*; and before issuing that declaration they had repeatedly declared, in the convention and elsewhere, that Great Britain had nothing to do with the conferences at Pilnitz. Brissot, a bitter enemy to England, said she acted the part of a mediator on that occasion, and laboured to calm the effervescence of the German princes. Before the revolution had made so awful a progress, and even during the time of the first assembly (when La Fayette was in the ascendant, and was devising how to federate and fraternize with the Irish), many gross insults had been offered to, and wisely despised by the British government. But, between the month of November, 1791, and the month of February, 1793, there had been an accumulation of outrages, each of which, singly, would have provoked a declaration of hostilities from a testy nation, or from a government eager for war. And every time our silent submission or contempt was interpreted into fear and helplessness, and was followed up by some new and grosser outrage.

At the beginning of the year 1792 the British government reduced the number of sailors and marines to 16,000 men, made a reduction in its very inconsiderable army, and gave up, or rather did not renew the treaty of subsidy with Hesse-Cassel; Pitt, in his confidence of peace, abolishing taxes to the annual amount of £200,000. At the same time the French not only augmented prodigiously their land forces, but also increased their navy, declaring that they would have 80,000 sailors and marines, and that the thunder of their ships was ready to roar in all seas. They must have contemplated a war with England, for Prussia and Austria had no fleets whatever.

When those two powers moved their armies towards the French frontier, the great naval preparations were of necessity suspended: but, as soon as those armies were in retreat, the preparations were resumed; and three months before they declared war they had twenty-one ships of the line, thirty frigates, eighteen sloops, twenty-four cutters, and ten sloops armed *en flûte*, not only in commission, but actually at sea. The brutal bombardment of Oneglia, and the impunity with which they had been allowed to scour a part of the Mediterranean and to insult the helpless Italian states, had wonderfully elated their sailors. Upon war being declared by the convention against Austria (in April, 1792), Chauvelin notified the event to the English court, and received another positive assurance that England would persevere in her neutrality. Chauvelin, an observing and an acute man, expressed his conviction that there was every reason for relying on these assurances of the English government; stating that Pitt was solely occupied with his schemes of finance and home improvements; that he had formerly assured a deputation of merchants that England would not meddle in the affairs of France, that the nation had no taste for war; that no preparations were making either in the ports or in the arsenals. A few days after, Chauvelin delivered a note to Lord Grenville, the secretary for foreign affairs, requesting that all British subjects should be forbidden to serve under any foreign power at war with France; and with this request the court of Great Britain promptly complied, issuing a proclamation on the 25th of May. Nearly at the same time that this proclamation was issued there appeared the proclamation against seditious writings; but this was a mere act of national police, which had no relation to the government of France, and which no more concerned that government than the measures taken in France relative to the emigrants concerned the English government. Chauvelin never pretended that any injury or insult was intended against his government or country in this proclamation. Nearly a month after its appearance he, in the name of his government, thanked his Britannic majesty for his pacific intentions; and a month after that, or on the 17th of July, 1792, he acquainted his government that the British court remained steady to their friendly disposition. In the meanwhile the insults heaped personally upon Lord Gower, our ambassador at Paris, were numerous and excessive. But for great temper on his part he would have withdrawn from Paris long before the terrible 10th of August, and but for the real anxiety of his government to avoid a war, he must have been recalled. He remained when assassination was the order of the day; he remained when the sanguin-

ary clubs and mobs were the arbiters and real masters of France; he remained when his life was scarcely to be considered as safe, and he came home just in time to escape the sight of the monstrous September massacres.

On the 17th of August, 1792, after Louis XVI. had been dethroned and his Swiss guards butchered, the British government recalled their ambassador; but, in his letter of recal, Lord Gower was instructed to neglect no opportunity of declaring that his majesty meant to observe the principles of neutrality in everything which regarded the arrangement of the internal government of France. Lord Gower communicated this letter to Lebrun, and that French minister returned an answer to it in the name of the new republican government of France, expressing, indeed, some regret at his recal, but, at the same time, their joy at the continuance of the friendly assurances of Great Britain. They did not affect to consider the recal as a violation of neutrality, and in ordinary circumstances the recal of an ambassador precedes a declaration of hostilities; but ambassadors had often been recalled without that step being followed by any war, and in itself it never amounts to a declaration. When hostilities are intended the ambassador takes no leave; but Lord Gower had taken leave in a friendly note. In the present case a recognized government had been overthrown, and no regular government had been substituted for it. No one yet knew what manner of government might be set up by the plotting Jacobins and Girondins who had made the revolution of the 10th of August, but who had scarcely begun to make the constitution which was to take the place of the one they had all sworn to—no one yet knew whether there might not be a fresh popular insurrection and a new revolution within a month, a week, a day. Lord Gower had been accredited to Louis XVI. as to the person invested by the constitution with the executive power of France; but Louis was now a prisoner in the Temple, and his authority was transferred to a *provisional* executive council. His lordship's letters of credence were therefore no longer valid. For him to remain at Paris it would have been necessary to have sent him new credentials. But to whom could he be accredited? Not to the executive council, for that was only provisional and temporary, and liable to be changed every hour—not to the national assembly, for it had pronounced its own dissolution; it had ordered the election of a convention, and it had decreed not that the king was actually dethroned, but that he was only provisionally suspended from his functions until the convention should meet and decide what was to be done with him. As all authorities, or semblances of authorities (for there

was no real one except that of the armed mob), were at that time merely transitory; as there was nothing that a regular government could recognize, the most prudent and the most moderate step which England could take was to withdraw its ambassador, and wait at least till the new constitution should be determined by the convention. There was, indeed, an incessant haranguing and writing about *the nation*, which was said to be distinguishable and recognizable apart from any *government* it had adopted or might hereafter choose to adopt. But governments can only treat with governments; Lord Gower could not take the sense of the French people by *appel nominal*. In the assembly he saw one party succeeding another, and each pretending that it represented the whole nation. If he had asked the Girondins, they would have told him that *they* were the nation, and their adversaries a mere faction; if he had put the same question to the ultra-Jacobins, he would have been told that *they* were the nation, and the Girondins a faction. Every man in France foresaw that very soon these parties would make a relentless war upon one another, but as yet few persons could be certain which of the two would remain masters of the field. It was even more necessary to be neutral between these two parties than between France and the coalition. If the British government had treated with the party now in power, they would have been accused by the succeeding ruling party of having treated with a faction—of having intermeddled unwarrantably in the internal affairs of France. The recal of our ambassador was positively the best and the only means of preserving both neutralities.

No complaint was raised by the executive council of France upon the recal of Lord Gower until *after* the Duke of Brunswick had been defeated, and the French troops had commenced their career of conquest. Then murmurs were heard, then decrees intended to produce social insurrection and social war throughout the civilized world were promulgated one after the other, and then, too, more open and flattering countenance was given to those wrong-headed deputations that carried over to the foot of the national convention the congratulations of the English societies and clubs—and then, too, fresh thousands of secret agents and propagandists received their commissions to penetrate into every quarter, and to preach the rights of man and the blessings of anarchy to the poorest classes of society. Gregoire, the Jacobin priest, called these agents “missionaries,” Camille Jordan called them “apostles of rebellion,” and Chaussard, who declares that London abounded with them at the end of November and beginning of December, 1792, called them “revolution professors.” They were furnished with money for the purpose of bribing

and seducing the needy, and paying interpreters and other assistants. According to Brissot himself, the executive council was authorized to take, under the head of army extraordinaries, *unlimited sums for these secret operations*. He also intimates that a great deal of this money was sent over to London, although the greater part of it was embezzled and appropriated by the patriotic executive.¹ At this moment, too, La Fayette's cherished plan for revolutionizing Ireland was taken up with vigour; and, a month or six weeks before the convention declared war against England, Lebrun, the minister for foreign affairs, most confidently asserted that the French were quite sure of Ireland, and that a revolution must take place in England. This conviction was so strong and so universal, that no line of conduct which the British government could have adopted would have prevented their declaration of hostilities. And certainly there were some subjects of the King of Great Britain and Ireland who laboured with all their might to confirm Lebrun and his colleagues in their mistake. On the 18th of November, the very day before the convention issued its formal decree that France was prepared to assist every nation which was ready to rebel against its own government (a decree which was translated into all the languages and sent to all the countries of Europe), a grand dinner, or *fête cinquième*, was celebrated at White's Hotel in Paris. The company was composed of Englishmen, Irishmen, and Frenchmen, with some few republicans from other countries. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other men of some name and consequence in the world, sat down to table and fraternized with Santerre, Thomas Paine and other characters of the same notoriety. Among the toasts that were drunk were “The National Convention of France”—“The Patriotic Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, with those men who have contributed to inform and enlighten the people—Priestley, Fox, Sheridan, Barlow, &c.”—“the approaching National Convention of Great Britain and Ireland”—“May revolutions never be made by halves.” Eight or nine days after the publication of the decree for universal insurrection, deputies from certain British societies appeared at the bar of the national convention, and signified their intention of adopting the republican form of government now so happily established in France. “We hope,” said the orator of the first of these deputations, “that the troops of liberty will never lay down their arms so long as tyrants and slaves shall continue to exist. Our wishes, citizen legislators, render us impatient to see the moment of this *grand change*. Nor are we alone animated by these sentiments; we doubt not that they would be equally conspicuous in the great ma-

¹ Brissot à ses Commettans.

jority of our fellow-countrymen if the public opinion were consulted there, *as it ought to be*, in a national CONVENTION." In replying to this address, the president of the convention said, "Citizens of the world, royalty in Europe is either destroyed or on the point of perishing on the ruins of feudality; and the declaration of the rights of man, placed by the side of thrones, is a devouring fire which will consume them all. *Worthy republicans*, congratulate yourselves on thinking that the festival which you have celebrated in honour of the French revolution is the prelude to the festival of nations." Chauvelin and his picked and rather numerous legation, who came over to London shortly after France had declared war against Prussia and Austria, came with strange instructions, and acted in a manner altogether unbecoming and irritating. It was observed that, as soon as they arrived, they eagerly sought the acquaintance of literary men and opposition journalists. The English public, therefore, took them for revolution professors or apostles, who came to propagate their system and make proselytes and disciples. This view of their real functions is borne out by the instructions they received from their government:—"1. To embrace every opportunity of assuring the English *nation* that, notwithstanding the ill-humour of its *government*, the French desired nothing more ardently than to merit the esteem of the English *people* 2. To threaten the British *government* with an *appeal to the people*." Their reception at court was of course not very cordial. They soon seemed to shun all intercourse with ministers and the friends of ministers, and to seek exclusively the society of Fox, Sheridan, and men of that party. Nothing could well be more indecent, or contrary to the rules which regulate diplomatic intercourse, than this conduct on the part of the Frenchmen. The conduct of the English opposition would merit still harsher language; and, taken in connection with Fox's behaviour towards the Empress of Russia, it looks almost like the adoption of a settled system, that the party, besides opposing ministers by national and legal means, should resist and thwart them by foreign means, and by connections and correspondences with governments that were on the very brink of war with us. Chauvelin, before negotiations really commenced, communicated his secret instructions to an intimate friend of Mr. Fox. On one occasion he wrote to his government, "that, though he was not well with the English minister, yet he was perfectly so with Mr. Fox, and some other members of opposition; and that it would not be prudent in France to lose the fruit of his labours with these gentlemen, and their subsequent services, for any vague form of diplomatic etiquette." No government would

have allowed such a diplomacy to be continued, or such diplomatists to reside in their country.

Moreover, the extreme offence had been given and repeated: on the Malabar coast a French frigate had fired upon an English man-of-war, and the national assembly had never condescended to make any apology; and at the beginning of the present year, 1793, just as the French were sending an ambassador to the United States of America in order to engage them to join France in a war against England, the garrison of Brest made an attempt to sink a British sloop which was cruising outside the harbour; and they poured a cross-fire into her, and hoisted a blood-red flag over their tricolor. If these things had occurred when Chatham was minister, and at the height of his warlike ardour, it can scarcely be doubted that hostilities would have been proclaimed immediately by England.

There was one condition—and only that one—by which England might for the present have preserved herself from the declaration of war by the French, and that was, by concluding a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the republicans and Jacobins. That the French had the audacity to propose such a treaty is an indisputable fact, although French historians pass it over in silence. In July, 1792, Chauvelin gave Lord Grenville clearly to understand that what they required was an English armament and an effectual and decisive co-operation on our part with France against our ancient friend and ally the house of Austria, and against our present closest ally the King of Prussia! Mr. Fox and his opposition, who had made so terrible an outcry against our Russian armament, and who had defeated the object of it, could hardly have expected the government to comply with this strange request. Moreover, a naval armament against two powers who had neither ships nor ports would have been of no more use than an armament against the moon; to adopt effectual and decisive measures, England must have sent a land army to the Continent to co-operate and fraternize with the thoroughly jacobinized and sans-culottized armies of the French republic. But the whole proposition is too gross and monstrous to deserve a thought or a word, were it not that the Foxite opposition pretended that the French had never made any very unreasonable demands, and that by continuing our friendly negotiations with them, we might very well have kept out of the continental war.

Under the influence of Dumouriez it had, however, been secretly determined to amuse England a little longer with some feigned attempts at negotiation; and, on the 26th of January, M. Maret had been again sent across the Channel to ask Mr. Pitt if he would treat with General Dumouriez. On the road between Dover and London,

Maret, who evidently was not admitted into the whole secret, met Chauvelin returning to Paris, and, fancying he himself might yet be the means of preventing the war, he wrote to his employers in very pressing terms for fresh instructions, intimating that he would not request an interview with the English minister until he had received them. Maret remained eight days in London, but no instructions came for him. At the end of that time, or on the 4th of February, the declaration of war, which had been made by the convention on the 1st, was known in London, leaving nothing for Maret to do but to get back to France as quickly as possible. So much truth is there in the harangues of the parliamentary opposition and in the narratives of party writers, who asserted at the time, and continued to assert long after, that Maret had come with full powers to treat and to offer extensive concessions and securities; and so perfectly true was the declaration of Pitt in the House of Commons, that M. Maret, during his whole stay in London, had proposed to his majesty's ministers no question of state whatever.

The real motive of Dumouriez in sending Maret arose out of that general's discovery that the conquest of Holland presented more difficulties than he had contemplated; and that Miranda, whom he had ordered to begin the attack before the 22d of January, was not in a condition to move so soon. And therefore, also, it was, that on the same day on which Maret was despatched for London, De Mauld was hurried off to the Hague again with a letter from Dumouriez to Lord Auckland, the British ambassador, intimating that he (Dumouriez) would be very happy if an opportunity presented itself of conferring with his lordship on the frontiers of Holland. Lord Auckland consulted the grand pensionary, Van Spiegel, and, after some deliberation, both these ministers consented to confer with Dumouriez. Dumouriez, quitting Paris in the last days of January, before the convention issued the declaration of war, and not being informed by the Girondin ministers, who all feared and suspected him, of their fixed determination to issue that declaration on the 1st of February, went down to Dunkirk, and thence proceeded to Antwerp, examining the country and the French army on his way, and finding everything in confusion, everything in a condition that boded ill for the success of his next campaign, unless he could gain time to remedy the disorder. It was the 2d of February when he arrived at Antwerp. It was agreed that, as soon as Lord Auckland could receive his instructions from his court, conferences should be opened at Mœrdyk on board a yacht. Though they could scarcely have been blind to the real motives of Dumouriez, the British government, to avoid the reproach which

would have resulted from a refusal, immediately consented to the hollow negotiation, and authorized Lord Auckland to treat with the French general. On the other side, it was on the very day that the overture was made to Lord Auckland at the Hague by De Mauld that the French executive issued the order to lay an embargo on all British vessels in the French ports. On the receipt of his instructions from London, Lord Auckland despatched a courier to Dumouriez, who was still at Antwerp, and proposed the 10th of February for the day of holding the first conference. But now Dumouriez knew that the convention had declared war on the 1st, and this rendered further thoughts of negotiation impracticable. Two capital and evident consequences attended this manœuvre of the French Proteus and its failure: the one was, that it showed a willingness on the part of the English government to negotiate even down to the last moment; the other, which followed on the failure of the scheme for delay, was a series of failures and defeats on the side of Dumouriez, who, instead of taking Holland in the ensuing campaign, lost nearly the whole of Belgium, and saw the war carried once more to the frontiers of France.

If, in England, there was a small minority desirous of continuing friendly relations with the revolutionists, there was no party or section of a party in France willing to continue in friendship with England. The declaration of war was the unanimous vote of the national convention. Although the decree was drawn up by the hated Girondists, and presented by Brissot, the personal and deadly enemy of Robespierre and Danton, both those Jacobin chiefs and all the Mountain enthusiastically concurred in it; not a man of any party opposed it, not a single man in the house offered a remonstrance or amendment, or so much as a remark on the decree—all cried impatiently, "Vote! vote!" and it was put to the vote and carried instantly, with a unanimity which had hardly ever been seen before on any subject, and which was never seen again in that assembly. When it was carried, they voted an address or appeal to the *people* of Great Britain, and the creation of assignats for 800,000,000 livres.

Such are a few, and only a few, of the particulars of the diplomacy which preceded the breaking out of this most memorable of wars; and the reader may judge from them whether it was possible for England to have kept out of the contest, or to have treated with a set of anarchists who were determined upon the war from the beginning. But neither these facts (and there were others quite as decisive), nor the strongly pronounced sense of the vast majority of the nation, could prevent the Foxites from moving resolutions against our taking up arms. These resolu-

tions were negatived by parliamentary majorities of more than six to one, or were negatived without a division. A bill was passed for preventing traitorous correspondence with the enemy. A number of petitions for parliamentary reform were quashed in the commons, and a drag was for some time put upon Mr. Wilberforce's project for emancipating the negro slaves. A bill to relieve the Roman Catholics of Scotland was passed without the slightest opposition.

Burke had strenuously recommended that the war should be prosecuted with all the vigour of which the country was capable; but here the great statesman was never properly listened to. To those who deplored the interruption of our commerce with the French, Burke replied, "We ought not to enable France to carry on war out of resources drawn from the bowels of Great Britain. We must not allow Englishmen to fight against their own country, and make contracts to its ruin!" "Let us not," said he, "sacrifice everything—the

love of our country, our honour, our virtue, our religion, our security—to mere trade and traffic: let us not estimate these high things by the scale of pecuniary or commercial reckoning. The nation that goes on that calculation destroys itself!"

On the 6th of March some lamentable evidence was given of the weak and ineffectual manner in which ministers intended to begin the great struggle on the Continent. Pitt acquainted the house, in the form of a royal message, that his majesty had engaged a body of Hanoverian troops to assist his allies the States-general; and on the 11th, the house being formed into a committee of supply, the minister made a statement of ways and means, making it appear that a loan of £4,500,000 and an issue of £4,000,000 of exchequer bills, would, in addition to the ordinary revenue, carry him through the year. Resolutions were passed for the loan and for the exchequer bills.

The king prorogued parliament on the 21st June, with a hopeful and confident speech.¹

CHAPTER XXXV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1793

GEORGE III.

Dumouriez continues his military operations—His success in Holland—He is brought to a stand at Williamstadt—Successes of the Austrians and Prussians over the French in the Netherlands—Dumouriez defeated by the imperialists at Neerwinden—He resolves to attempt a counter-revolution in France—His declarations and menaces against the convention—Deputies sent from the convention to arrest him—He arrests the deputies—His proclamation to the army and France—He and his confederates escape to the Austrians—He is succeeded in command by Dampierre—The Duke of York lands with an English army at Ostend—They join the allied army—They defeat Dampierre at Valenciennes—Valenciennes and Condé taken by the allies—Slow operations of the allied powers against France—Their dilatoriness occasioned by their selfish designs on Poland—The King of Prussia sends troops to Great Poland—His tyrannical proclamation to the Poles—His proceedings seconded by Austria and Russia—Proceedings of a fresh partition of Poland—The allied powers occupy the country with their armies—Their limited military contributions to the war against France—Mayence taken by the Prussians—Want of concert and promptitude among the allied armies—Military operations of the Duke of York—His retreat from Dunkirk—Success of the allied Prussian and Austrian army on the Rhine—They are driven back from Strasburg by the French—Successes of the French under General Hoche—Disensions between the Austrian and Prussian armies—The convention declares war against Spain—Chief events of the war—Defeats of the French royalists of the south—Toulon held for Louis XVII.—It is reinforced by England and the confederate powers—Siege of Toulon by the republicans—Bonaparte appears at the siege—He directs the operations—The English evacuate Toulon—They destroy the shipping, magazines, &c., at their departure—Vengeance inflicted by the republican army on the Toulonese—Timid neutrality of the Italian states—Contests in the convention between the parties of the Gironde and Mountain—Their leaders, resources, and proceedings—Plot of the Gironde to expel the Jacobins—Their plot detected and defeated—The Girondins proscribed and obliged to flee—Miserable end of their leaders—Execution of Queen Marie Antoinette—Execution of the Duke of Orleans—Execution of Madame Roland—Wholesale executions by the guillotine—Popularity of these exhibitions—Atheistic decree of the French convention—Their republican calendar—New division of months and weeks—Abolition of religious worship—Atheistical proceedings of Fouché and Anacharsis Clootz.



WE pass to the seat of war. On the 17th of February, Dumouriez moved from Antwerp, and attacked the Dutch town of Breda, which capitulated immediately. On the 26th, Klundert surrendered upon summons; and on the 4th

of March, Gertruydenburg capitulated, after a short and slight bombardment. The Dutch garrisons behaved in a manner which proved that they were disaffected, or infected by the new

¹ Horace Walpole, writing from Strawberry Hill to the Hon. H. S. Conway, July 17th, 1793, gives a striking picture of the condition of England at that time:—"It is much cooler to-day,

doctrines of the rights of man, and the proselytism of their countrymen of the Batavian legion. They made little more than a show of resistance; and, after capitulating, a great many of them joined the French or the Batavian legion. Dumouriez's plan was to penetrate rapidly into the heart of the United Provinces, where he expected to be joined by Miranda, his second in command, whom he had sent to the right to reduce the important town of Maestricht, on the Maes or Meuse. Without counting his Dutch partizans, he had between 20,000 and 30,000 men; but his army was badly provided, because all parties in the convention suspected him, and because the republican commissaries sent to supply clothes, provisions, &c., were the greatest and most barefaced thieves that had been seen in modern days. The shifty Dumouriez might, however, have made up all these and other deficiencies in the country if he had been allowed to advance; but at the fortress of Williamstadt, which commanded the passage of an arm of the sea called Bies Bosch, he was brought to a pause. Williamstadt was occupied by a brave old Dutch general, Count Botzlaer, with some Dutch troops that were not jacobinized, and by a strong detachment of the English guards, who had just arrived. Moreover, there was a small squadron of gun-boats on the Bies Bosch, which had been fitted out by Lord Auckland at the expense of Great Britain; and this flotilla, manned by British seamen taken from our merchant ships in the Dutch ports, and ably commanded by Captain Berkeley, not only presented a formidable obstacle to the passage of that water, but greatly annoyed Dumouriez's troops as they prepared for the siege of Williamstadt. While Dumouriez was thus brought to a stand on the wrong side of the Bies Bosch, Miranda, who was at Maestricht, and Miazinski, who was at Aix-la-Chapelle to defend the passage of the river Roer and cover Liège, were both defeated and compelled to give ground. On the last day of February the reinforced Austrian army, commanded by General Clairfait, passed the Roer under cover of night, attacked Miazinski by surprise, and defeated him. On the following day the Archduke Albert, with a portion of the Austrian army, carried several French batteries. On the 6th of March the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, with the Austrian van, gained a complete victory over Miazinski's main body in

front of Aix-la-Chapelle, drove the French entirely out of that town, and followed them almost to Liège, inflicting on them a loss estimated at 4000 killed and wounded and 1000 prisoners, and taking from them twenty pieces of cannon. And on the same day Prince Frederick of Brunswick, with a detachment of the Prussian army, gained some important advantages near Roermond. Miranda had invested Maestricht, and had commenced a pitiless bombardment, for the French, who had made such an outcry against the Austrian bombardment of Lisle, never hesitated at having recourse to that destructive operation of war whenever they thought it suited their purpose. But the repeated defeats of Miazinski now compelled Miranda to retreat precipitately from Maestricht, to abandon a good part of his artillery and baggage, to recross the Meuse, and to seek shelter, and a junction with the scattered troops of Miazinski, in the heart of Belgium. The archduke reinforced Maestricht, crossed the Meuse, and followed Miranda as far as Tongres, where he obtained another advantage. Dumouriez now returned from Holland into Belgium, and placing himself at the head of the French army there, he on the 18th of March attacked the imperialists at Neerwinden. The battle, which lasted from morning till night, ended in the entire defeat of the French. About 10,000 republicans deserted the army, and scarcely paused in their flight until they had got on the other side of the French frontier, where they spread a fresh panic, which as usual led to fresh atrocities at Paris. Dumouriez soon fell back as far as Tournai, and thus the Austrian Netherlands were recovered as rapidly as they had been lost. Being menaced by the Jacobins, and disgusted with the incompetent Girondins, he now formed a design of marching to Paris to effect a counter-revolution, and he secretly entered into negotiations with the Austrian generals. It is conjectured that Dumouriez proposed setting young Egalité, or Duke of Chartres (the late Louis Philippe), on the constitutional throne of France, and re-establishing, with some modifications, the constitution of 1791. The young prince of the Orleans branch was with him, and had bravely fought under his eye at Neerwinden. To some Jacobin emissaries who came to his camp, Dumouriez somewhat prematurely declared that neither their horrible club nor the national con-

but still delicious; for be it known to you that I have enjoyed weather worthy of Africa, and yet without swallowing mouthfuls of mosquitoes, nor expecting to hear hyenas howl in the village, nor to find scorpions in my bed. Indeed, all the way I came home, I could but gaze at the felicity of my countrymen. The road was one string of stage-coaches, loaded within and without with noisy, jolly folks, and chaises and gigs that had been pleasuring in clouds of dust; every door and every window of every house was open, lights in every shop, every door with women sitting in the street, every inn crowded with jaded

horses and every ale house full of drunken toppers, for you know the English always announce their sense of heat or cold by drinking. Well! it was impossible not to enjoy such a scene of happiness and affluence in every village, and amongst the lowest of the people, who are told by villainous scribblers that they are oppressed and miserable. New streets, new towns are rising every day and everywhere; the earth is covered with gardens and crops of grain. How bitter to turn from this Elysium to the Temple at Paris!—See *Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, vol. iii p. 460.

vention could be tolerated any longer. "The convention," said he, "is composed of 200 brigands and 500 fools! As long as I have three inches of steel at my side, I will never suffer it to reign, to shed blood by means of the revolutionary tribunal they have just established! As for your republic, I only believed in it for three days. Ever since the battle of Jemappe I have regretted every advantage I have gained in the field for so bad a cause! As for your Jacobins, if they wish to expiate all their crimes, let them save the unfortunate prisoners in the Temple, and drive out the 749 tyrants of the convention, and they shall be pardoned." The emissaries spoke of his own personal risk and danger, and of the terrible fate which might befall him in case of any failure. "Oh," said Dumouriez, "I shall always have time enough to gallop over to the Austrians." "But, how! will you flee to be thrown into a dungeon, like La Fayette?" "I shall go over to the enemy in a very different manner from that of La Fayette," quoth Dumouriez; "and, besides, the foreign powers have a very different opinion of my talents, and cannot reproach me, as they do him, with having had part in the 5th and 6th of October at Versailles." The general's proceedings and intentions were soon revealed to the convention, who sent off four of their members. The archivist Camus, Quinette, Lamarque, and Bancal arrived, together with Beurnonville, the new minister at war, to arrest Dumouriez and to bring him to their bar. These deputies were in camp on the evening of the 2d of April. Archivist Camus began in his prim starch manner, to read the decree of the convention; and the other commissioners united in the solemn lie that no harm was meant in calling him to the bar. Dumouriez replied that the tigers of Paris were yelling for his head, but should not have it. The ultra-republican deputies endeavoured to represent to him, by force of old Roman examples, that it was his duty to submit to the republic. "Gentlemen," replied Dumouriez, "we are constantly committing mistakes in our quotations from the classics; we parody and disfigure Roman history in citing their virtues to excuse our crimes. We are plunged in anarchy; we are wading in blood!" "Citizen general," said Camus, "will you obey the decree of the national convention, or not?" "Not exactly at this moment." "*Eh bien!*" rejoined the archivist; "I declare in the name of the convention that you are no longer general of this army; and I order that your papers be seized and that you be arrested!" "*Ceci est trop fort—this is rather too strong,*" cried Dumouriez: "halloo, hussars!" (*hussards à moi!*) The Berchigny men, who were nearly all Germans, trooped in with ringing spurs and rattling sabres. The

general said a few words to them in the German language, the French of which would be, "*Arrêtez ces gens-là, mais qu'on ne leur fasse aucun mal,*" and the plain English, "Arrest these people, but do not hurt them." The hussars surrounded the deputies. War-minister Beurnonville begged to share their fate. "Be it so," said Dumouriez; "and I believe that, in packing you off with the deputies, I shall render you a great service, and snatch you from the revolutionary tribunal." As they had been travelling all day, and might be hungry, he ordered some supper to be served up for them; and when that was over, the four deputies and the war minister were put into two chaises, and whisked away to Tournai as fast as the post-horses and the horses of a detachment of the Berchigny hussars could go. On the route Beurnonville made an attempt to escape, for which one of the rude Germans cut him over the pate. The Prince of Saxe-Coburg passed them on to Maestricht, and they were kept as hostages in different Austrian fortresses till the end of November, 1795, when they were exchanged for the princess royal, the only survivor of the captives in the Temple. During the night Dumouriez drew up a proclamation to his army and to all France. With some eloquence and effect—for he was a good penman—he recalled his past services—his exploits at Argonne, which had obtained for him the name of "The Saviour of France," his ever-memorable battle of Jemappe, and his rapid conquest of all Belgium. He attributed his reverses to the enmity of Marat and the Jacobins, who had devoted him and all honourable men to destruction. He drew a frightful picture—but not less true than frightful—of the prevailing sanguinary anarchy; and he called upon all Frenchmen to rise and rally round him and the monarchical constitution of 1791. On the following morning the army were informed of all that had happened; they expressed no dissatisfaction; the troops of the line seemed steady and devoted to Dumouriez, as did also the artillery. At an early hour on the 4th of April the general with the Duke of Chartres and the staff mounted their horses to keep an appointment with the Archduke Charles, the Prince of Saxe-Coburg, and Colonel Mack—afterwards the hero of Ulm. The party had not gone far when they met two battalions of volunteers, who shouted "Treachery, treachery!" "Arrest these traitors!" and anon these cries were mingled with a crash of musketry. Quitting the highroad, Dumouriez and his companions struck right across the country, and over hedge and ditch, as if they had been riding a steeple-chase. They rode nearly the whole day through a rough swampy country, where their horses frequently sank to the saddle-girths; some of the horses were abandoned, some

of the servants were killed; but, some on foot, and some mounted, and all covered with mud from the tip of the spur to the top of the feather, General Dumouriez, the Duke of Chartres, his brother the Duke of Montpensier, and all the rest of the officers, reached an Austrian position in safety as the sun was setting. Nothing daunted by the narrow risk he had run, and believing that his regular troops would still stand by him, Dumouriez, with the Duke of Chartres and the staff officers, and with an escort of only fifty Austrian horse, returned towards his own camp on the very next morning. But, quick as he was, he came too late—the Jacobin emissaries had been quicker than he. Some of these emissaries from Valenciennes had assured his troops that he was killed or drowned; and during the night the artillery had risen upon their officers and had marched off with all their guns, ammunition, and baggage for Valenciennes, and the troops of the line had followed or were following their example. Dumouriez turned towards the headquarters of the imperialists, and, with the Duke of Chartres and his brother the Duke of Montpensier, Colonel Thouvenot, and the rest of his numerous staff, he rode away from St. Amand. The entire regiment of Berchigny, 1500 strong, and some fragments of some French regiments, followed him and the sons of Orleans; but these were all; the rest, taking care to secure the military chest (said to contain 2,000,000 livres), joined General Dampierre, who had been appointed by the convention to the command of the army, and who established his head-quarters in Valenciennes.

The fugitives who would not serve with the Austrians received friendly passports, and were allowed to go wherever they chose. The Duke of Chartres, who performed a good part of the journey on foot, went into Switzerland, where he arrived with hardly any worldly property except the clothes on his back and the good stout stick in his hand. As for Dumouriez, after a long and restless life of exile on various parts of the Continent, chiefly spent in military and political plans that came to nothing, and writing memoirs and pamphlets that are now forgot, he died in England in 1823, at the age of eighty-five. General Dampierre, who had succeeded to the command of the republican forces, threw himself into the fortified camp of Famars, which covered Valenciennes. The Duke of York having landed at Ostend with a small English army, it was resolved to make a vigorous attack along all that part of the French frontier, and to reduce Valenciennes and Condé (if not Lisle also) at any price; and to this end General Clairfait, who—not without jealousies and dissensions—held the supreme command of the armies of the coalition, where

Austrians and Prussians, English and Dutch, were mixed without being amalgamated, reinforced Saxe-Coburg, who was commanding at Condé, and advanced towards Valenciennes. On the 8th of May Dampierre issued from his camp and made an attack on the allies; his volunteers soon fell into confusion, his best troops were beaten at all points; he was driven back to his camp with terrible loss, and a cannon-ball carried off his leg. Dampierre died the next day under the hands of his surgeons, thus escaping the guillotine, which the Parisians kept in permanence for all unsuccessful commanders. The Duke of York displayed much personal bravery, and the success of the battle was materially promoted by the British troops. On the 23d of May the camp of Famars was attacked and carried by the allies; and Valenciennes being thereby laid open, the siege of that town was committed to the Duke of York, who reduced it by a bombardment on the 28th of July. Condé surrendered to the Austrians a few days earlier. Many circumstances, besides the old Austrian slowness, contributed to retard operations. The King of Prussia, who had undertaken to open in person the campaign on the Rhine, to drive in Custine, and to invade France by the valley of the Moselle, was slow in coming; and when he came, he did not bring with him anything like the number of troops he had promised, having found it necessary to send a considerable part of his army into Poland to secure the territory which he had so unjustly seized in that country.

And here it will be proper to mention a few facts connected with that dark transaction, which, in many ways, acted as a spell and curse upon the coalition. At the beginning of the year, when all minds were occupied about the French revolution, Frederick William sent some Prussian troops into Great Poland, and seized upon Thorn and Dantzic, justifying his proceedings in a manifesto which declared that the Poles had behaved very ungratefully to his ally the Empress of Russia; that they had disquieted his own dominions by repeated excesses and violations of territory; that they had imbibed the French democracy, and the principles of that detestable faction who were seeking to make proselytes everywhere, and who had already been so well received in Poland; that the enterprises of the Jacobin emissaries were not only most powerfully seconded, but even revolution societies were established that made an open profession of Jacobin principles. "His majesty," continued the memorable manifesto, "being necessitated, in common with the allied courts, to continue the war (*against France*), and being on the eve of opening a campaign, thought it proper to concert measures with the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg; and their

imperial majesties could not forbear owning that, from sound policy, it could not be allowed that the factions should be suffered to have their way in Poland, and expose his majesty to the danger of having an enemy in the rear, whose violent and wild enterprises might become a source of fresh troubles." The miserable Polish diet or confederation assembled at Grodno, issued on the 3d of February a long and solemn protest against the Prussian invasion; but this was nearly all they could do. On the 14th of February the Emperor Francis put forth a declaration importing that, inspired by the love of peace and good neighbourhood, he would not interfere with the plans of the King of Prussia and the Empress of Russia, or permit any of his subjects to counteract them. The Poles at Grodno appealed to the generosity and magnanimity of Catherine, whose army occupied all the country that was not in the hands of the Prussians or overawed by Austrian troops in Galicia; and Catherine answered their appeal in the month of March by an ukase, in which she declared that thirty years' experience had proved that all her generous efforts to put an end to the innumerable quarrels and the eternal disputes which tore the Polish republic had all been thrown away; that, latterly, some unworthy Poles, enemies to their country, had been sent to the ungodly rebels in the kingdom of France, to request their assistance in involving their country also in bloody civil wars; and, finally, that for these and other considerations she had been pleased now to take under her sway, and unite for ever to her empire, certain specified parts of Poland, with all their inhabitants, who, from the highest to the lowest, within one month, were to take the oath of allegiance to her before witnesses whom she would appoint. On the 25th of March his Prussian majesty put forth another manifesto, in which, speaking more plainly than he had done before, he told the Poles that, in conjunction with her majesty the Empress of Russia, and with the *assent* of his majesty the Emperor of Germany, he had resolved to take possession of certain districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Dantzic and Thorn, for the purpose of incorporating them with his own states. Frederick William also called upon the Poles dwelling in the said cities, and within the line of demarcation he had drawn, to take the oath of allegiance to him, or abide the consequences; but (in this more delicate than Catherine) he did not command them or their priests to pray to God for him and his line. This was followed, on the 29th of March (old style), or the 9th of April (new style), by a Russian declaration from De Sievers, Catherine's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, who was residing at Grodno. In this public document fresh vials of wrath were poured

upon the constitution of May, 1791, and upon the secret machinations which had followed the victories of the Russians and the overthrow of that constitution. De Sievers finished his declaration by inviting the Poles to assemble, as soon as possible, in a special diet, to agree to an amicable arrangement, and to concur with the salutary intentions of Russia and Prussia. The general confederation, including and mainly consisting of the same Polish magnates who had invited the Russians into Poland to overthrow the constitution of 1791, expressed, in a note to De Sievers, their astonishment and dismay at these propositions for a fresh partition of their country. King Poniatowski, after in vain petitioning Catherine, and offering to abdicate the throne, was compelled to assemble a sort of diet; and this diet, though not without coercion and violence, the threat of exile in Siberia, and the actual arrest of some of its members by Russian soldiery, was compelled to ratify a fresh partition which made over to Russia a territory containing a population of more than 3,500,000, and to Prussia a territory containing nearly 1,500,000 of inhabitants, together with the navigation of the Vistula, and the port of Dantzic on the Baltic, which she had so long coveted. The leavings were secured to Poniatowski, but he was bound to govern according to the old crazy constitution; and, to keep him in the right path, a strong Russian garrison was fixed permanently at Warsaw, and the Russian ambassador gave the law in all things. Prussia was obliged to employ a large part of her army in garrisoning Dantzic and Thorn, and in keeping down insurrection in Great Poland; and Austria was obliged to keep one large force in Galicia, and another on the Turkish frontier, as, in case of any renewed attempts on the part of the Poles to recover their independence, they would be sure to attempt an insurrection in Galicia (which was their country until the time of the first dismemberment), and to try to bring their old allies the Turks into the war.

In consequence of these transactions, which were not terminated when he took the field, but which continued to distract his attention all through the campaign, it was the month of April before the King of Prussia crossed the Rhine and invested Mayence; and then he only brought with him some 50,000 men, including Saxons, Hessians, and Bavarians, who served under their own princes. Even when joined by 15,000 or 20,000 Austrians under Wurmser, and by 5000 or 6000 French emigrants under the Prince of Condé, his force was insufficient for the work he had undertaken to do; for in their fortresses alone the French had between 40,000 and 50,000 men, while their army on the Rhine was at least 50,000 strong, and their army on the Moselle

more than 30,000; and garrisons and armies had it in their power to draw continual reinforcements from the interior of France—that vast fermenting camp. Moreover, the French had 20,000 men within the walls of Mayence when his majesty of Prussia and Wurmser began to invest it in the old formal and slow manner.

In the month of May, Custine, who had put himself at the head of the troops in the field, made an attempt to raise the siege, and was routed with great loss; but still the immense garrison held out, and it was not until the 22d of July that Mayence surrendered to the King of Prussia, who, though the French were actually starving, and must soon have surrendered at discretion, allowed them to march out with the honours of war; and these 20,000 men, marching away into the Vendée, contributed very materially to the internal success of the republicans. If, instead of wasting their time, and exhausting the strength and spirit of their troops, in long blockades and sieges, *all* the allies—Austrians, Prussians, English, Spaniards, and Sardinians—had advanced boldly and simultaneously from the Belgian frontier, from the Rhine, from the Pyrenees, from Savoy, and from Nice, right into the heart of France, while the insurrection in the Vendée in the west, insurrections in Languedoc and Provence, and all through the south, and other troubles, were at their height, they might possibly have all met at Paris; but this bold way of making war had not yet been invented; it was still considered necessary that an army should leave no great fortresses in its rear in the hands of the enemy; and thus, before they had finished their sieges, the Vendéans were checked, the other insurgents were scattered, and an improved organization was introduced into the armies of the republic. Most of the allied powers, too, had their separate views, and were seeking how they could best turn the war to their own immediate advantage; and, even without this conflict of selfishness, there must have been a divergency of opinion and a want of proper concert among so many princes, chiefs, and generals, some of whom were separated from each other by the whole length or breadth of France, and with none but tedious or uncertain communications with one another.

In the month of August, the Duke of York had to march back to Menin, to the relief of the hereditary Prince of Orange, who was enveloped by a superior French force, and whose Dutch troops showed little stomach for fighting. Three battalions, headed by General Lake, liberated the prince, and afterwards drove the French from a strong redoubt they had thrown up at the village of Lincelles. The Duke of York then moved towards Dunkirk, and began, at the end of Au-

gust, to lay regular siege to that place. Badly seconded, or not seconded at all, by the Dutch under the Prince of Orange, who remained posted at Menin at the distance of three days' march—badly aided by Marshal Freytag, who ought to have been close at hand at Furnes, but who preferred keeping at a distance—disappointed in the arrival of an English squadron—harassed by a French flotilla of gun-boats and small vessels that came out from Dunkirk—vigorously opposed by a strong garrison under Souham and young Hoche—and threatened by a force more numerous than his own, which was manœuvring round him under Houchard—the Duke of York, after some sharp skirmishing, found himself compelled to raise the siege on the 7th of September. In the meantime the Prince of Coburg defeated a strong body of republicans near Landrecies; and, in consequence of this victory, Quesnoy surrendered to him on the 11th of September. On the same day Houchard fell upon the Dutch at Menin, and, after two days' skirmishing, drove them from their positions; but on the 15th the Austrian general Beaulieu fell upon Houchard between Menin and Courtrai, and defeated him with the greatest ease; for, at the unexpected apparition of a small corps of cavalry on one of their wings, the *sans-culottes* set up the cry of "*Sauve qui peut*," ran from the field, and never stopped until they got under the walls and guns of Lisle. Houchard was presently recalled to Paris to be guillotined.

By this time the French, who had put in requisition every species of vehicle in order to forward with more speed the regular troops they collected from various quarters, and from their garrisons which seemed safe from attack, had formed an immense overwhelming force on the Belgian frontier. Shortly after the retreat of the Duke of York from Dunkirk, the French attacked every post on that long frontier line, but, in spite of their numbers, they were everywhere repulsed. On the 15th and 16th of October the republicans were more successful. General Jourdan, who had gradually collected an immense force in a fortified camp close to Maubeuge, sallied out against Coburg, who had been watching the camp, attacked him with great spirit, and, after two days' manœuvring and fighting, induced him to recross the river Sambre. The Duke of York, who had come up by forced marches to assist Coburg, was indignant at this retreat, and declared it to be unnecessary. The arrival at Ostend of a considerable English armament, under the command of Sir Charles Grey, enabled the allies to stop and head back the republican torrent, and to preserve the Low Countries during the rest of the year.

Having taken Mayence, and permitted the

20,000 republicans to march off for La Vendée, and having gained some trifling advantages in skirmishes on the Rhine, the King of Prussia quitted his army, and travelled with all speed into Poland, to look after his acquisitions in that country, and to patch up some differences and jealousies which had broken out between him and the Emperor of Germany. He left the command of his army on the Rhine to the Duke of Brunswick, who was to act in concert with the small Austrian army under Wurmser. These two generals, with some slow, cautious, but well-combined movements, drove the republicans from several strong posts, and about the middle of October expelled them from their fortified lines at Weissenburg, their great bulwark in that direction, and also from the fortified camp and triple lines at Lauter. The Prussians then laid siege to Landau; and the Austrians, invited by the noblesse and no inconsiderable part of the people of Alsace, which had once belonged to the imperial house, and which still was more like a part of Germany than a part of France, invested Strasburg, the capital of that province. The convention, who always sent a pair of their most daring and desperate members to every point where the danger seemed to be great, despatched St. Just and Lebas to Strasburg; and these two worthies introduced the reign of terror into the town, and into the whole of Alsace, except only the narrow slips of it that were covered by Wurmser's arms. It was a facetious saying of Lebas, that, with a little guillotine and a great deal of terror, the republicans might do everything. Custine was wanted at Paris to be beheaded. St. Just called young Hoche from Dunkirk, and gave him the command of that army, which was now reinforced by nearly the whole of the army of the Moselle, which had done little, and hitherto suffered nothing, in this campaign. Wurmser was obliged to retreat before these overwhelming numbers, and Strasburg was left to the sans-culottes, the two commissioners of the convention, and the guillotine. Hoche made a bold attempt to get between Wurmser and Brunswick, but the commander of the Prussian army was on the alert; the ground was difficult and unfavourable to the French; and Hoche, after skirmishing and fighting all the three last days of November, was repulsed, beaten, put to flight, with the loss of 3000 or 4000 men, and with scarcely any loss to the Duke of Brunswick. The republican general then effected a junction with all that was left of the troops that Lebas and St. Just had collected in Alsace; and, crossing the heights of the Vosges, and taking Wurmser by surprise, and then outflanking him with his vast superiority of numbers, he defeated the Austrians, made many prisoners, and took a considerable portion

of Wurmser's artillery. Besides their numerical superiority, the French had the incalculable advantage of being animated by one spirit and guided by one will; but many recent circumstances had revived the inveterate national animosities between the Austrians and Prussians, who now rarely met except to quarrel, and who, when separate, seemed to care little about acting in concert or aiding one another. Those who suffered most by Wurmser's retreat were his unfortunate Alsacian partizans. On the 26th of December, Hoche, aided by Desaix, Pichegru, and Michaud, made a tremendous attack upon the lines of Weissenburg, and was on the point of driving the Austrians from those lines when the Duke of Brunswick arrived in force, beat back the French, and kept them at bay for the remainder of that day. On the morrow Wurmser withdrew his army in good order, and the French obtained repossession of their old bulwark. The Prussians, who had now raised their siege of Landau, wished the Austrians to remain on the left bank of the Rhine until all the Duke of Brunswick's artillery and stores should be well advanced on the road towards Mayence; but the Austrians would not consent to stay a single day, and they crossed the Rhine on the 28th, leaving the Duke of Brunswick to shift for himself. The duke got his army safely into Mayence, but soon afterwards resigned the command of it, with many bitter accusations against the Austrians, to which Wurmser and some of his friends replied with counter-accusations and reproaches just as bitter. By the end of the year the French had not only recovered their old frontier lines in this direction, but they had also the whole of the Palatinate at their mercy. It was in the Palatinate that Hoche chose his short winter-quarters.

The convention had issued a declaration of war against Spain on the 4th of March. The Spanish government was not in a condition to set on foot a very large land army; but the troops she had brought into the field acted for some time with considerable spirit and intelligence. Instead of waiting to be invaded, the Spaniards set their foot on French territory, and soundly beat the republican general Deflers in his fortified camp, about the middle of May. They then advanced upon Perpignan, taking several fortresses; but Deflers, being greatly reinforced, gained a victory on the 17th July, and obliged the Spaniards to abandon their conquests and retire towards the frontiers of Catalonia, just as the great royalist insurrection of the south of France broke out, and just as the British and Spanish fleets obtained possession of Toulon. At the other extremity of the Pyrenees the Spaniards made a good beginning, and gave for many months em-

ployment to one of the numerous corps d'armées of the republic.

While La Vendée, in the west, from end to end, continued in a blaze, the hot royalists of the south armed and confederated. Lyons, Marseilles,



and Toulon were at the head of this formidable confederation. The republican general Cartaux defeated the Marseillaise royalists in a hollow on the road between Aix and Marseilles; the sans-culottes of Marseilles fell upon their fleeing townsmen, and opened the gates of their town to the republicans and the commissioners of the convention, who came to make the guillotine permanent. From Marseilles to Toulon was no very long march; and the Toulonese were warned by the fugitives from the former city of the terrible fate which must befall them if Cartaux should pay them a visit and find them undecided and unprepared. There was no time to be lost; and on the 29th of August these royalists concluded a treaty, which they had begun some time before, with Admiral Lord Hood, who agreed that the town should be held by the English for Louis XVII., and that the ships and forts should be restored

at the conclusion of peace. Lord Hood had scarcely landed 1500 men, under the command of Captain Elphinstone, when General Cartaux arrived with his victorious army from Marseilles, and cantoned in the villages and bastides round about, calling upon all the four corners of France for reinforcements, and upon every patriot in it for aid and assistance. Kellermann detached Lapoype to his assistance with 4000 or 5000 men; and volunteers and other corps gradually collected. On the other side, Lord Hood, sensible that the most desperate efforts would be made to recover the place, and that his sailors and the French royalists would be unequal to its defence, applied in all directions for troops and other reinforcements; and, with rather unusual activity, our allies in the Mediterranean sent ships and troops to Toulon. The Spanish admiral Langara, who was nearest at hand, took on board 3000 men of the army of Roussillon, came up with his fleet, and joined Hood. The Bourbon King of Naples, whose wife, Caroline of Austria, was sister to Marie Antoinette (now no more), had declared war against the French republicans, and at the first summons he sent down his small fleet and some land troops to co-operate. The King of Sardinia sent another detachment, and 5000 men were promised from the Austrian army in Lombardy; only these last never arrived. In several sorties made by the English and a few Spaniards, the republicans were well beaten; but sans-culotte reinforcements poured in from all quarters, and Cartaux was succeeded by Dugommier, a much abler man. Moreover, Dugommier brought with him from Nice, where he had been serving during the summer, a little Corsican, a young officer of artillery, who was worth more



TOULON HARBOUR, from the Inner Road - From an original drawing.

than many thousand men. This was Napoleon Bonaparte, who displayed an activity, and, above all, an intelligence and a quickness which commanded attention. At first he had been received

almost with insolence by Cartaux and Doppet; but Dugommier, a veteran soldier, had a better sense of his merits, and he was strongly supported by the Jacobin commissioners of the con-



SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH — From a print, after Sir R. K. Porter

vention, one of whom was the brother of the then all-powerful Robespierre, with whose party the young officer had recently identified himself by writing and publishing a political pamphlet, entitled, *The Supper of Beaucaire*. Under such patronage he got the command of the whole besieging artillery, amounting to 200 or more pieces; and he was pretty certain that in the councils of war, which were now frequently called, any opinion he might emit would be listened to, at least, with respect. Batteries were erected to sweep the harbour and the roadstead; and from 30,000 to 40,000 men were now collected round Toulon. Our expected succours had arrived from Gibraltar, but they consisted merely of two foot regiments and a few artillerymen, under the command of General O'Hara, who took the command of the place and of all the land troops of the allies, which did not even now exceed 11,000 men, counting all nations and including some corps that had nothing of the soldier but the name. To keep all that wide range of hills (some of which commanded the two harbours and the fleets in them as well as the town) would have required, at the very least, 30,000 troops of the best quality. Some of the Neapolitans behaved very badly; yet the French never made an advance without sustaining great loss. On the 30th of November, General O'Hara was wounded and taken prisoner in a sortie, in the course of which Bonaparte received a bayonet wound, and was carried off the field fainting. On the 17th of December, Lord Hood called a council of war. It was readily agreed that Toulon and both its ports should be evacuated as quickly as possible; that such of

the French ships as were rigged and fit for sea should be carried off, and that all the rest, on the stocks or in the dock, should be destroyed; that all possible exertions should be made for carrying off the other French royalists. On the morning of the 18th, the sick and wounded and the British field artillery were sent off; and in the course of that night nearly all the troops were embarked on board the fleet, which had come to anchor in the outer harbour. Then, at a given signal, commenced one of the most terrible scenes that even war has ever presented: then Sir Sidney Smith—who had recently arrived at Toulon, and who had volunteered to conduct the perilous operations of blowing up and destroying all the French ships of war which could not be removed, the powder-magazines, the stores, and arsenal—set to work, having previously made some hurried preparations. Then followed a series of terrific explosions, each resembling the eruption of a volcano. Unhurt, Sir Sidney and his exhausted men joined, in the outer road, Admiral Lord Hood, who embarked all the English forces without the loss of a man. The fleet remained for some time in the roadstead, all eyes on board fixed on the mighty conflagration; and then they steered for the Hesperides of France, the beautiful islands of Hyères, which, lying close under the coast of Provence, and covered with groves of orange, and citron, and myrtle, look like a piece of Italy dropped there by mistake.

The English had destroyed one ship of eighty-four guns, one of seventy-six guns, seven of seventy-four guns, and two of twenty-four guns; and they brought away with them more vessels than they burned—one immense ship of 120 guns, two of seventy-four guns, one of forty guns, four frigates, and seven corvettes, brigs, &c., following Lord Hood to Hyères. The Spaniards brought away one vessel of eighteen guns, the Sardinians one of thirty-two guns, and the Neapolitans one of twenty guns. Yet the whole blow at the French navy was not so decisive as had been expected; fourteen sail of the line and five frigates escaped destruction, or were only so partially destroyed that it was found possible to repair them afterwards. Nearly 15,000 men, women, and children, inhabitants of the town, or royalists from other parts of the south, who had taken refuge in it as the last asylum they had in France, were carried safely away by the allied fleets. It appears that hardly any were left behind who had committed themselves by counter-revolutionary deeds, or by correspondence and connection with Lord Hood and his allies; but what M. Thiers styles "the revolutionary vengeance" would not submit to be disappointed of its prey and its victims. Upon the first entrance of the republicans into the half-ruined town they mas-

sacred every one they met, not excepting even some 200 or 300 Jacobins who went to meet and welcome them. The released *galériens*, whose exertions in saving the shipping had converted them from felons into patriots, joined in the excesses of the soldiery; and for twenty-four hours there was a revelry of crime and horror in which every possible monstrosity was committed. And after these abominations the slaughter was continued for a long time in a regular, organized manner. Several hundreds of poor workmen and labourers, who had been employed by the English and their allies in improving the fortifications of Toulon, were condemned in a mass, and were executed in the same manner, the executioners being cannoneers, who fired upon them with grape-shot. The guillotine, which always followed in the wake of the victorious republican armies, was then set up and made permanent: the possession of money or lands, or of a respectable station in society, was guilt and proof enough to the improvised revolutionary tribunal, and to the military commissions, which were presided over or directed by the younger Robespierre, Barras, and Fréron, the three commissioners from the convention.

While Lord Hood was in possession of Toulon, he had detached a squadron to Corsica to carry assistance to the anti-republican and anti-French party in that island; and another, commanded by Admiral Gell, to call to account the republic of Genoa and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or his authorities at Leghorn, who, under the mask of neutrality, had for some time pursued a system almost openly hostile to the allies. The French army in Nice had been supplied from Leghorn with provisions and stores, although the grand duke's government had refused a small supply of bullocks to the English fleet. Genoa was for the present overawed by our demonstrations; and the Grand Duke of Tuscany—beset not merely by the minister of Great Britain, but also by the ministers of all the allied powers and by the messages and agents of the King of Sardinia, the King of Naples, and of nearly every prince in Italy—not only agreed to break off all intercourse with the French republic, but further engaged to unite with the grand European coalition. But the Genoese senate already stood in terror of the jacobinized Genoese democracy; and the traffickers and speculators of that ancient republic continued the contraband trade with the French armies. The republic of Venice followed the same line of conduct as Genoa, but derived less pecuniary advantage from her neutrality. Efforts were made by the English resident minister, and by the representatives of other powers, to draw the Venetian senate into the league against France; but they failed for the present, and

Venice became on the Adriatic what Genoa was on the Mediterranean side of the peninsula—a centre of intrigue and a sort of head-quarters for revolution-professors and proselytizing Jacobins. Chauvelin and his comrades, flourishing under the protection of the Lion of St. Mark, which had become as timid and crouching as a cur—which was trying to fawn on all parties, with the certainty of being kicked by all—preached the sacred duty of insurrection in all the Venetian states and dependencies, and excited the Grisons on one side and the Dalmatians on the other to take up arms against the poor old and decrepid republic, while other agents from the convention were labouring hard at Constantinople to entice the Turks into the war as allies of the French, by showing how easy it would be to profit by the present weakness of the Venetians, and by the over-occupation which the Austrians had given themselves on the Rhine.

The head of the unfortunate Louis XVI. had scarcely been struck off ere the Gironde and the Mountain renewed their death-struggle with an increase of fury, each party striving to send their adversaries to the guillotine, and each feeling convinced that their only hope of life lay in the wholesale destruction of the other faction. Having remained in office just long enough to witness the trial and execution of the king, the virtuous Roland, harassed to death by the Jacobins, and evidently alarmed at their increasing power as well as rage, retired from the ministry with certain moral reflections which he might have made several months before. The ministers remaining were absolutely under the dictation of Brissot, who held no office, and who had provoked the mortal hatred of the ultra-Jacobins. Marat set his fangs into Brissot's side, and nearest to the heart; he was accused of the most detestable speculation, and the scarcity of provisions and the dearth of money were attributed to Roland, to those who remained in office after him, and to Brissot. In the mother society, Robespierre invoked the destruction of the whole of the Gironde, and with great art and address made sure of the means of accomplishing their ruin. That wretched party wanted the revolution to stop where it was; but Robespierre still repeated that he did not believe that the revolution was finished yet. The Girondins could count only upon the timid respectabilities, or upon that middle class which is least fitted for daring action and great personal sacrifice; the Jacobins appealed to the popular masses, to the indigent shopkeeper, the ill-employed mechanic, the common soldier, the hard-toiling peasant—to every man that might hope to gain, and that had nothing to lose, by the continuance of revolutionary troubles, and these Jacobins, by holding the sovereignty of the clubs,

must inevitably become for a season the masters of France. For one man that would dare to raise hand or voice for the much-talking, philosophical, pragmatical Gironde, 500 greedy, infuriated, desperate men would be sure to draw the sword or raise the pike for Robespierre and his party. Beaten entirely out of the clubs, beaten in the convention itself, and subjected daily to the insults and menaces of the Parisian mob, the Girondins, in secret conclaves, deliberated on the means of striking a *grand coup d'état* by which they might dissolve the convention or forcibly expel the Jacobins. These consultations became known to the Jacobins, who had spies everywhere; and the Girondins revealed their own secret by demanding a body of troops to act as guard to the convention and government, and to be composed of *respectable men* drawn from the Gironde departments; or from the very towns and villages of the south which had given birth to these select republicans and perfectibilians. Moreover, the same weak faction ventured to affirm that Robespierre, Marat, Danton, and the rest of the powerful Jacobins, were and had been all along in an infernal plot with Philippe Egalité, or his Highness of Orleans; that they intended to make that *débauché* a king, and that all the atrocities which had already been committed, or which were proposed as the means of securing liberty and equality, had for their object and end the restoration of the abjured monarchy in the person of Philip. When these and other denunciations had been made in the convention, the Jacobins felt that this was a quarrel for life and death, and that they must guillotine the Girondins, or wait and be guillotined by them. Nor, from what we know of the character and doings of these men, are we inclined to doubt that the Girondins would have been as pitiless in the hour of victory towards their political adversaries as ever were the Jacobins. But they had no chance of victory, they had not so much as the means of offering combat. Being convinced of this fact, they conceived the absurd project of removing the seat of government from Paris, and of splitting up France into a number of confederating republics! It is still an incurable fashion with certain writers even in this country to represent the Gironde party as an interesting company of virtuous and unfortunate reformers, as men of vast genius and acquirements, and as great political philosophers; but their utter inaptitude as politicians is demonstrated by every step they took and by nearly every project they entertained. Under the name of *Federalists*, they now became quite as odious as the royalists had been at the commencement of the revolution. The clubs put themselves in permanent session; the mob was appealed to; the barriers were closed; a new in-

surrection was organized; the trembling Girondins hid themselves in garrets and cellars; and on Sunday, the 2d of June, while the tocsin and alarm-guns were firing, the convention was surrounded by 163 pieces of artillery, and by 80,000 armed men (the pikemen being included), who shouted "Death to the Gironde!" and who demanded from the legislators that were in the house an immediate vote of arrest or proscription against the leaders of that party. Under the dictation of Marat, the list of proscription, which contained thirty-two names, was soon settled, and scarcely one of the moderate or anti-Jacobin members present had courage to vote against it or to offer any remark offensive to the sovereign people.

The Girondins, who had themselves trampled upon the constitutional inviolability of Louis XVI., called upon heaven and earth to witness the monstrous crime of their adversaries in trampling upon their inviolability as representatives of the people. The simple truth was, that, as they had got rid of the king because he stood in the way of their republic and of their personal aggrandizement, so the Mountain had got rid of them because they stood in the way of their sans-culottism, and because they had declared war to the guillotine-axe against them. The common calamity which had befallen them did not produce any unanimous plan. They separated into small companies, or endeavoured to escape singly. A little sooner or a little later nearly all these thirty-two Girondins perished miserably, those being the least unfortunate who perished first. Some were caught by the Jacobins and guillotined, and some destroyed themselves to avoid that fate. The virtuous Roland drove a sword through his heart and was found by the roadside, together with a note in which he declared he could no longer remain in a world that was soiled by so much guilt. Virtue Petion was found in the south, dead in the fields, and half-eaten by wolves; and his friend Buzot was discovered near him and in the same condition: it still remains doubtful whether they were assassinated or died of hunger. Nowhere—not even in their native places—could any of these miserable men find shelter and hospitality: all France was either madly jacobinized, or overpowered by dread of the Jacobins. The fury of that triumphant faction was augmented by the assassination of the monster Marat, who fell under the knife of Charlotte Corday, on the 14th of July. On the 1st of August the convention voted that Marie Antoinette, the hapless and long tortured queen, should be brought to trial. Not a single charge was proved against her; but the revolutionary tribunal, declaring that they were going to give a grand example to the uni-

verse, and satisfaction to the holy doctrine of equality, pronounced her guilty. She died on the scaffold like a heroine, on the 16th of October, amid shouts of "*Vive la république!*" The execution of the queen was followed, on the 31st of October, by that of twenty-one Girondins. Included in this list were the eloquent Vergniaud; the active and pragmatical Brissot; Lebrun, ex-minister for foreign affairs, with whom our Foxite opposition would have treated for a peace only a few months before; Sillery, the husband of Madame de Genlis and the friend and adviser of Philippe Egalité; Fauchet, the socialist, and others of the like revolutionary celebrity. The guillotine, and Samson the well-practised executioner, worked with such rapidity that in *thirty-one minutes* their heads were all off.

There was now no single day on which the guillotine was idle; but six days after the execution of the twenty-one deputies, a victim appeared on the scaffold who demands some more particular though brief notice. This was Philippe Egalité, ci-devant Duke of Orleans, who had been alternately accused by the Girondists of being an ultra-Jacobin, and by the Jacobins of being a Girondist. As soon as the flight of his sons with Dumouriez was known in the convention, certain messengers, who found him playing at whist in his splendid residence of Palais Egalité, late Palais Royal, were despatched to tell him that he was wanted at the bar. He went, appealed to his inviolability as a representative of the people, to his past services to the revolution, and protested that he was entirely ignorant of the causes which had led to the defection of his eldest son. "If," said he, "my son is really a traitor, I see here the image of Brutus, and I know how to follow that Roman example." But all this availed him nothing; and a decree was presently passed which sent him a state prisoner to Marseilles. On the 3d of November, he was brought back to Paris; on the 6th of the same month he stood before the revolutionary tribunal, and on the same afternoon he was sent to the scaffold in company with four other victims. He perished on the same spot as the king and queen and the twenty-one Girondins. It is said that he complained neither of his friends nor of his enemies, and that, when he was told he might be respited till the next day, he refused the favour, saying that, as he was to die, the sooner the better. The mob expressed their "lively satisfaction" when Samson exhibited his head. He was forty-five years old when he died—if not the very worst, then the most defamed man of his bad times.

Next followed Madame Roland. She had been released from the Abbaye on the 27th of June, but had been arrested again on the very same day by order of the commune, and carried to

Sainte-Pélagie, a far worse prison. A day or two after the execution of the Girondins, she was transferred to the Conciergerie, through which



THE CONCIERGEFRIL, PARIS, 1792.—From Gaton's
Views in Paris, 1803

there was now no exit except through the Tribunal Révolutionnaire and the gates of death. She was not permitted to see her young daughter, her only child, who remained with her in Paris when her husband fled. If she really wrote the last part of her *Mémoires* which were published under her name (the fact has been doubted, and with some appearance of reason), she consoled herself in her misfortune by comparing her life and conduct to that of the flower of Roman republicans, by vaunting the purity and patriotism of her party and the wisdom of her husband's or her own administration, and by uttering rhapsodies against the Mountain, and Pache, and all the ultra-Jacobins, without expressing any penitence for political or other faults committed; without bestowing one word on the fate of the king, or even upon the fate of the queen, a woman and a mother like herself, without in fact admitting that her party had committed any fault except that of being over-lenient, and too mild, generous, and confiding. She was tried by the revolutionary tribunal on the 8th, and was guillotined on the 9th of November. Astronomer Mayor Bailly was executed the day after Madame Roland. There followed in the long death-dance republican generals who had been defeated by

the enemy; public servants who had incurred suspicion; and journalists who had not used the liberty of the press so as to please Robespierre and the Jacobins. Political theorists and experimentalists of the most opposite views and parties were guillotined together; heads that had never thought alike meeting in the same sack which received the loppings of the guillotine; and fierce political antagonists, who could scarcely have met in life except to tear each other to pieces, being deposited in the same grave, with one layer of quicklime (their common winding-sheet and only shroud) to consume them all together.

During the two months of November and December, 126 persons were condemned by the revolutionary tribunal, and executed by that great revolution-professor, Citizen Samson. Not a man or woman was brought before the court but was condemned, and after condemnation not one was pardoned or even reprieved. The Parisians' appetite for blood seemed truly to grow with what it fed upon: the place of execution was the commonest place of rendezvous; the executions, as most exciting, were the most popular exhibitions of the day; women and children, as well as men, ran eagerly to them, and, unless the weather was exceedingly cold or exceedingly rainy, the Place de la Révolution, which continued for many months to be the principal slaughter-house, was constantly crowded. Nor was this crowd composed solely of the rabble and faubourg sans-culottes. As the property of all who were condemned was confiscated, the guillotine was an effective instrument even in finance. Thus Barrère is said to have remarked facetiously, that the guillotine was an excellent mint—that they coined money in the Place de la Révolution!

Those who had been ministers under the Gironde were pursued with still more fury than those who had held office under the precious La Fayette constitution. Clavière, the Genevese minister of finance, whose wife was said to have rallied and recovered from a consumption from her enthusiastic joy at his promotion,¹ escaped the guillotine by committing suicide in his prison on the 8th of December; his poor wife poisoned herself two days after, and their only child, a daughter, fled penniless to Geneva. The convention passed a law that the property of those who killed themselves, either before or after trial, should be confiscated to the republic, even as if they had been regularly condemned and executed.

Before the year ended, the legislators of Paris voted that there was no God, and destroyed or altered nearly everything that had any reference to Christianity. Robespierre, who would have stopped short at deism, and who would have preserved the external decencies, was overruled and

intimidated by Hébert and his frowzy crew, who had either crept into the governing committees, or had otherwise made themselves a power in the state. The way, however, was made plain and easy to Hébert by the preceding labours of the philosophers; by the rapidly-growing unbelief of the Parisians and the majority of town-dwelling Frenchmen; by the contempt for a long time cast upon everything that was old, and by the cool and deliberate proceedings of the convention itself. All popular journalists, patriots, and public bodies, had begun dating *First Year of Liberty, or First Year of the Republic*; and the old calendar had come to be considered as superstitious and slavish, as an abomination in the highest degree disgraceful to free and enlightened Frenchmen. Various petitions for a change had been presented; and at length the convention had employed the mathematicians Romme and Monge, and the astronomer Laplace, to make a new republican calendar for the new era. These three philosophers, aided by Fabre d'Eglantine, who, as a poet, furnished the names, soon finished their work, which was sanctioned by the convention and decreed into universal use as early as the 5th of October. It divided the year into four equal seasons, and twelve equal months of thirty days each. The five odd days which remained were to be festivals, and to bear the name of *Sans-culottides*. Thiers calls this national festival of five days at the end of the year a beautiful idea, and says that the name of sans-culottides, which belongs to the times, is not more absurd than many other names which have been adopted by different peoples. The term scarcely needs translation: Mr. Carlyle renders it into English by "Days without Breeches," and it means that, or the "Days of the Breechless." In leap years, when there would be six days to dispose of, the last of those days, or Sans-culottides, was to be consecrated to the revolution, and to be observed in all times with all possible solemnity. The months were divided into three decades, or portions of ten days each, and, instead of the Christian Sabbath, once in seven days, the *décadi*, or tenth day, was to be the day of rest—which Thiers, who admires, or pretends to admire every part of the new calendar, thinks a very excellent arrangement. The decimal method of calculation, which had been found so convenient in money and in weights and measures, was to preside over all divisions: thus, instead of our twenty-four hours to the day, and sixty minutes to the hour, the day was divided into ten parts, and the tenth was to be subdivided by tens, and again by tens to the minutest division of time. New dials were ordered to mark the time in this new way; but, before they were finished, it was found that the people were puzzled and perplexed by this last

¹ Dumont

alteration, and therefore this part of the calendar was adjourned for a year, and the hours, minutes, and seconds were left as they were.

In the abolition of religious worships (*l'abolition des cultes*) Hébert was abundantly assisted by his official superior Chaumette, procureur of the commune; by L'Huillier, procureur of the department; by nearly all the notables of the commune, and present leaders of the Cordelier Club; by the majority of journalists and pamphleteers, and by the orator of mankind, Anacharsis Clootz, whose madness had not diminished in the midst of the increasing insanity of others. But the fierce atheism of these men (it was fiercer, more intolerant and persecuting than any religious bigotry) must, like the cruelty of the pro-consuls or commissioners in the departments, have been powerless and ineffectual, or only effectual in bringing about their immediate overthrow and destruction, if the people had not been prepared for the reception of their doctrines. It is in vain attempting to throw the bloody crimes and monstrous follies of the revolution upon a few scapegoats; the crimes and follies were *national*, and the great body of the people must bear the weight of them. Another great labourer in the vineyard of atheism was Fouché. This man was a native of Nantes, and had there been educated for a priest. While *en mission* in the department of L'Allier, he, as member of the convention, took upon himself to regulate and reform the public burying-grounds, which he and his guillotine-man were filling at a rapid rate; and, knocking down the cross and the text from Scripture which stood over the gate of a cemetery, he set up a statue of Sleep, to intimate that death was but an everlasting sleep. Fouché's device was considered pretty and poetic, and, before the convention, or the commune of Paris, which was the great active agent in this new reformation, legislated or decreed upon the subject, the example was followed in various

parts of the country. Where they could not readily obtain statues in stone or wood, the people satisfied themselves with inscriptions, painted in large black letters, such as "Death is Sleep," "Here one Sleeps," "Death is an eternal Sleep," &c.¹ Chaumette, who took in hand all the cemeteries of Paris, and entirely changed their appearance, was a sentimental atheist, who was wont to say that he should like to inhale the soul of his father in the sweet breath of flowers. Anacharsis Clootz was a political atheist, who considered religion as the only obstacle to the establishment of an universal republic, and of the worship of pure reason all over the earth. In his eyes deism was as detestable as Catholicism, and a God was as much out of place in a republic as a king. There was, he said, no God but the people; the God-people could not kneel before its divine self—could only worship pure and immortal reason. Therefore, as he told the convention (not without applauses from house and gallery), the sooner they put their God among the *ci-devans*, among the things which had been, but were no more, the better for France, the better for all mankind.

Little need be said of the course of this year's war in other parts of the globe. In the East Indies, Pondicherry, and all the other French establishments, were seized by the British without the slightest difficulty; and the republican flag disappeared from that continent. In the West Indies, Tobago was taken by us; but we failed for the present in an attempt on Martinique. The French planters of Sto. Domingo, suffering from the terrible insurrection of the negroes, and the not less terrible tyranny of the commissioners sent out by the national convention, implored our protection, and received English garrisons.

¹ At the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, traces of these inscriptions were visible in many parts of France. When the bigoted atheists were outvoted, they had been merely covered with a little plaster or whitewash, and this covering had fallen off, and had left the letters beneath visible.



CHAPTER XXXVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1794.

GEORGE III.

Parliament opened—The royal speech recommends the continuation of war with France—Counter-proposals of the opposition in parliament—Resolution adopted to continue the war—Debate on the subsidiary treaties with foreign powers—Arrests of British revolutionists—Suspension of the habeas corpus act—Lord Howe's naval victory over the French on the 1st of June—Affairs of Corsica—Proceedings of Paoli—The Corsicans place themselves under the protection of England—The emperor and King of Prussia engrossed with the partition of Poland—Selfish bargain of the Prussian king for British subsidies—Proceedings of the allied armies in the Netherlands—Successes gained over them by the French—The French occupy the whole of Austrian Flanders and Brabant—Their successes on the Rhine—The Austrians and Prussians retreat before them—The Duke of York attempts to protect Nimeguen—He is attacked and compelled to retreat—The French take Nimeguen and Maestricht—The war of Spain against France—Reverses of the Spaniards—Successes of the French armies in Italy—Quarrels of the factions in Paris—The Jacobins divided into Hébertists and adherents of Robespierre—The atheistic spirit of Hébert and his party—Robespierre's attachment to theism—Suppression of the Hébertists—Robespierre's chief opponents executed—His proposal in favour of a national creed—It is adopted—Robespierre's grand *fête* for the installation of the "Supreme Being"—He officiates as the high-priest of the new faith—Explanation of his extravagant conduct—Particulars of the *fête*—Robespierre's conduct on the occasion—Offence given by it to his colleagues—His declamations against them—Symptoms of his decaying influence—Increasing executions—Four revolutionary tribunals established in Paris—Their merciless proceedings—Conspiracy against Robespierre—His indecision—His last appearances in the convention and Jacobin Club—His continued irresolution—Attack made upon him in the convention—The uproar and confusion of the members—Robespierre's fruitless efforts to obtain a hearing—He is arrested—Fruitless attempt for his rescue—Attempts of Robespierre and his associates to commit suicide—They are conveyed to the guillotine—Conduct of the mob at their execution.



ON the 21st of January, when the British parliament met, the speech from the throne and the arguments of ministers urged the necessity of continuing the war with an increase of vigour, inasmuch as the wild and destructive system of rapine, anarchy, and impiety, which the French had adopted, had displayed itself fully to the world, and made it more than ever impossible to think of treating with such an enemy. On the other side the opposition urged that the constant failures of the armies of the coalition, and the victories and triumphs of the French republicans, rendered the prosecution of the war hopeless and ruinous; and that, as we must recognize their government and negotiate with it at last, the best thing we could do would be to acknowledge it and treat with it at once, leaving the other powers of Europe to follow their own course.

On February the 2d, the minister laid before the house an account of the supplies necessary for the prosecution of the war, and the ways and means for raising them. On this occasion he stated the interior strength of the kingdom at 140,000 men, and the foreign troops in our pay at 40,000. The total of the requisite supply he calculated at nearly twenty millions; and the ways and means included some new taxes, and a loan of eleven millions. The double taxation to which the Roman Catholics had been long subjected was liberally cancelled.

On the 17th of February the Marquis of Lansdowne introduced a motion for an address, praying his majesty to declare immediately his readiness to enter into a negotiation with France. This was negatived by an immense majority, the numbers being 103 against only 13. Other motions met with no better success; and parliament and the country called for a vigorous prosecution of the war as the only means of preserving our honour and safety.

The subsidiary treaties concluded with the princes of the coalition were a subject of discussion in parliament; and, on March the 6th, Mr. Grey moved in the House of Commons for an address to the king, for the purpose of expressing their concern that his majesty should have formed an union with powers, whose apparent aim was to regulate a country wherein they had no right to interfere. In the subsequent debate, and in a debate in both houses consequent upon a message from the king, informing them of a treaty concluded with the King of Prussia, by which a larger subsidy was stipulated with that monarch for carrying on the war, many observations were made by the opposition relative to the objects and prospects of the contest, and the small confidence to be placed in subsidized powers who were chiefly attentive to their own interests. Ministers, however, were supported by the usual majorities.

At this juncture a quarrel arose with the United States of America, who objected to our right of search and our laws of blockade. If they

had been strong enough they would have joined the French republicans, and have declared war against us; but as their national navy was as yet in embryo they sent over Mr. Jay to negotiate, and the quarrel was compromised for the present.

Some sentences for political offences and clubbism had been passed, the most important being those in Scotland against Messrs. Muir and Palmer, who had been transported to Botany Bay; but the government was still in a state of suspicion and alarm, which the tone of some of the clubs was not calculated to remove. In the month of May it was resolved to pursue some of the principal members of the Corresponding Society and the Society for Constitutional Information in London; and in the month of May, Thomas Hardy, Daniel Adams, the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, private secretary to Earl Stanhope, and tutor to his son, Lord Mahon, John Thelwall, a political lecturer, the celebrated Horne Tooke, and three or four others, were committed to the Tower, charged with high treason. On the 16th of May, Pitt produced to the house the report of a committee of secrecy, and upon this foundation demanded, as necessary to the salvation of the country from internal revolution, the immediate suspension of the habeas corpus act. Nor did the great majority of the house consider the demand dangerous, irrational, or excessive. Burke maintained that it was the best means of preventing the vast and imminent dangers with which we were menaced; Windham said that, if these evils could not be averted by the laws in being, other laws more stringent must be framed; and the suspension bill was carried through all its stages in the shortest time possible, and by overwhelming majorities. This was the last session that Burke sat in the House of Commons, and some of the last words of that philosophical statesman were words of warning to the country to beware of the fate of France. The king prorogued parliament in person on the 11th of July, congratulating the lords and commons on the glorious victory obtained over the French at sea, off Ushant, on the 1st of June, and the acquisitions made in the East and West Indies, and exhorting them to firmness, notwithstanding the successes of the French in the Netherlands.

The dawn of the 1st of June disclosed to Admiral Lord Howe the French about three or four miles to leeward in order of battle, under an easy sail. They had twenty-six line-of-battle ships, while the English had but twenty-five, the *Audacious*, seventy-four, Captain Parker, having separated in a shattered condition. In the size of their vessels, in their aggregate number of guns and men, and in their weight of metal, the French had a considerable superiority. Lord Howe immediately stood towards them. Being

abreast of them at about seven in the morning, he wore to the larboard tack, while the French waited his approach in the same position. Having made the necessary arrangements in his



RICHARD, FIRST EARL HOWE. — From a print after Gainsborough.

line for opposing his large ships to the large ships of the enemy, bethinking himself of a good English proverb, he lay-to, and intimated by signal that there was time for the men to breakfast before going into action. At about half-past eight he made the signal for the fleet to close, to pass through the French line and engage them to leeward, van to van, rear to rear, every ship engaging her opposite in the enemy's line. A little after nine o'clock the action became general in the centre. After behaving manfully for about an hour, the French admiral Villaret-Joyeuse gave way and stood off to the northward, and was followed by all the ships in his van that could carry sail. He left ten of his ships, almost all of them totally dismasted, to the windward, nearly surrounded by the English. Seven of these ships of the line soon struck their flags, and were taken possession of by our sailors. One of them, the *Vengeur*, filled and went down in deep water almost as soon as the English flag was hoisted on her. The number of killed in the British fleet was 279, of wounded 877. But the carnage on board the more crowded French ships was far more dreadful. In the six captured ships which remained afloat, the killed were 690, the wounded 580. Above 300 were supposed to have gone down with the *Vengeur*. The number of prisoners removed is stated at 2300. Several of Lord Howe's captains, more anxious for prize-money than for hard fighting,

scandalously misbehaved themselves; but still, with every deduction, "The Glorious First of June" was a day honourable to the British navy—was a most seasonable victory, proper to keep up the national spirit, and to lead to greater exploits hereafter.

It is impossible to comprise in our narrative all the frigate fights, or even the contests between small squadrons, which took place in these first years of the war. There was a variety and inequality in the spirit displayed in some of these numerous engagements; but, in general, the superiority of the English, as sailors and combatants on their own element, was maintained and enhanced; while many of the actions showed a combination of skill, coolness, and bravery, which will never be surpassed. These engagements took place in the Channel, on the coast of France, in the Mediterranean and Archipelago, in the East Indies and in the West; for the French had ships enough to show in all the seas, and in some places they had for a time a decided superiority of force. During the whole of the present year the British lost only one ship of the line, the *Alexander*, seventy-four, and she did not surrender until she had sustained the assault of three French ships of the line for two hours. Nothing was more evident than that the spirit of our officers and men was incomparably higher than it had been during the American war.

A curious triumph attended our arms in the Mediterranean, where Corsica, the native island of the man who was so soon to be the master and despot of France and arbiter of Europe, annexed itself to the British crown. The cruelties committed by the French, under Louis XV., in their subjugation of the island, were of too recent a date to be forgotten by a very brave but very revengeful people. To the Corsicans the French settlers were aliens in blood, in language, in manners, in interests, in everything; and a very large part of the population, including all the mountaineers and most of the peasantry, were incensed at the changes introduced into the isle, and the disrespect shown to their priests since the revolution. At the dawn of that mighty change, which deluded so large a portion of mankind with false and extravagant hopes, many of the better educated Corsicans fondly believed that their country would be improved and rendered happy by the political reforms in progress at Paris, and, by remaining a portion of the French empire, a realized Utopia. In 1789, on the motion of Mirabeau, in the constituent assembly, all the Corsican patriots, who had bravely fought against the French twenty years before, for the independence of their country, and who had been living in exile ever since, were recalled with honour, and invited to concur in the new order of

things. Pasquale de Paoli, who had gallantly fought the Genoese for twelve years before they ceded the island by an iniquitous treaty to Louis XV., who had been a sort of king or president under the title of "General of the Kingdom and Chief of the Supreme Magistracy of Corsica," who had afterwards struggled hard with the French, and defeated them in more than one terrible battle, was the most eminent of all these recalled Corsican exiles. He had passed nearly the whole of his exile, from the year 1769 to the year 1789, in England, living in familiar intercourse with the noblest, the most enlightened, and best of our countrymen. Every English reader is acquainted with him as the friend and frequent companion of Dr. Samuel Johnson, who held him in high estimation. With habits almost become English, Paoli repaired to Paris in the autumn of 1789: he was received with acclamations in the assembly, and in their hall swore fidelity to France and the new and unfinished *monarchic* constitution. He was presented to Louis XVI., who made him lieutenant-general and military commandant in Corsica. After being entertained in Paris by the patriots and popular idols of that day, he proceeded to his native island, where he was received with enthusiasm, and placed at the head of the national guards that were then raised or in process of being raised in Corsica. He acted faithfully towards the constitutional monarchy so long as it existed; but when the Girondists and Jacobins united and destroyed that government, to which equally with himself they had all promised and vowed fidelity, when they had set up an anarchical republic, and destroyed or proscribed all those friends who had brought him back, he separated himself from the French party, and began to concert measures with the old Corsican patriots. He was presently denounced to the convention, who placed his name on their lists of proscription. He assembled his countrymen, explained his danger and their own, held up to execration the cruelty and impiety of the French, and was forthwith appointed general-in-chief and president of the council of government. Paoli knew that the island was not strong enough to defend itself against France; his predilections made him look towards England; and, as soon as war broke out between this country and France, he put himself in communication with our government, and with the English commanders cruising in the Mediterranean. Lord Hood, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, instantly gave him some assistance; and at the appearance of a few English ships the insurrection became general, and the French were driven out from all the places they held, with the exception of San Fiorenzo, Calvi, and Bastia. This was in the sum-

mer and autumn of 1793, when the mother of Bonaparte and all of that family who remained in the island fled in sad plight for Marseilles, to call upon the triumphant Jacobins there for succour and for vengeance upon Paoli and the English. Thanks to the activity, skill, and gallantry of Captain Horatio Nelson, Bastia, or the French in it, surrendered on the 22d of May. Calvi was reduced on the 10th of August. The representatives of the Corsican nation unanimously voted the separation of Corsica from France, and its union to the crown of Great Britain.

The management of the great armies of the coalition on the Continent was, by many degrees, worse and more inexcusable than during the preceding year. The rising of the Polish patriots under Kosciusko distracted more than ever the attention of the emperor and the King of Prussia, and induced his Prussian majesty to send a large army into Poland to secure the territories which had been allotted to him in the last partition, and to set up a pretension to more. Frederick William went into Poland to take the command of his army there, and the Duke of Brunswick, dissatisfied with his conduct, and discouraged by the bad termination of two campaigns, threw up the command of the Prussian army and its contingents on the Rhine. The King of Prussia even authorized some secret negotiations for a separate peace with the national convention, and, when these manœuvres became known, he frankly intimated that he would abandon the coalition unless he were retained by a liberal subsidy. A bargain—as bad a one as ever was struck—was concluded in the month of April: £2,200,000 was to be paid to his Prussian majesty, who was to furnish an army of 62,400 men; the money to be provided by Great Britain and the States-general of the United Provinces (the only subsidizing powers in Europe), but not in equal proportions, for Great Britain was to pay more than five times as much as the Dutch. A great part of this subsidy went to Poland, where Frederick William remained. As more and more troops were required in that country, his army on the Rhine fell short of the stipulated number; and the gentlest thing that can be said of the conduct of this latter Prussian army in this year's campaign is that it was loose and spiritless.

In the Netherlands, where Austrians, English, Dutch, and Hanoverians were to fight together, the campaign scarcely opened under better auspices; a great many of the Dutch, both officers and men, were lukewarm or democratic. The Duke of York quarrelled with the Austrian commanders, and refused to serve under General Clairfait. It was at length adjusted that if the Emperor Francis should personally assume the supreme command, the duke would serve under

him; and accordingly the emperor repaired to Brussels in April, whence he proceeded to the army. The siege of Landrecies was soon after commenced. Several attempts for its relief by the French were defeated with great loss on their part, and the place was obliged to surrender; but in the meantime Pichegru had forced the encampment of Clairfait, and had taken Courtrai and Menin. General Jourdan, in the beginning of March, entered the province of Luxemburg, where he was opposed by the Austrian general Beaulieu. On April the 17th, Jourdan made an attack upon the Austrian lines, which, after a conflict of two days, he carried. In May, the French attacked the army under the Duke of York near Tournai, and were repulsed with loss. They afterwards marched in great force from Courtrai against Clairfait, whom, after a very obstinate engagement, they put to the rout, and followed across the Sambre. A variety of other well-fought actions ensued, attended with much slaughter on both sides; but upon the whole, the forces and the confidence of the French seemed to increase. Jourdan was engaged in the siege of Charleroi, when, on June 26th, a general attack was made on his posts by the allies on the plain of Fleurus. Its result was the total defeat of the assailants, who retreated in confusion as far back as Halle; and the success of this day decided that of the French for the remainder of the campaign. Charleroi fell; and some time before, General Moreau, after defeating Clairfait, made himself master of Ypres. Bruges submitted to the victors on June 24th. The Duke of York found it necessary to retreat to Oudenarde, thus leaving Tournai exposed, which came into the possession of the French without resistance. The duke then drew back to the vicinity of Antwerp, where he was joined by Lord Moira with 10,000 British troops originally intended for the support of the royalist Vendéans.

Ostend being left without any garrison was taken by the French. Throughout the Belgic provinces the people, if not decidedly jacobinized, were furious against their old masters the Austrians. Ghent opened its gates to the republicans on the 5th of July, and on the 9th of that month the Prince of Coburg was compelled to abandon Brussels. On the 15th of July the French took Louvain, after obtaining a victory over General Clairfait. Antwerp surrendered on the 23d, and thus the whole of Austrian Flanders and Brabant fell under the French dominion. Shortly after the Austrians were driven from Liège and its territories. Moreau advancing into Dutch Flanders, reduced Cadsandt and Sluis.

Early in the year, while the German potentates were disputing with each other, and discouraging, in many ways, the army on the Rhine,

which stood in need of every encouragement after their unfortunate campaign of 1793, the French advanced, and took the fort of Kaiserslautern, the town of Spire, and several other towns and fortresses. Adhering to the routine of long winter-quarters, and to the principle that armies were not to take the field until the season of snow and frost was over, the German commanders had no forces on foot at all equal to contend with the republicans; nor was it until the month of May that they got a-field in earnest. The Prussians, who did not exceed 50,000 effective men, were now commanded by Count Marshal Möllendorf. Besides this force there was an Austrian army on the Rhine of about the same strength, some small contingent forces furnished by the lesser circles of the empire, and the emigrant army of Condé, which was still 12,000 strong—*upon paper*. Towards the end of May, Möllendorf, taking them by surprise, drove the French out of their entrenchments at Kaiserslautern, with serious loss, and took a good many of their guns. But from this time till the beginning of July, when the republicans were greatly reinforced, the Prussians and their allies did nothing of the least consequence. With a superiority of numbers which gave them the assurance of success, the French, who were moreover cheered by the intelligence of the successes obtained in the Netherlands, and the news of the battle of Fleurus, sought out Möllendorf, and on the 12th of July began a battle which was desperately maintained, at different points, during four whole days. On the night of the 15th, when both sides had suffered tremendous loss, the allies made a hasty retreat. The imperialists crossed the Rhine, and the Prussians retired down the left bank of that river to Mayence. Neither of these armies was of any further use during the remainder of this campaign. A territory sixty miles in length was abandoned to the republicans, who marched to the easy reduction of Trèves, and then poured down in great numbers to the Netherlands, to help to finish the war there, and after that to conquer Holland; for there was no intention of stopping short at the Scheldt and Roer, as Dumouriez had done in 1792.

The Duke of York assisted the hereditary Prince of Orange in covering the United Provinces; but their force was miserably insufficient: the democratic party was again on tiptoe, corresponding with the French, giving every encouragement and assistance in their power to those liberators; and the Dutch army, infected by the same principles, or disheartened by toilsome retreats and many discomfitures, was, in more senses than the military one, *demoralized*. Masses of men were thrown upon the retreating columns of Clairfait, who, after standing another battle,

left Juliers and Aix-la-Chapelle to Jourdan. Clairfait rallied once more, and fought a battle, or a succession of battles, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 3d of October; but this was the last effort his exhausted army could make, and his continued retreat left Cologne open to the French. Bonn and other towns on the left bank of the Rhine, in the electorate of Cologne, submitted to the conquerors. These places were defenceless or weak; but Coblenz, a dependence of the electorate of Mayence, had been strongly fortified and contained a considerable garrison; yet here, too, scarcely any resistance was made; the imperialists retired to the other side of the river, and the republicans took possession of the place with exceeding great joy; for it had long been the head-quarters of the emigrant princes and nobles—the home of royalism and counter-revolutionism. Worms and several other towns threw open their gates. With the exception of Mayence, the French remained absolute masters of every place on the left bank of the Rhine between Landau and Nimeguen. On the Maes the strong fortress of Venloo had been allowed to be taken by a *coup de main*; and Bois-le-Duc, from which an obstinate resistance was expected, was surrendered by its Dutch garrison after a very short siege. The Duke of York, now stationed near Nimeguen, was cut off from all hope of reinforcement from Germany; for if the allies had meant to support him, which they certainly did not, they could not have sent their troops to him without making a circuitous march. He resolved, however, with such force as he had, to cover that important place, the possession of which by the French would greatly facilitate their advance into the heart of Holland. On their side the republicans resolved to drive him thence, hoping, by a decisive blow, to compel him and his English troops to retire from the defence of the United Provinces. To this end they attacked the duke on the morning of the 19th of October with 60,000 men, and compelled him to retreat from his covering positions. As the duke, however, took up another position which equally prevented their investing Nimeguen, they attacked him again, with still greater numbers and fury, on the 27th of October, and finally compelled him to withdraw entirely, and leave the town to the chances of a siege. As Nimeguen was exceedingly strong by situation, and well garrisoned, it was expected that it would prove an exception to the general rule, and make a vigorous defence; but there were traitors within its walls in intelligence with the French, and the place was allowed to be surprised and carried a very few days after the Duke of York's retreat. Nearly at the same time Kleber, after a siege of only five weeks' duration, obtained possession of the formidable fortress of

- Maestricht, which was garrisoned by 8000 Dutchmen and Germans in the pay of the States-general, and which was abundantly supplied with

French fortress of Bellegarde was recovered in September, and in October, Dugommier began to pour his columns into Catalonia.



THE CASTLE OF NIMEGUEN, on the river Waal, with the Bridge of Boats by which the British Army crossed the river—From a drawing by Captain Fyers, 1809

provisions, stores, and all things necessary—except fidelity and courage. The Duke of York, with the wreck of his army, retreated across the Waal and the Rhine, and stationed himself at Arnheim in the province of Gelderland, with but a faint hope of stopping the progress of Pichegru, who had been appointed by the convention to complete the conquest of Holland.

The Spaniards seemed to have spent their strength and spirit in their Roussillon campaign of the preceding year. Their finances had long been in a ruinous condition, and at present they husbanded such resources as they could command, from a belief, which other powers shared in, that the sway of the Jacobins was drawing to a close; that public opinion fermenting in France would soon pronounce itself against the promoters of anarchy; in short, that a reaction was on the point of breaking out and that the salutary crisis must be hastened by the first check the French might experience in this campaign. They have, however, been censured too severely; for, after all, they kept their banners on the soil of the republic some time longer than any other power, and they fought on when the most terrible reverses were befalling the armies of the coalition on the side of Italy, on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands. The brave Spanish generals, who had repeatedly beaten the French in 1793, were carried off by sickness and death, or were removed by court intrigue. Early in April the republican general Dugommier succeeded in weakening the Spanish centre; and on the 1st of May he drove them out of their fortified camp at Boulon. Many reverses followed this disastrous expulsion. The

valley of Bastan, and at Saint-Jean-Pié-de-Port.

On the side of the Alps there was hard fighting all through the year, the army of the King of Sardinia, assisted by Austrian troops, manfully contending to keep the French republicans out of Italy. Forts were taken and retaken; mountain passes were carried and evacuated by the French; sanguinary combats took place among rocks and precipices, and on the crests of mountains covered with eternal snow; parts of the country were jacobinized; grave errors were committed by the court of Turin; the neutrality of the republic of Genoa was disregarded by the invaders; dense columns were marched through the Genoese territory to turn the position of the Sardinians and Austrians, and to attack the weakest part of Piedmont; and by the end of September the French, conducted by Dumorbion, Massena, Laharpe, Napoleon Bonaparte, Saliceti, and Albitte, established themselves on the edge of the rich Italian plain which is irrigated by the Po. Nothing more was done this year; but the republicans had done much; the bulwarks of the Alps and Apennines were in their hands, the road was opened into Italy, and an excellent basis laid for future operations. It had taken them three years, enormous sums of money, and prodigious sacrifices of life to achieve these great objects; but the work was done at last.

In Paris, meanwhile, the different factions had waged a fiercer war upon one another than that which the armies had carried on in the field. No sooner were the Girondists exterminated than jealousies and deadly hatreds broke out among the victorious Jacobins themselves. Hébert be-

came the head of a party which put itself in direct opposition to Robespierre. These Hébertists were for some time all-powerful in the commune, exceedingly popular in Paris, and with all the extreme sans-culottes; they shared in the executive power by holding places in the *salut public* and in others of the governing committees; they had the 10,000 men of the *armée révolutionnaire* of Paris completely at their bidding, Ronsin, the general of that army, being one of the chiefs of their party; and in the convention they for a season could command a majority of votes—a fact which first made Robespierre determine that that legislature should be purged anew, and that the Hébertists should be treated like the Girondists; but, as Hébert and his friends were so powerful, it was necessary to proceed against them slowly and with extreme caution. In installing atheism and the worship of the goddess of reason, the Hébertists well knew that they were declaring mortal war—a war without quarter—against Robespierre, who by speeches and by writings, by declarations repeatedly made both in the convention and in the Jacobin Club, had pledged himself to the support of a pure deism, and who (if any one thing is clear in his mysterious character) was really a determined and fanatical deist. With bitterness of soul he had yielded for the moment to the preponderance of Hébert, Chaumette, Clotz, and that atheistical herd: but he believed that a large portion of the French people still retained a respect for Christianity; that a still larger portion, though rejecting all revealed religion, clung to the belief of a God and to the hope of the immortality of the soul; and he nicely calculated that the strength of these opinions would come to his aid in his death-strife with Hébert. The battle was chiefly fought in the clubs, the Jacobins promising and vowing that they would stand by Robespierre now and for ever. On the 13th of March all the leading Hébertists were arrested; they were condemned on the 24th, and nineteen of them were guillotined in the afternoon of that day. It seems to be universally allowed that this was the most spiritless batch that perished during all the reign of terror. Ronsin, however, consoled himself with saying that Robespierre and his friends would soon perish in the same manner.

Having thus disposed of Hébert and his obscene crew, the incorruptible immediately directed his destructive energies against Danton, who had been guilty of gross corruption, and who had lost even his orator courage and audacity. On the night of the 30th of March, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Philippeaux, Lacroix (Danton's brother-in-law and plunderer in Belgium), and several others, were seized. One of them took corrosive sublimate and so died, but Danton

and fourteen more of them were executed on the 5th of April, only twelve days after the execution of the nineteen Hébertists. On the 13th of April the widow of Hébert, the fair young widow of Camille Desmoulins, General Dillon, and sixteen others perished on the same scaffold. In the course of this month of April some 200 heads fell under the guillotine knife, and in the whole month of May the number of lives sacrificed in the Place de la Révolution reached the fearful amount of 324. Among the more distinguished victims that perished between the middle of April and the end of May were D'Espréménil, the old parliamenter and the hero of the earliest stage of the revolution; Chapelier, once the popular president of the constituent assembly; the venerable Malesherbes, who had so nobly defended Louis XVI., and who was now condemned and executed, together with his daughter and his granddaughter, his sons-in-law, the noble Lamoignons and Châteaubriands; Lavoisier, the eminent chemical philosopher; the Marchioness de Crussal, and the Princess Elizabeth, the innocent, amiable, ever-exemplary, and almost angelic sister of Louis XVI.

All this blood was poured out to the accompaniment of long drowsy harangues about the necessity of public morality and republican virtue. In presenting one of his most terrible reports, Saint-Just had moved that morality and virtue should be declared the order of the day—a vote which the convention passed unanimously. Robespierre, since the fall of Chaumette and Clotz, and all that gang, had repeatedly declared that atheism was so foul a thing that it could not have been thrown into France except by Pitt; that there could be no security even for republican virtue unless they voted the existence of a God, or of some Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul. At first there seemed, at least in the convention, a pretty general disposition to sneer at both these dogmas, as unworthy of the enlightenment of France, and as tending to revive the old superstitions; but when Robespierre and Saint-Just, Couthon and others of that party, held up atheism as the greatest of all the crimes of which the Hébertists and Dantonists had been guilty, proclaimed it to be an importation from England, and intimated that its propagators and abettors must expect nothing less than that a virtuous republic would take off their heads; these mockers all took the cue, learned the short and easy lesson, and professed themselves (what Saint-Just and Robespierre really were) determined and fanatical deists, and implicit believers—without any revelation, but by the light of reason alone—in the soul's immortality. The reformed *commune* assembled in the *Hôtel-de-Ville* (which in Chaumette and Hébert's time had been the high altar of the goddess of reason, and very

Vatican of the atheist world, the place whence all the destroying, desecrating bulls had emanated) now sent up a deputation and an address to represent to the august representatives of the people, "whose policy was wholly founded on virtue and morality," "whose sublime meditations were directed exclusively to the happiness of mankind," that it was at length time "to proclaim those useful opinions, disfigured by fanaticism, the natural idea of the existence of a God, and the consoling notion of the immortality of the soul." These virtuous municipals declared that Hébert's goddesses of reason were more abominable even than the old superstition and the priests of the Catholic church; and they petitioned that the inscription put upon all churches, "TEMPLE CONSECRATED TO REASON," should be obliterated, and its place supplied by the words "TO THE SUPREME BEING." The deputies, the representatives of the French people who had so recently made their profession of faith to the goddess of reason, who had so lustily declared that a God or a king was alike incompatible with a republic, now voted by acclamation all that Robespierre proposed. The mother society, too, instantly voted and adopted the new profession of faith. It was even proposed in the Jacobins to banish every man from the republic that did not believe in the divinity; but Robespierre thought it expedient to reject this proposition.

A grand *fête*, for the overthrow of the goddess of reason and the installation of the Supreme Being, was decreed for the 8th of June. David the painter, who had got up so many pomps and ceremonies, and who last summer had arranged that festival and made that statue to mother Nature, before which handsome Héault de Sechelles, now headless and buried deep in quicklime, had made libations of pure emblematic water, and prayed his pagan prayer, presented a programme and plan for this festival voted to the Supreme Being — an elaborate production, a conceited, pedantic conglomerate of execrable taste, which revolts the mind more than Hébert's atheistical masquerades, but which the legislators adopted with unanimity, as they now adopted everything that was moved or sanctioned by Robespierre. As if intoxicated by his success and power, and the praise and incense that surrounded him, Robespierre, who had hitherto played the retiring, modest part, resolved to officiate as high-priest to the divinity he had got decreed. Long historical doubts, and speculations ingenious but interminable as to the motives and objects of this Apollyon of the revolution, may be settled by the simple assumption, warranted by a hundred facts, that he was, from first to last, insane — possessed by a reasoning madness of the worst kind, a maniacal vanity, which grew and in-

creased with his successes and the facility he found in bending a frantic nation to his will. No other hypothesis will explain his character and his doings; no researches among contemporary evidence will ever explain or reconcile half the facts of his public life; in him, many a circumstance which has been set down as a mystery, deep, unfathomable, becomes simple enough if considered as a freak of madness. On the morning of the *fête*, as he looked out from one of the windows of the Tuileries upon the immense multitude assembled or assembling, and especially upon the crowds of elegantly dressed women that ran to this novelty, as to everything else that was new and showy, he gesticulated, acted, and spoke in a frantic manner. In a universal frenzy such as reigned in Paris his insanity is scarcely so apparent; but it seems to us that Masaniello, on that day when he triumphed over the Spaniards and rode on the beautiful charger before the cardinal-archbishop and the viceroy, in scarlet raiment and with gold chains round his neck, was not madder than Robespierre on this day of the festival à l'*Être Suprême*. He had dressed himself in a splendid manner; his hair was frizzled and powdered; he carried in his hand a brilliant bouquet of flowers mixed with ears of wheat; for the first time his countenance was irradiated with joy; but the joy was mingled with pride and triumph, and everybody remarked his moral intoxication. The celebration took place in the Tuileries gardens. Under the creative genius of David a mound or monticule, surmounted by hideous statues of Atheism and Anarchy, made of combustible materials, and by a pure white incombustible statue of Wisdom, had risen in the garden. The deputies of the convention followed Robespierre, who walked quite alone and several yards ahead of them, to this mound, where he was to *pontifier*, or play the pontiff. The spectators honoured the great man with many applauses, and shouted most joyously, the day being uncommonly fine and exhilarating. But some satirical sallies and murmurs were heard amidst the crowd from men who preferred the goddess of reason to his *Être Suprême*, or who were irritated at his unwise glaring departure from the lines and levels of equality. "Only see," said one, "he wants to make himself a god!" "Or the high-priest of this *Être Suprême*," said another. "Yes," cried a third, applying to him one of the grossest of epithets, "not satisfied with being our master, he wants to be our god!" Even the convention, which had been so timid and submissive, betrayed symptoms of discontent; nay, several of his old partizans and present colleagues in the committees either put on a sullen countenance, or plainly expressed in coarse and

energetic words their disgust not merely at his pomp and pride, but at the whole celebration, and especially at his *Etre Suprême*. Barrère, Collot d'Herbois, Prieur, and Carnot seemed greatly dissatisfied; Billaud-Varennes, and the principal members of the committee of general security—Vadier, Amar, and Vouland—were fanatics in atheism, and disposed to be excessively jealous of all such public honours or distinctions as those the Incorruptible was now assuming. Bourdon de l'Oise was equally disgusted, and, being a man of a rough temper and tongue, he abused the whole performance; while Tallien, Fréron, and other Montagnards, more quietly sneered at it. David handed Pontiff Robespierre a lighted torch; the pontiff, after delivering an oration in honour of the Supreme Being and the French republic, set fire to the pasteboard statues of Atheism and Anarchy, which, as they blazed, ignited a veil or screen which concealed the statue of Wisdom. It was intended that the last-named divinity should burst upon the eye in all its pure original whiteness; but in the combustion of Atheism and Anarchy, and the canvas screen, it got sadly smoked, and when poor Wisdom appeared she was as dingy as a blackamoor, and this was considered as a very bad omen! Robespierre, standing forward in his sky-blue coat and white silk waistcoat embroidered with silver, then delivered a second discourse, which was not audible to the multitude, but which announced that atheism, "the monster which kings had vomited on France," was now annihilated; and which concluded with a prayer to the Supreme Being. "*Avec ton Etre Suprême*," said Billaud-Varennes, "*tu commences à m'embêter*—With thy Supreme Being thou beginnest to stupefy me." A very large portion of the spectators indisputably entertained the same notion as Billaud. In the end the *fête* was considered as a miserable failure, even by such as preferred Robespierre's *Etre Suprême* to Hébert's *Déesse de la Raison*. The celebration certainly hastened the fall of Robespierre. On the 9th of June, the very day after the *fête*, he went to the committee of *salut public* and ranted and raved against all those who had misconducted themselves at his great celebration. He called them the impure remains of the parties of Hébert and Danton—self-indulgent, corrupt, men destitute of every virtue, whose *moderation* was only a portion of a conspiracy, whose heads ought to fall. Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois now ventured to dispute with him over the council table, and the dispute became so loud and violent that a cautious member of the committee thought it expedient to shut all the windows. Billaud said that the ceremonies of yesterday had made a very bad impression on the public mind; that

the people thought all this fuss and ceremony about the *Etre Suprême* and the immortality of the soul, superstitious and counter-revolutionary. Robespierre said he would soon show them that his intention was to make the revolution go on faster and farther than it had hitherto gone; and in his wrath he uttered words which might very well be construed into a threat of the guillotine against every one of them. Moreover, for some time past, he had been rendering the guillotine unpopular by sacrificing true *sans-culottes*. All manner of men, and of women too, were handed over by the revolutionary tribunal to Samson and his assistants; the poorest and most essentially sans-culottic classes now began to figure on the scaffold—a pretty sure sign that Robespierre's death-dance could not last many months longer. Ex-nobles, aristocrats, respectabilities, men and women who had cast off their rags and become rich and luxurious in the revolution, the *citizens* of Paris could see perish with pleasurable emotions and joyous cries about liberty and equality; but the case was altered when they saw the bleeding heads of journeymen tailors, sempstresses, cobblers, carters, and other poor artisans and labourers, held up with increasing frequency as the heads of traitors and conspirators. This convinced them that poverty and obscurity would no longer be a safeguard—this made them think of their own necks.

In order that trials and executions might move at a quicker pace, Robespierre now proposed that there should be four revolutionary tribunals at Paris instead of one; that the punishment, in every case, should be DEATH, and that the power of sending persons to trial before these tribunals should be given to the two committees of *salut public* and *sureté générale*, to the individual representatives employed on missions, and to the public accusers. As a climax of atrocity, it was proposed that if the tribunal should possess either *material* or *moral* proof of guilt, it should be relieved from the necessity of hearing *witnesses*; and that no counsel or advocates should be allowed to prisoners, *because* calumniated patriots would find their best defenders in the patriot jurors, and conspirators could have no claim to any indulgence!

But the strangest part of the story of this decree of the 22d Prairial, or 10th of June, is, that Robespierre, after getting it carried, made no visible use of it, and from that moment ceased attending the committees. His enemies in those committees, who had dreaded that the decree was to be the instrument of their own destruction, were left to employ it against others, and awful was the use that they and the revolutionary tribunal made of it. In the course of forty days that the framer of the decree absented himself

from their council, *eleven hundred and eight* victims were tried according to the new forms, and executed, in Paris alone! The committee men, however, and all the other enemies of Robespierre, who felt, as every party or faction had done in France, that they must destroy or be destroyed, laboured hard to make the world believe, even in the presence of their own bloody pranks, that Robespierre and his colleagues Saint-Just and Couthon were the only cruel men in France. Both parties employed their spies and secret agents. Those of the committees gave their employers alarming accounts of lists of proscription drawn up by Robespierre; those who were employed by Robespierre made reports quite as alarming as to the intentions and preparations of the committees. By degrees it began to be reported that Robespierre's perruquier, in dressing his hair, had caught sight of his death-list—that some of the committee men themselves, who had not yet broken with the Incorruptible, had discovered by some lucky chance or other that he had drawn up such a list, and that their own names were in it—that Robespierre himself, overtaken by wine, which he rarely drank at all, had blabbed—and that, in short, it was perfectly well-known that he had set down the names of forty individuals, members of the Mountain, committee men, &c., who were to form the first batch, but not the last.

As early as the beginning of July, Henriot, who had now the command of the national guards, had intimated that he was fully prepared to strike a blow for Robespierre, and to make a *coup d'état* like that which he had managed last year, when the convention was purged of the Girondins; other friends, partizans, or colleagues, who were so identified with Robespierre, that they must either conquer with him or die with him, urged him to be up and doing, or to give the signal and let them act for him with the Parisian artillery, muskets, and bayonets; but the Incorruptible hesitated, faltered, and most wretchedly paltered about respect for the laws, and the propriety of doing the business in a calm and constitutional manner; and it was not until the return of Saint-Just from his mission to the army of the north, that he began to gird himself up for his last wrestle. "Only *dare*," said Saint-Just. "That one word contains all the secret of revolutions!" But still Robespierre could not *dare* in this style; and instead of settling himself in the Hôtel de Ville, and calling out Henriot and his cannoners at once, he allowed several days to pass, and then re-appeared in the convention, from which he had absented himself so long that the deputies had lost the habit of fear. He found courage where he expected none, and insult and defiance from men who had crouched

and trembled before him. Cambon gave him the lie direct to his face. Billaud-Varennes, Panis, Bantable, Charlier, Thirion, Amar, all followed in this onslaught, while not a voice except that of the paralytic Couthon was raised on the side of Robespierre. The trimming middle party declared against the dictator. Humiliated, discouraged, but not yet giving up the game for lost, Robespierre passed over from the convention to the Jacobin Club. Here his spirit was revived by an enthusiastic reception. "I have seen to-day," said he, "that the league of the wicked against me is so strong that I cannot hope to escape it. I shall die without regret!" "You shall not die!" cried the Jacobins. "There is nothing to fear!" Henriot, Payan, Dumas, Coffinhal, and others, surrounded him, declaring that they were all ready to act. Henriot, alluding to his exploit of last year, said, "Courage, Robespierre! the cannoners of Paris are steady, and I still know the road to the convention!" When Saint-Just had joined Robespierre in the Jacobin hall, Payan, procureur of the commune, a man of action rather than of words, proposed that they should go forthwith and arrest their enemies, who were all assembled in the committee rooms of the Tuileries. Nothing would have been more decisive, nor could anything have been much easier to do, for there was only a weak guard at the palace, and that guard would that night have obeyed the orders of Henriot rather than those of the committees. But Robespierre shrunk from the decisive step, thinking that the committees and the convention ought to be purged with the same medicine, and precisely the same doses as had been administered to the Girondins. That night, while Robespierre was doing nothing, his adversaries treated and negotiated with the leading patriots of some of the sections, and even tampered with the terrible Parisian cannoners, upon whose guns must depend the final decision of the tremendous conflict that offered no hope of quarter to the defeated party.

On the following morning—the 9th Thermidor, or 27th of July—the combatants met betimes in the convention. Tallien led the attack against the Incorruptible, and there was soon an universal shouting of "Down with the tyrant!" "Death to the triumvirs!" Barrère moved, and the house voted, that the convention should be declared in permanent session, and that a decree of arrest should be issued against the enemies of the country. Saint-Just, one of the triumvirs, stood motionless and pale; Couthon, another, sat looking at his paralytic limbs silently, or ejaculating "Triumvir, indeed!" Only Robespierre struggled—and desperately did he struggle—with the impending doom. He ran to and fro, foaming at the mouth like a tiger taken in the toils. He tried to speak

from his place, he climbed to the tribune, he rushed to the table of the house—to the president's chair; but Collot rang his bell until it seemed to crack, and speech or word they would allow him in no place. This was but the measure he had often meted out to others. Vadier, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Tallien again, all fell upon the fallen dictator; but not as a terrorist, not as a man of blood, not as the perpetrator of wholesale judicial massacres, not as the hand which day after day touched the springs of the guillotine (for these, his accusers, had been his associates, the accomplices of his worst crimes; they had carried out his system during his secession from the government, they had made the guillotine play with more than a quadruple speed, and they did not mean that it should rest yet, or cease its labours with the Incorruptible and his *ournée*): Bourdon de l'Oise accused him of defending from the guillotine several heads; Vadier taxed him with having endeavoured to *save* the enemies of the people, and with having interfered with Fouquier-Tinville to *suspend the execution of conspirators*! But they spoke of the fate of Danton, and of the guilt and horror of sacrificing one's colleagues;—in short, they explained, as clearly as words could do it, that this was a personal quarrel between him and them, and that Robespierre had been guilty of none but venial offences until he entered into this quarrel. "President of assassins," shrieked the Incorruptible, "I demand speech of thee for the last time!" By this time Collot was exhausted by his exertions—by that almost incessant bell-ringing—and vacating the presidential chair, he was succeeded in it by Thuriot, who hated and feared Robespierre as much as Collot did, and who now told him that he could not be heard. Robespierre's mouth foamed no longer; his tongue seemed to cleave to his dry palate, his voice to die away in the throat. "The blood of Danton is choking him," exclaimed Garnier de l'Aube. This remark made him recover voice and courage, and he exclaimed indignantly, and with a terrible truth, "Danton! Is it, then, Danton you would avenge? Cowards! Why did you not defend him?" But Thuriot, with a fresh arm, rang the bell, the house drowned their recollections, and kept up their courage by renewed vociferations, and Louchet demanded an instant decree of arrest against Robespierre. In the brief space of time five decrees of arrest were passed, and Robespierre, his younger brother, Couthon, Saint-Just, and Lebas were conveyed to five several prisons.

It was now five o'clock in the afternoon; and the assembly rose for a couple of hours, in order that the members might dine. Henriot now collected some of the terrible Parisian cannoneers, and harangued the patriot mob, telling them that

the traitors in the convention had voted the arrest of the best and only true patriots remaining in that assembly. But, going to the committee rooms of the convention with only two or three aides-de-camp with him, Henriot was arrested himself, and corded and bound like a common felon. In the meanwhile the council-general of the commune, being still steady to Robespierre, ordered that he and his four friends should be instantly liberated, that the tocsin should be sounded, and the barriers closed. Within an hour after this Henriot was set at liberty by Coffinhal, who burst into the Tuileries, sword in hand, being followed by about 100 fanatic Robespierists. In a trice the commandant-general Henriot was again on horseback; but he continued to act like a madman, and was believed to be drunk with brandy. The five prisons to which the five great men had been carried were situated in distant parts of Paris, and their keepers were not equally alert in obeying the orders of the commune; but by eight or nine in the evening Robespierre, his brother Augustin, Saint-Just, and Lebas were at perfect liberty, and sitting in deliberation with the council of the commune; and Couthon joined them somewhat later in the evening. They called upon the Jacobins, who had declared themselves in permanent session; they sent round commissaries to the different sections, none of which had rushed to arms so eagerly as in former times; and they instructed Henriot to collect his Parisian cannoneers, and point their guns against the Tuileries, wherein some of the members of the convention had re-assembled. But Henriot continued to do his part miserably; the triumvirate stayed where they were, and their enemies gained over some of the Parisian cannoneers and a considerable portion of the national guard and of the mob. Upon this the convention grew bolder; and while more members flocked to take their seats in the Tuileries, others of them went among the troops and the men of the faubourgs. Intelligence was soon brought in that several of the best sections were arming and marching for the defence of the representatives of the people; that the pupils of the school of Mars were shouting "Down with Robespierre!" and that the cannoneers outside, instead of obeying Henriot's orders to let their grape-shot fly on the hall of the convention, were turning the mouths of their guns the other way, forcing the commandant-general and his plumed staff to gallop off for the Hôtel de Ville. Hereupon the members in the house all vociferated, "*Hors la loi! Hors la loi!*" and Barrère, who had been working in that sense, presently presented a decree of outlawry against Henriot, the Robespierres, Saint-Just, and the rest. This was voted instantaneously, together with an order to

silence the tocsin and prevent the closing of the barriers. At last, as night was giving place to morning, Leonard Bourdon, who had put himself at the head of several battalions, undertook to lead them to the Hôtel de Ville, and there seize the outlaws and bring them to the convention, dead or alive. At his approach, the cannoneers whom Henriot had placed in the Place de Grève for the defence of the Hôtel de Ville, wheeled round their guns and pointed them against that edifice. Henriot, who had been consulting within, and assuring the outlaws that their triumph was secure, that the cannoneers were steady, and the section battalions coming, ran out into the Place to declaim and harangue, to implore, threaten, and cajole; but it was all in vain—he could not make them turn their guns again—he was threatened with some of their bitter grape—he rushed back, ran upstairs to the great council-chamber of the commune, and announced that all was lost. “Villain! and thy cowardice is the cause!” roared Coffinhal, a strong man made stronger by despair, who, as he uttered the words, seized light Henriot round the waist, and in the next instant hurled him out of an open window. The ex-commandant-general fell upon a dunghheap, or as others say, into an open sewer. The younger Robespierre, mounting one or two stories higher, threw himself head foremost out of a window; Lebas shot himself effectually with a pistol, and fell dead; Saint-Just clasped a knife or dagger in his hand, but made no further use of it; Couthon crept under a table, and with a weak hand and blunt weapon inflicted one or two insignificant wounds on himself; Robespierre put a pistol into his mouth to blow out his brains, but in pulling the trigger he changed the direction of the piece, and the ball broke his under jaw, and went through his cheek, without touching any vital part. When Leonard Bourdon burst into the room, followed by some gendarmes (himself, according to some accounts, including his own, being disguised as a common gendarme), Robespierre was sitting bleeding on a chair, with a knife in his hand; Couthon was lying under the table as though he were dead; the municipal officers were throwing off their scarfs, and apparently preparing for flight. One or two pistols were fired by the gendarmes, and then all the conspirators quietly submitted to be taken and bound. Henriot, badly wounded, disfigured, and covered with filth, was discovered in the foul place where he had fallen; Augustin Robespierre was also found alive, though with limbs broken and a skull fractured. Some of the armed people, who were now crowding into the council-cham-

ber, and running over every part of the vast building, dragged out Couthon by the heels from under the table, and proposed throwing his carcass into the Seine; but hereupon he opened his eyes, and gave them to understand that he was not yet dead, nor so much as dying. The wounded were put upon brancards or stretchers, and shouting “Victory! victory!” Leonard Bourdon conducted them to the Tuileries. By this time it was between three and four o’clock in the morning. At four o’clock in the afternoon, after suffering insults, outrages, and tortures, which proved that those who triumphed were as ferocious as those who fell, Robespierre, his brother Augustin, Saint-Just, Couthon, Henriot, and sixteen others were put in carts at the Conciergerie to be carried through the busiest streets of Paris to the Place de la Révolution. The carts were followed by a countless multitude, and the windows and house-tops are said to have been more crowded than ever they had been before. Jestings and laughing, filthy puns and quodlibets, were mixed with dire curses, shrieks, and anathemas. During a halt, a band of women, formerly his own *tricoteuses*, or furies of the guillotine, executed an infernal dance round his cart, with clapping of hands and other demonstrations of joy. On arriving in the Place de la Révolution, they laid him down on the ground at the foot of the scaffold, for he was to be executed last of the twenty-one, and he could not stand—indeed, he too was now almost dead—his face was livid, his eyes were sunk in his head. At the fall of each head the countless multitude shouted and waved hats and caps, and they shouted the loudest when Samson held up the heads of Saint-Just and Couthon. At last Robespierre’s turn came; for the axe had clanked down twenty times, and there remained none alive but he. As his ghastly figure and well-known sky-blue coat (now torn, and streaked and clotted with blood) slowly emerged to the surface of the scaffold, there was another universal roar of voices, and a still more enthusiastic waving of hats and caps. Samson tore off his coat, brutally wrenched the foul linen bandage from his jaw; the broken left jaw fell, and then a horrible cry or scream proceeded from him, being the first sound of lamentation or suffering he had been heard to utter since his arrest. This fearful cry was still ringing in the air, when the heavy axe, wet with the blood of his brother and his friends, clanked down once more. Samson held up the frightful head; the spectators shouted and applauded for several minutes, and then went away *singing*. It was towards seven o’clock in the evening of the 10th Thermidor, or 28th of July.

CHAPTER XXXVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1794—1795.

GEORGE III.

Events preceding the third partition of Poland—Anarchy of the Polish government—Character of Thaddeus Kosciusko—His previous history—His return from exile—Premature outbreak of the Polish insurrection—Kosciusko heads the insurrection—His victory at Racławice—The Russians driven out of Warsaw—Various successes of the Polish insurgents—The Russian and Prussian armies unite against them—The Poles defeated—Suwaroff leads a Russian army into Poland—He defeats the Polish insurgents—His sanguinary capture of Warsaw—The whole country divided among the three invading powers—Changes in the British cabinet—Crown prosecutions of British revolutionists—Trials of Thomas Hardy, Horne Tooke, &c.—Their acquittal—Trial of Robert Watt in Edinburgh for high treason—His execution—Opening of parliament—Royal speech recommending a continuation of the war—The resolution adopted by a large majority—The suspension of the habeas corpus act continued—Plan for augmenting the naval service—Debate on the subsidies given to foreign powers—Additional burdens imposed for the war—Demands of the opposition for a peaceful negotiation with France—Marriage of the Prince of Wales with Caroline, Princess of Brunswick—Parliamentary arrangement for the discharge of his debts—The Dutch declare for the French republic—The British and Hanoverian army in Holland defeat the French at the Waal—Inadequacy of their medical and commissariat departments—Sufferings of the British troops in Holland—They are compelled to retreat—They embark for England—The Dutch colonies captured by the British—The King of Prussia makes a treaty with France—Spain follows the example—The Grand Duke of Tuscany negotiates with France—Treaties of Britain with foreign powers against France—A French fleet sent to drive the English out of Corvica—It is defeated by Admiral Hotham—Naval victory of Lord Bridport over the French off Port l'Orient—An Austrian army compelled to capitulate to the French—Pichegru attempts to reduce Mayence—He is driven back to Manheim—Jourdan driven back by Clairfait—Defeat of the French by Clairfait at Mayence—Reverses of the French on the Rhine—They are unsuccessful in Italy—The royalist war of the Vendée suppressed—Internal proceedings in France—Precautions of the convention to maintain order—Death of the dauphin.



BEFORE returning to the home affairs of England, a few words must be said concerning the third partition of Poland, that deed which in its perpetration had weakened the armies of the coalition employed against France, and which, in its moral effects, threw a black cloud over the reputation of kings at a crisis when it ought to have been kept bright and spotless, and cast even a shade of obloquy over all who were attached to established governments. Among the much-divided Polish nobility, whose dissensions, jealousies, mad ambition, and political immorality had kept their country distracted and weak, in a confusion and anarchy worse than what had obtained in the old feudal days of Europe, while all its neighbours had been growing in strength and improving in organization and administration, was Thaddeus Kosciusko, of an ancient but not wealthy family of Lithuania; a man whose bravery, humanity, and patriotism are equally indisputable, but whose abilities, whether as a general or a statesman, are liable to some questioning. In the dearth of truly great men in modern times, and in their enthusiastic and laudable admiration of his gallantry and entire honesty, the Polish patriots have been wont to attribute more greatness and genius to the gallant soldier than ever belonged to him (his amiable and generous

qualities they could scarcely exaggerate); but at the same time it is but fair to state that, even had Kosciusko been as great and able a man as he is represented, it may be doubted whether he would have succeeded in his grand enterprise of driving out the three great powers from his native country—a country, for the most part, open and ill-calculated for defensive war, and most of the strong places in which were occupied by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Kosciusko, in his early life, had resided a considerable time in France, studying the science of war. While yet a very young man, he had volunteered to accompany La Fayette to America: he served for some time as aide-de-camp to Washington, and his services to our revolted colonists had obtained for him the rank of a general officer, and, after the war, a pension from the United States. The school or schools in which he had studied had given him a preference for republican institutions, but he had no excessiveness or extravagance in his political opinions, and seems to have agreed that the government best suited to his country would be a representative monarchy, in which the aristocracy should have its due share and influence. With some of the patriot nobles who had adhered to the constitution of 1793, and had gallantly fought the overwhelming forces of the Empress Catherine, Kosciusko had fled into Saxony. From Dresden and Leipsic these

unhappy exiles corresponded with their friends who remained at home under the harsh rule of Russian ministers and Russian generals, and concerted with them the means of attempting one struggle more for the independence of their native country. What followed is variously told, according to the predilections of party or of private friendship: some accounts state that the fugitives and exiles, anxious to regain their homes, precipitated the plan; others state that the patriots who remained in their country, suffering under the insolence and arrogance, and oppressions of the czarina's agents, who were instructed to drive matters to extremity, were the more impatient and imprudent party: one thing is perfectly clear—the plan *was* precipitated, and the insurrection broke out at an inauspicious moment, and before half the preparations it was really in their power to make had been made in Poland. After attacking some Prussian troops, Madalinski reached Cracow towards the end of March, and raised the standard of independence, which attracted fewer of the common people than the patriots had expected. Kosciusko arrived from Saxony a day or two after; he had no troops to bring, but his fame, and the magic of his name, made the standard of independence more attractive, and brought numbers of enthusiastic young men of the higher and middling classes to join the thin ranks of the patriotic army.

Early in April, Kosciusko marched from Cracow, at the head of 4000 men, who were for the most part armed with scythes and other agricultural implements; yet when he encountered, at Racławice, a village on the road between Cracow and Warsaw, an army of 12,000 or 13,000 men, he thoroughly defeated it after a bloody battle of five hours' duration. This success immediately brought him a considerable accession of strength; and some of the nobles, who had hitherto been wavering, began to repair to his standard. On the 17th of April the Polish garrison of Warsaw, about 4000 strong, unfurled the banner of independence, attacked the Russian troops in the town, about 8000 strong, gained possession of the arsenal and magazines, and distributed arms and ammunition to the populace. After some murderous and long street-fighting—it lasted, with slight intermission, for two days and two nights—the Russians were driven out of Warsaw, with the loss of more than 4000 men in killed and prisoners. On the 23d of April, Kosciusko's countrymen, the Lithuanians, burst into insurrection at Wilna, and after a sanguinary contest, drove the Russian garrison out of that capital city. At this juncture Frederick William, who, but for Poland, might have doubled or even trebled his army on the French frontier (being aided by the liberal English subsidy), marched 40,000

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Prussians into the palatinate of Cracow. This force effected a junction with a large Russian corps, and within a few days his Prussian majesty arrived and put himself at the head of his army. Towards the end of May, Kosciusko, with 16,000 regular troops and about 10,000 volunteers and armed peasants, marched away from Warsaw to defend the city of Cracow. On



THE COLUMN OF SIGISMUND, WARSAW.—FROM
L'Un vers Pittoresque

the 5th June, he fought the united Prussians and Russians at Szezakaciny, and was defeated with the loss of 1000 men. Three days after this affair another Polish corps was defeated and almost annihilated at Chilm; and on the 15th of June the ancient city of Cracow, the fountain-head of the insurrection, surrendered to the King of Prussia, after a short siege.

The Emperor of Germany observed a strict neutrality down to the end of June, but on the last day of that month he announced his intention of sending an army into Little Poland—"to prevent," said his manifesto, "the danger to which the frontiers of Galicia might be exposed, as well as to insure the safety and tranquillity of the other states of his imperial majesty." An Austrian army presently crossed the frontiers, meeting with no opposition, and offering no molestation to any of the Poles. The united armies of the Prussians and Russians, counting in all 50,000 men, of whom 40,000 belonged to his Prussian majesty, advanced from Cracow upon Warsaw, which city had been hastily fortified at the commencement of the insurrection. The besiegers suffered great losses, and on the night of the 5th of September the King of Prussia beat

a sudden retreat from Warsaw, leaving his sick and wounded and a good part of his baggage behind him. Meanwhile a Russian army, led by the formidable Suwaroff, was advancing. It was met by Kesciunsko on October 10th, and a bloody engagement ensued, which ended with the entire defeat of the Poles, of whom half were killed or made prisoners: their brave general was severely wounded and taken captive. Suwaroff, after the victory, marched to Warsaw, and assailed it as he had done Ismail. The Russians, forcing their way after an obstinate resistance into the suburb of Praga, put to the sword all whom they met with, and it is computed that 20,000 perished in this horrid massacre. The fate of Poland was now decided. The independence of the country had really been gone long before, but now its name as a nation was blotted out, the co-partitioners resolving to appropriate every inch of the country to themselves, to govern it by their own laws, and to treat the whole of it as conquered territory. It was not, however, until the 24th of October, 1795, that this last partition treaty was finally settled; and certain minor arrangements between Prussia and Austria, touching the palatinate of Cracow, were not settled till the 21st of October, 1796. The unhappy Stanislaus Augustus, who had never been a king except in name, was obliged to go to Grodno, and there sign a formal but empty and invalid act of abdication. He accepted an annual pension of 200,000 ducats from the three partitioning powers, who further promised to pay his debts.

The British parliament opened on the 30th of December, but before proceeding to its debates a few interesting circumstances which had occurred since the prorogation must be briefly noticed. In the month of July some important changes in the cabinet took place. The old Whig or Portland party, the ornament and strength of which had been Burke, formed a coalition or junction with the ministry, whom, ever since the alarming progress of the French revolution, they had backed and supported against the new Whigs or Foxites. The Duke of Portland received the order of the Garter and the office of third secretary of state; Earl Fitzwilliam was made president of the council, and, in December following, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; Earl Spencer became lord privy-seal, and, in December, first lord of the admiralty (an office which was thought to have been rather incompetently filled by Pitt's elder brother, the Earl of Chatham, who now took the privy seal); Mr. Windham, who prided himself on being the political pupil of Burke, became secretary-at-war, in lieu of Sir George Yonge; Loughborough, who had identified himself with this party, had already been for some time lord-chancellor.

Notwithstanding the bad success which had in England attended the crown prosecutions, the government resolved to proceed against some other conspicuous members of political societies. On the 6th of October the grand jury of Middlesex returned true bills against Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, John Augustus Bonney, Stewart Kyd, Jeremiah Joyce, Thomas Wardle, Thomas Holcroft, John Richter, Matthew Moore, John Thelwall, Richard Hodgson, and John Baxter, for high treason. Hardy, who had been secretary and a very active functionary to the Corresponding Society, was the first put upon his trial, which took place before Lord Chief-justice Eyre (a judge, even for his time, much given to hanging), Lord Chief-baron Macdonald, Mr. Baron Hotham, Mr. Justice Buller, Mr. Justice Grose, and others of his majesty's justices, &c., under a special commission, at the Old Bailey. He was charged with nine overt acts of high treason. But it was made to appear that, however imprudent or illegal might have been some of the means they had proposed, the sole object of Hardy and his associates was a sweeping parliamentary reform. This reform would have thrown the constitution under the feet of the democracy; but the thing had not happened, nor was it likely to happen: the demagogic strength was contemptible, and a humane jury shrunk from the horrible penalty attendant on a conviction for high treason. The trial lasted eight days, ending in a verdict of acquittal.

The trial of Horne Tooke, which next followed, and which commenced on the 17th of November, occupied six days, and was made remarkable by the perfect self-possession, the wit, the acuteness, and the dialectics of the accused, and by the quality of the persons he summoned as witnesses, among whom were the Duke of Richmond and Pitt himself. The jury, on the 22d of November, and at a late hour of the evening, brought in a verdict of not guilty.

On the 1st of December, Bonney, Joyce, Kyd, and Thomas Holcroft, the well known dramatic writer, and the author of one of the most interesting fragments of autobiography that exists in our language, were put to the bar; but the attorney-general stated that, as the evidence adduced on the two last trials and the evidence which applied to the prisoners was the same, and as, after the best consideration, those persons had been acquitted, he would submit to the jury and the court, whether the prisoners should not be acquitted also: and that for this end and purpose he would not trouble them by going into evidence. The lord chief-justice told the jury that, as there was no evidence, they must, of course, find the prisoners not guilty; and the jury gave them a formal verdict accordingly. On

the same day Thelwall was brought to the bar, and, it being assumed that there was evidence against him of a nature different from that which had been produced against the rest of the indicted, his trial was allowed to go on. It occupied four days, and also terminated in a verdict of acquittal.

In Scotland, however, there was one political trial that was followed by an execution. On the 14th of August, Robert Watt, late citizen of Edinburgh, and an embarrassed tradesman, was brought to the bar charged with eighteen overt acts of high treason. After having been employed as a spy, this wretched creature, feeling, as he said, that "his mind changed in favour of reform," had planned how to seize Edinburgh Castle, the post-office, the banks, &c.; and had distributed seditious papers among some of the troops. The imbecility of his plans, the nullity of his means of execution, and the small number and mean condition of his proven accomplices, ought assuredly to have saved him from capital punishment. These accomplices were a poor schoolmaster or usher, a half-starved weaver, a cabinet-maker, and *three* others equally unwarlike, and apparently just as poor. But Watt was hanged, and then beheaded at the west end of the Luckenbooths, on the 15th of October.

On the assembling of parliament (on the last day but one of the year), the speech from the throne, delivered by the king in person, insisted on the necessity of a vigorous prosecution of the war, and represented the resources of the French republic as in a state of rapid decline. It openly avowed, what there was no possibility of concealing, that the disappointments and reverses which we had experienced in the course of the year's campaign were great; but it maintained that there was no ground for despair; that France was exhausted by the unexampled efforts she had made, and that everything which had passed in the interior of that country had shown the progressive decay of its resources and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system. The desperate condition of Holland and the United Provinces, which the Duke of York had vainly endeavoured to defend against the overwhelming force of Pichegru, was frankly admitted; and his majesty informed the houses that the States-general had been led, by a sense of present difficulties, to enter into negotiations for peace with the party now prevailing in that unhappy country, France. The debates which followed on the address were very warm, but the ministerial majorities were immense, being in the upper house 107 against 12, and in the lower house 246 against 73. Mr. Canning, who was fast rising into reputation, particularly distinguished himself in these debates. He urged that our failures on the Continent had been oc-

casioned by the misconduct and desertion of our allies; that the fall of Robespierre and the subsequent changes in the French government—changes which left untamed the rage for conquest—did not warrant this country to attempt a treaty of peace: that a pacification with that republic at present would bring so little security, that no diminution of our fleets and armies could possibly ensue, and our expenses must remain as great as though we were actually at war.

A.D. 1795. On January the 5th, a motion by Mr. Sheridan for a repeal of the

act suspending the habeas corpus, gave rise to a prolonged debate. Sheridan's motion being negatived, the attorney-general moved for a bill to continue the suspension; and this was finally carried in the commons by 203 against 53. The debates in the lords had a like issue.

On the 7th of January ministers called for an augmentation in the number of seamen and marines, stating that the service of the year, to be properly conducted, would require 85,000 sailors and 15,000 marines. In order to raise the deficient number expeditiously, and without the harshness and violence of impressing, Pitt proposed that a certain number of men should be furnished by each merchant ship on clearing out, in proportion to its tonnage; and that every parish in the kingdom should be made to contribute one man; and, after a few alterations, this plan was adopted.

By this time it was visible that, besides the United Provinces, both Prussia and Spain were on the point of breaking with the coalition, and concluding separate treaties with the French republic. Austria, too, our only steady ally, was in want of money, and thought herself entitled to call upon Great Britain for a supply. She did not, however, demand a subsidy, as the King of Prussia had done, but only a loan; and, whatever mistakes her generals had committed in the field, she had, unlike Prussia, made great and costly exertions in the common cause. On the 4th of February, Pitt delivered a message from the king, stating the earnest intention of the Emperor Francis to make still more vigorous exertions in the next campaign, but intimating, at the same time, the urgent necessity of a loan of £4,000,000 sterling, on the credit of the revenues arising from his imperial majesty's hereditary dominions. It was impossible for the opposition not to take notice of and denounce the foul misapplication of the subsidy granted to the King of Prussia; that money, as we have stated, had been chiefly employed, not on the Rhine or the Moselle, but on the Vistula—not against the common enemy the French, but against the hapless and almost helpless Poles. Sheridan, Fox, and others dwelt upon this iniquitous transac-

tion, and argued that the emperor was not more trustworthy than his Prussian majesty. The motion for complying with the emperor's demands was, however, carried by the usual great majority.

On the 23d of February, the minister, in opening the budget, made a statement of the entire force required for the service of the year; it amounted to 100,000 seamen in all, 120,000 regulars for guards and garrisons, 56,000 militia, 40,000 regulars for Ireland, and the West Indies and other colonies, besides fencibles and volunteers, foreign troops in British pay, and embodied French emigrants. The supplies demanded for these immense forces were £16,027,000. To this sum was to be added £200,000 annual subsidy to the King of Sardinia, whose strength and resources were nearly exhausted, and who would have required a subsidy of £2,000,000 to enable him to reconstruct and increase his army and fortresses. There were also sundry deficiencies in taxes, &c., to be made up at home, so that the sum total required by the chancellor of the exchequer, including the interest on the debt, somewhat exceeded £27,500,000. In order to make up this amount some new duties were imposed upon tea, coffee, raisins, foreign grocery and fruits, foreign timber, insurances, writs and affidavits, hair-powder licenses, &c., and, to increase the receipts of the post-office, the privilege of franking letters was somewhat abridged. To the outcry raised against these additional burdens Pitt replied by triumphantly reciting the extraordinary increase of the national commerce, which in 1794 had exceeded what it had ever been, even in the most flourishing year of peace.

In both houses the opposition made repeated efforts to drive the government into negotiations with the French republic, which they represented as much improved from what it had been during the reign of terror, which was true; and as well disposed to renounce conquest and propagandism, which was false. Lord Grenville urged in reply that there was still no government in France deserving of the name; that everything in that country was in a state of transition and change; that there was no power or party or body of men with whom we could safely or creditably negotiate; and he very justly observed that, though the guillotine had become less active in Paris, the reign of terror and tyranny was far from being over.

Mr. Canning had strong grounds for his assertion as to the alarming state of affairs and opinions in Ireland: that country was every day approaching nearer to the verge of open rebellion; but we reserve the narrative of events for the moment when the mask was thrown off and the sword drawn, in order to compress in one clear

view the circumstances which preceded, accompanied, and followed that unhappy outbreak.

On April the 8th, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was married to Caroline, Princess of Brunswick, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick. On the 27th of that month a message from his majesty was delivered to the House of Commons, recommending the settling upon the prince and princess a provision suitable to their rank and dignity. His majesty at the same time expressed great regret in informing the house that such settlement could not be beneficial, if means were not provided to extricate the prince from the incumbrances under which he laboured to a large amount; but he said that he had no idea of proposing the payment of his royal highness's debts in any other manner than by appropriating a part of his income, and the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, to that purpose. Mr. Pitt having moved for taking the king's message into consideration, long discussions ensued in both houses on the subject, which were closed by an act passed on the 27th June, settling on the prince an annual revenue of £125,000, together with the rents of the duchy of Cornwall, estimated at £13,000. Out of this income, £73,000 was appropriated to the discharge of his debts, under the direction of commissioners appointed by parliament, and regulations were made to prevent the accumulation of new debts.

On the same day (the 27th of June) the session was closed by the king in person, who expressed his hope "that the present circumstances of France might, in their effects, hasten a return of such a state of order and regular government as might be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other powers;" but he also said that our main reliance must be on our naval and military forces.

Long before this the wretched remnant of the fine but small and ill-commanded army we had sent to the Netherlands and the northern frontiers of France was collected in barracks at home, or drafted off to other quarters of the world. The Dutch democratic party—who had done their utmost to facilitate the progress of the French, and discourage, thwart, and disorganize the forces which their stadtholder, the Prince of Orange, had collected after the fall of Nimeguen, and the retreat of the Duke of York behind the Waal—openly declared themselves everywhere for friendship and alliance with the Gallican republic, and for the entire abandonment of the old connection with great Britain, and the forced connection with Prussia.

Early in December, 1794, the Duke of York returned to London, leaving the command of the British and Hanoverian troops to Count Walmoden, a Hanoverian nobleman, said to be closely,

though illegitimately, connected in blood with the royal family of England. Walmoden, and the general officers under him, seem to have been fully possessed of the old notion that war was not to be waged in winter, and to have slept over the fact that in the north of Holland, the frost was often severe enough to convert the canals, and all the smaller rivers, into solid highroads, capable of bearing any weight that men could put upon them. The troops were in cantonments here and there, when, in the middle of December, after one or two nights of very hard frost, the French crossed the Waal on the ice, drove in the few videttes that were on the alert, and carried all the posts in the Isle of Bommel. But on the 30th of December, General Dundas, who was serving under Walmoden, advanced rapidly from Arnheim with only 8000 men, almost entirely British infantry, and drove the French, in spite of their vast superiority of number, and the batteries they had thrown up or taken possession of, back beyond the Waal, with a considerable loss in men, and the loss of several pieces of cannon. This affair was in the highest degree honourable to the stanch infantry of Britain; but it could be of little service to the common cause, for Pichegru soon collected a force of 200,000 men; the people of the country continued to favour the French; and the British army, with a miserable, and in part fraudulent commissariat, with an equally bad medical staff, was totally unprovided with most of the requisites indispensable in their hard and trying circumstances: the sick and wounded had neither medicines nor able surgeons to attend them; and often wanted food, covering, and proper places of shelter to receive them. The indignation of the army was the greater as it was perfectly well known that the government had provided, with a lavish hand, for all their wants, as far as money, orders, and injunctions could provide for them, and that a variety of those comforts needed by the soldiery in a cold, inhospitable country had been furnished by private patriotic subscriptions raised throughout England. The standing orders of the army, and the orders of the day issued by the Duke of York, were humane, clear, and altogether excellent; but unfortunately there was generally not only a want of an active superintendence over the execution of these orders, but also a want of knowledge and method in our officers as to the means of carrying them into execution. Moreover, Britain had not at that time any very numerous body of able well-trained surgeons to draw upon, and the pay offered was scarcely sufficient to tempt good surgeons into the service. Both on the medical staff and in the commissariat a great many French emigrants and other foreigners were employed *pro tempore*; and, although there

is no cloaking the iniquity of some of our own native-born subjects, it is easy to understand that most of these foreigners kept only in view the making of as much money as they could during the campaign. The medical department was improved more rapidly; but we never had anything like a good, honest, effective commissariat, until Sir Arthur Wellesley (the Duke of Wellington) was intrusted with the command of our forces in Portugal; and half of our military failures, and a very large portion of the excess in expense of all our expeditions, are attributable to this one great want. When the Duke of York quitted the army, and came home, matters became much worse, and the acts of cruel neglect and of peculation more flagrant and barefaced.

Five days after the French had sustained their unexpected and inglorious defeat at the hands of General Dundas, Pichegru crossed the Waal upon the ice with an enormous force. It became evident that nothing but a hasty retreat could possibly save the remains of the British army; and, after spiking their heavy cannon and destroying all the ammunition they could not carry off, they retired towards the Lech on 6th January. They were attacked on the 11th in a defile between Arnheim and Nimeguen by 70,000 men, but they nobly fought through and made good their retreat. Their sufferings from the cruel winter weather, from the inhospitality of the inhabitants, and from the incessant attacks of the French, were as great as ever army sustained; but the unconquerable fragment reached the mouth of the Elbe and embarked at Bremen for England. Our ally the stadtholder arrived in this country long before them, and as a fugitive; for the democrats at the Hague had made common cause with the Jacobin invaders, and had threatened destruction to the whole house of Orange. Thus Holland remained to France. But our ministers speedily took measures for preventing the wealth of the Dutch colonies from flowing to Paris, and before the close of the year the Cape of Good Hope, and all the places the Dutch held in the island of Ceylon, together with Chinsurah, Malacca, Cochin, Amboyna, and Banda, were taken possession of, with scarcely any resistance, by British troops. Other plans of easy execution were arranged for the seizure of the Dutch colonies in the West Indies and on the coast of South America; so that it was made evident that the Batavian republic would soon lose all those foreign possessions and plantations which had once poured a continuous stream of wealth into the United Provinces.

Such, for a long time, had been the equivocal conduct of the King of Prussia, that it excited little or no surprise, when, in the spring of this year, he concluded a separate treaty with the

French, whom he had been the first of all the coalition to assail. By this treaty, which was definitely settled at Basle, in Switzerland, on the 5th of April, the king ceded to the republic all the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine. In secret articles or overtures the pride and cupidity of the court of Berlin were flattered by prospective aggrandizements at the cost of its old enemy and rival, Austria; and perhaps England's best and steadiest ally—as Frederick William had been so often represented to be by our ministry—already anticipated the rounding of his dominions by the occupation and sovereign possession of Hanover.

A link of the chain once broken, other links of the coalition were soon snapped asunder. Spain was exhausted by the efforts she had made; the Walloons in her service had all deserted to the enemy; the republican columns again threatened to advance even to the gates of Madrid; and, dismayed and discouraged, and urged on by a strong French party, Godoy, the royal favourite and prime minister, humbly sued for peace. A definitive treaty was signed at Basle on the 22d of July. Even as Prussia had done, the proud monarchy of Spain, with its Bourbon sovereign, fully recognized the French republic, and engaged to a reciprocity of friendship and good understanding. The French republic restored all the conquests she had made in the Spanish peninsula, and agreed to accept as an indemnity all the Spanish part of the island of San Domingo. Spain recognized the Batavian republic which the French had set up in the United Provinces, and stipulated that the same peace, amity, and good understanding should take place between the King of Spain and those allies of the French republic as between his majesty and the French. As a testimony of amity to his Catholic majesty, the French republic agreed to accept his mediation in favour of the King of Portugal, his relatives and allies the King of Naples and the Infante Duke of Parma, the King of Sardinia, and the other states of Italy; and also to accept his majesty's good offices in favour of other belligerent powers that should apply to him in order to enter into negotiations with the French government.

In the hopes of saving himself from the republican armies, which now almost pressed upon his frontiers, the Grand Duke of Tuscany had negotiated with France. This treaty with a prince of the house of Hapsburg, the near relative of the emperor, flattered the pride of the republicans; but it was otherwise of little importance to the interests of the coalition, while it was quite certain that it would be of no benefit to Tuscany, which would be overrun by the French just as soon as it suited their purpose to

overrun it. Overtures were made through Spain to detach the King of Sardinia and the King of Naples from the league; but the first of these sovereigns was heroically true to his treaties and obligations; and the second, though much less firm, rejected the propositions for the present.

The court of Sweden and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland recognized the French republic, and its dependency, the nominal independent Batavian republic; and, in consequence of the defection of Prussia, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and even George III., in his quality of Elector of Hanover, were compelled to engage to furnish no more troops to the emperor. Although our diplomatists had not been idle, they had but little to set off against the breach of treaties committed by Prussia. Ever since the commencement of the war strenuous efforts had been made to bring into the coalition the Empress of Russia: that sovereign had professed the greatest detestation and a scarcely credible dread of the French revolution and of its principles and propagandists. Though she had at one time been the correspondent and professed friend of D'Alembert, Diderot, and others of the French philosophes, whose writings had helped to make the present state of things in France, and to furnish the principles and dogmas upon which that democracy was acting, she had now put her interdict upon the introduction of all new French books into her not very literary dominions; had expelled a number of Frenchmen from St. Petersburg, and had made difficult the entrance of any individuals of that nation except royalists and emigrants; but, having a tolerably clear foresight that Russia had little to gain by becoming a party to the war in the west of Europe, she declined becoming an active member of the coalition. But at last she was induced to consent to a treaty of defensive alliance with Great Britain. This treaty, though not publicly announced or noticed in the British parliament till the next session, was concluded and signed at St. Petersburg on the 18th of February. To draw still closer the bonds which united us to the Emperor of Germany, a separate treaty of defensive alliance was concluded with him also, and was signed at Vienna on the 29th of May. Each power guaranteed to the other all its dominions, territories, &c., and engaged to succour its ally without delay in case of any attack. Added to these treaties with high Christian powers and crowns imperial—treaties which meant little more than that Russia might require the assistance of an English fleet, and Austria an English subsidy, there was, towards the close of the year, a treaty or agreement with the infidel and piratic Dey of Algiers! This last piece of diplomacy originated with Sir Gilbert Elliot, the viceroy of George III.'s

new and transitory kingdom of Corsica, who wished to gratify a people whom he had in many instances disobliged and irritated.

The French had fitted out all the ships in dock or on the stocks at Toulon which Sir Sidney Smith had failed of destroying; some other vessels had stolen round by the Straits of Gibraltar from Brest; and on the 28th of February, Rear-admiral Pierre Martin quitted the outer harbour of Toulon and took the sea with fifteen sail of the line, six frigates, and three corvettes—a force which he believed to be superior to our Mediterranean fleet under Vice-admiral Hotham. The Frenchman had positive orders to engage Hotham if he met him, and to drive the English out of Corsica: he had a powerful body of troops on board, and was accompanied to sea by the conventional deputy and commissioner Letourneur, who was to look to the proper execution of the orders which the convention had given. On the 13th of March the English came up with this fleet between Genoa and Corsica. Admiral Hotham had thirteen sail of the line and four frigates, and he had been joined by a Neapolitan seventy-four and two frigates of the same flag. The French would have borne away, but were prevented by accidents: in the end, after losing two ships of the line with 420 soldiers on board, they succeeded in escaping to Toulon.

On the 23d of June, Admiral Lord Bridport, with fourteen ships of the line and eight frigates, gave chase, off Port l'Orient, to a French squadron of twelve ships of the line and eleven frigates, and engaging them close in shore, where they were assisted by their own batteries, he captured three ships of the line, and greatly damaged the others, which with difficulty escaped into port.

Many encounters of detached ships took place in various parts of the world, and were generally to the advantage of the British. In the West Indies we were rapidly conquering all the French and Dutch islands, and annihilating the trade of our enemies.

The conflict of armies on the European continent, in which our troops had no share, may be briefly related. The old Austrian general Bender, on the retreat and dissolution of the grand army of the coalition, threw himself into Luxemburg with some 10,000 men. The republican government at Paris was certainly less active and energetic in war than it had been in the days of Robespierre and Saint-Just. Although Bender was entirely isolated and cut off from all succour, it was the 7th of July before he was reduced to capitulate, and then he and his numerous garrison were allowed to retire to Germany, upon condition of not serving against the French till exchanged. With the exception of Mentz, or Mayence, the republicans were now masters of

the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, and of the estuaries through which the Rhine flows into the North Sea, from Holland to Strasburg; and there was nothing on the right bank of that river to disturb this their *natural* frontier, except Mannheim, and a few other weak places. In the month of August, Pichegru, the conqueror of Holland, undertook the reduction of Mayence, which was occupied by imperial and Austrian troops: as preparatory steps, he crossed the Rhine, captured Düsseldorf, and occupied Mannheim. The emperor had kept his promise to England of making a great effort for this campaign; and old Wurmser, esteemed one of the best of his generals, was now advancing with a good army to effect a junction with Clairfait, succour Mayence, and drive the French from the left bank of the Rhine. Pichegru detached a division to prevent this junction: the division put a part of the Austrians to the rout; but, while the French were engaged in plunder, Wurmser's excellent cavalry advanced in full force, threw the French into confusion, and drove them back to Mannheim. General Jourdan, who had followed Clairfait at the end of the last campaign from the Netherlands, came up to co-operate with Pichegru in the reduction of Mayence, and, crossing the Rhine, he established himself on the right bank opposite to the town, to cover the siege and assist in it. There was another urgent reason for Jourdan's movement: he had exhausted the country where he had been quartered during the winter, the treaty with Prussia forbade him to levy military contributions within the marked line of neutrality; and, Mayence being once reduced, he must push forward towards the heart of Germany to find food and forage for his army. Clairfait, who had been strongly reinforced early in the spring, made a rapid and skilful advance, took Jourdan by surprise, obliged him to decamp hastily and leave part of his artillery behind him—harassed him by continually skirmishing with his rear until he reached Düsseldorf, and there re-crossed the Rhine. Clairfait then threw a considerable part of his army across the river into Mayence, in spite of the French lines drawn around that place. On the 29th of October, Clairfait ordered a general attack on the French lines: part of the garrison of Mayence made a sortie with the fresh columns that had been thrown into the place; and, while these forces, divided into two columns of attack, fell upon the lines in front and turned one of their wings, a flotilla of gunboats ascending the river began to cannonade the French in their rear. The whole plan of attack was beautifully conceived, was admirably executed; and, if Clairfait had only brought over all his forces from the opposite bank and risked them all in

this one great enterprise, nothing but a miracle could have saved the French army from entire destruction. As it was, the Austrians drove the republicans from their fortified lines with a terrible loss, captured their battering-train and most of their field-pieces, separated them into two divisions, and obliged one to retreat northward, while the other fled southward. The pride and confidence of the French were sadly damped; but if Clairfait had acted in force upon their retreating, disorganized columns, he might not only have annihilated them, but have cut off two other *corps d'armée* that were advancing by different lines of march towards Mayence. On the opposite side of the river old Wurmser, who was quite strong enough to have contended with Pichegru, without the aid of that large part of his army which Clairfait had left on the right bank, obtained many advantages over the republicans (who never properly recovered from the beating they got from his cavalry), gained by a simultaneous attack the bridge of the Necker, and drove Pichegru within the walls of Mannheim. After the retreat of Jourdan, and the flight of all the French forces from the lines of Mayence, neither Mannheim nor any other spot on the right bank of the river was a proper abiding-place for Pichegru: after strengthening the garrison, he quitted Mannheim, recrossed the Rhine, and was allowed to effect a junction with Jourdan. Wurmser, who would have done better if he had followed Pichegru with his own and all the troops which Clairfait had left on that side of the river—by rapidity of movement he might have rendered the passage of the Rhine a desperate or most costly affair to the retreating general—sat down before Mannheim, which did not surrender until the 22d of November. Wurmser then formed a junction with Clairfait, and the two presently recovered the whole of the Palatinate, and of the country between the Rhine and the Moselle. The successes of the Austrians emboldened them to form the project of penetrating once more into Luxemburg, the loss of which weighed heavily on the emperor's heart. They made preparations to this intent, but were, as usual, slow in collecting and concentrating the necessary troops; and Jourdan and Pichegru advanced along the Rhine by forced marches, and kept them in check. Some obstinate and sanguinary encounters took place; but the winter was now setting in with great severity; both republicans and imperialists were much exhausted by a campaign which had commenced very late in the season, but which had been exceedingly active and fatiguing while it lasted; and it was thought expedient to agree to an armistice, which was not to be broken by either party without ten days' previous notice, and during which both

belligerents were to confine themselves strictly to the positions they actually occupied.

On the side of Italy, where the French had gained such important advantages in the preceding campaign, their army, all through the spring and summer, was much neglected: the Austrians and Sardinians, or Piedmontese, now assisted by some troops from the south of Italy, comprising some brigades of Neapolitan cavalry that behaved very well, collected such a force in the passes of the Maritime Alps and the Apennines as gave them a decided superiority. Almost all that the republicans tried to do was to keep possession of the posts they had gained in 1794: and even some of these posts they lost; and they must have lost many more if the allies had been less sluggish and irresolute. Nelson, who had been detached with a small part of a fleet to co-operate with Devins, and who served on the coast of Nice, sometimes at sea, sometimes on land, doing soldiers' work (and much better than most soldiers did it), was driven almost frantic by the sluggish pedantic movements of the Austrian general to whom his Sardinian majesty had mainly intrusted the salvation of his kingdom.

The pacification of La Vendée, effected during this year, was of inestimable advantage to the French republic: it stopped a drain of blood more copious than any that had flowed in her exterior wars, and enabled her to liberate a large army from a most wearying service, and to employ it next year beyond her frontiers against her foreign enemies. It also reduced to despair the royalists in all parts of France, and, coinciding with the fall and discredit of Jacobinism, and the altered tone and system of the government, it reconciled not a few of the royalists to the convention, or to its successor, the directory. The reverses and frightful slaughter which the Vendéans had sustained at the end of 1793 had not prevented their rising again. Impelled by the fierce spirit of revenge, and goaded to desperation by the cruelties of Carrier, Rosignol, and the "Infernal Columns," they began early in 1794 to collect again in arms, and to make themselves formidable to the republicans, who had fondly believed that they were all but extinct. England gave but a stinted assistance to these unfortunate royalists, whose spirit expired with the death of their brave leader Charrette, who was taken prisoner and shot by the republicans. According to General Hoche, who finished the contest, the war of the Vendée cost the lives in all of 100,000 Frenchmen, and not a fifth part of the male population of the country was left alive.

In other parts of France the year 1795 was a red year. Though the guillotine was comparatively inactive in Paris, and though in that city the reaction against the terrorists was not very

sanguinary,' the retaliation was of a ferocious kind in many of the departments, and in some of the great towns of the south, murders and massacres were committed by the royalists and Girondins upon the overthrown Jacobins, almost as atrocious and as extensive as any that they had perpetrated during the reign of terror.

At Toulon the ultra-Jacobin party were treated with the same inhumanity that they had meted out to the royalists in 1793. The worst proceedings of the Parisian Septembrizers were imitated and repeated upon different objects; and, taking the whole of the south, the quantity of blood spilled must have been prodigious, for slaughters or assassinations were committed in every town, in every village and hamlet; and this fury of revenge raged, at intervals, for months, and even for years.

The Jacobin Club in the Rue St. Honoré was now closed for good. Billaud-Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, Thuriot, and thirteen other revolutionary chiefs, were thrown into state prisons, or were transported to the pestiferous swamps of Guiana.

The victory of the Thermidorians, as the party called themselves, who had overthrown Robespierre and the measures he had adopted, secured by degrees the dominion of the middle classes. The terrible Parisian cannoneers and gendarmes, who were too closely connected with the poorer inhabitants of the capital and its faubourgs, were

dissolved and completely disarmed; and a regular camp, with artillery constantly in battery, was established in the Tuileries gardens, under the windows of the convention, and a strong garrison of troops of the line was cantoned in and round Paris; and, finally, the entrance to the galleries of the convention was closed to the mob, who had made so fearful a use of their privilege.

While these things were doing, and while the Thermidorians and restored Girondins were riding rough-shod over the prostrate democracy, that hapless boy the dauphin, whom the royalists now fondly called their king, expired in the Temple, in the twelfth year of his age. He had been slowly dying for many months, but it was on the 20th Prairial, or 8th of June, that he was released from his sufferings. Reports were spread that he had been poisoned—idle reports—for the close confinement, and the affliction, and the frightful usage he had undergone, were more than sufficient to account for his death, and must have killed him long before if his constitution had not been a very strong one. Mousieur, the eldest of the dauphin's uncles, now assumed the title of king; and, in a religious ceremony which took place at the head-quarters of the emigrant army of Condé, the Prince of Condé pronounced the ancient formula: "Louis XVII. is dead; long live Louis XVIII."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A D. 1795--1796.

GEORGE III.

The committee of eleven produce a new constitution for France—Its two chambers and their functions—The constitution accepted—Parties opposed to it—Their armed revolt in Paris—The suppression of the revolt committed to Napoleon Bonaparte—His decisive military arrangements—He defeats and scatters the insurgents—The five French directors—Discontent in London with the war—Political meetings in London—Unpopularity of the king at this crisis—Parliamentary bills for the protection of the king's person and prevention of seditious meetings—Motions for peace with France—They are unsuccessful—Publication of Burke's *Letters on a Regicide Peace*—Hopeless prospect of peace at this period—Lord Malmesbury sent to Paris with terms of accommodation—Their arrogant rejection by the directors—British acquisitions in the West Indies—Elliot's blundering vice-royalty in Corsica—Its termination—The British troops evacuate Corsica—The French attempt an invasion of Ireland—Their armament dispersed by a storm—The French resolve to invade Germany and Italy—Germany invaded by Jourdan and Moreau—Their advance and progress—Repeated defeats of Jourdan by the Archduke Charles—Jourdan driven back across the Rhine—Moreau compelled to retreat—The French invasion of Italy intrusted to Napoleon Bonaparte—His advance into Italy—His rapid successes—Summary of Bonaparte's first Italian campaign—His victories at Fombio and Lodi—Demands of the directory upon Bonaparte for money—His proceedings to satisfy their demands and maintain his troops—His victories over the Austrians under Beaulieu, Wurmser, and Alvinzi—The battle of Arcole.



HE committee of eleven, appointed to prepare organic laws, and modify and make fit for action the constitution of '93, soon produced a very new and a very different constitution; and this was accepted

and decreed by the purged convention on the 22d

of August. These philosophical statesmen had been brought at last to recognize the necessity of two houses or chambers; and therefore there were to be two elected chambers—one of ancients,

¹ The moderation of the Thermidorians in the capital has, however, been much overrated. Five days after the execution of Robespierre, no fewer than 10,000 new arrests had taken

or seniors, to be called *CONSEIL DES ANCIENS*, and to consist of 250 members, of the age at least of forty full years; and one of juniors, to be called *CONSEIL DES CINQ CENTS*, and to consist of 500 members, all of the age of thirty years at least. All the powers of legislation were to be divided between these two elective chambers or councils; and there was to be no third estate, or president,¹ or any other authority with the faculty of confirming or rejecting laws. As if to place the two councils in a state of direct antagonism and perpetual collision, the *cinq cents* were to have the sole right of proposing and discussing decrees and laws, or *seul l'initiative et la discussion des lois*; and the *anciens* were to have the sole right of confirming or rejecting the decrees and laws—their negative being made as absolute as any royal veto. The committees of government were to be suppressed; and the executive power, separated from the two councils, was to be vested in a directory consisting of five members, who were all to be elected by the two councils.

Assuming that the revolution could only be defended by the men that made it, and that this new constitution could be made to march properly only by its authors, the convention issued two supplementary decrees, importing that two-thirds of the present members must remain or be re-elected; and that for this time the active citizens sitting as electoral assemblies should only have free choice of one-third; and that, in default of the re-election of those two-thirds, the convention should fill up the vacancies themselves.

On the appointed day, the constitution was accepted and ratified by the townships of France, the primary assemblies voting with overwhelming majorities for a thing they neither understood nor had examined. Oaths again volleyed through France—oaths to live or die by this glorious republican charter. But in Paris a very mixed opposition instantly began to show itself; for each party had hoped to gain something by a new election, and now there was to be only the third of an election! Ultra-Jacobin republicans, men who continued the party or the principles of Romme, Ruhl, and Bourbotte; the shuffling middle men of the convention, who never knew what party to be of, and who were of all parties by turns; the constitutional monarchists, and the disguised ultra-royalists, all joined in shouting usurpation; in declaring that the supplementary

decrees plainly showed that the ruling conventionalists were determined to preserve their tyrannical power at all hazards—that they wanted to perpetuate themselves. Section Lepelletier beat to arms; and during the whole of the 12th Vendémiaire, or the 4th of October, a committee sat in the convent of Filles St. Thomas, in the Rue Vivienne, surrounded by guards with fixed bayonets and muskets primed, and calling upon all the sections to arm and fight for the freedom of election, and the overthrow of a set of greedy, ambitious, blood-thirsty usurpers. With a consternation as great as that of the section, the convention ordered Menou, the general of the interior, to march, disarm, and disperse the conspirators. Menou marched accordingly, and with a considerable force; but he was brought to a dead halt in the Rue Vivienne by seeing the muzzles of muskets protruding from every door, gateway, and window, and by hearing a terrible chorus of most resolute shouts; and after hesitating for a few minutes, during which a good many of his volunteers skulked away, he returned speedily to the convention, who deprived him of his command, and ordered him under arrest as a traitor. Next they named Barras as a proper man to take the command of the troops, and put down the insurrection. Barras had acted in this capacity before, and particularly on the critical night when Robespierre was extinguished in the Hôtel de Ville; but Barras, though he had served under the old régime, was no soldier, and had a decided aversion to exposing his own person; and this time most people thought that there would be hard fighting. Some deputies very opportunely thought of Napoleon Bonaparte, the young officer who had contributed so materially to the taking of Tonlon, and who had since distinguished himself in the war of Nice and the Maritime Alps. This adventurous young officer, who had owed his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general of artillery to the younger Robespierre, with whom he had lived in the closest intimacy, had fallen into disgrace, had been dismissed the army, and had even suffered a short imprisonment after the revolution of the 9th and 10th Thermidor, being then evidently judged by the Thermidoriens to be a decided ultra-Jacobin and Robespierriest. After lying under arrest for a fortnight—which time, it is said, he chiefly occupied in studying the map of Upper Italy—he had been liberated by the convention, and had been allowed to serve out the remainder of the campaign of 1794; but ever since the spring of the present year he had been in Paris vainly soliciting employment. He had been offered the command of a brigade of infantry in the Vendée, but that appointment he had refused. He had entertained some thoughts

place in Paris alone for imputed terrorism. The same measures were applied to the rest of France, and generally the prisons were filled by new political offenders faster than they were emptied of the old ones. This could not have been done if pains had not been taken previously to disarm all the *poor or true sans-culottes*.

¹ "If we admit a president," said Faublas Louvet, who was again figuring as a lawgiver, "some day a Bourbon might be elected to that office."

of going to Constantinople, and entering into the service of the sultan. At the critical moment—on the night of the 12th Vendémiaire—when Menou was dismissed, he was sitting in the gallery of the house. He was well known to Carnot, Tallien, and other members of the convention, as a man of head and of action; and it is added that either Carnot or Barras himself said, "I have the very man we want for this business: it is that little Corsican officer, who will not stand upon ceremony!"

The young brigadier was instantly called before the committee of cinq cents; and after some hesitation and considerable embarrassment, he consented to accept the command under Barras, and to do all the needful work. There was no time to lose. He sent Adjutant Murat to secure and bring up all the artillery which had been removed from the Tuileries to the camp of Sablons. Murat, with such men as he could most speedily collect, made a rush for the spot; section Lepelletier, with the same intention, was already in motion for the camp; but the brave and rapid son of the innkeeper and postmaster of Cahors got there first, and made sure of the guns. These were only guarded by some twenty men: a few minutes and Murat would have been too late. While the convention sat in permanent session through the night, Bonaparte quickly drew his lines of defence round the Tuileries, and along the adjoining quays on the north bank of the Seine. He had about 5000 regular troops under arms, and the 1500 or 1800 patriots of '89; but his main reliance was upon the cannon, which he loaded with grape-shot and placed at the head of the various avenues through which the insurgents must advance. He sent 800 muskets, with ball cartridge, into the convention, with the hope that the honourable members would make good use of them in case of extremity—a proposition which is said to have made the honourable members look very grave. Betimes in the morning of the 13th Vendémiaire—the 5th of October, and the anniversary of the march of the Parisian mob to Versailles—the sectioners were in motion; but many of the national guards did not answer the call to arms; several of the sections were altogether backward, and long delays ensued. At length, about the hour of noon, section Lepelletier seized the church of St. Roch, and drove in some pickets near the Pont Neuf. Then there was another pause, which lasted till near four o'clock in the afternoon, Bonaparte wisely waiting to be attacked, and his adversaries hesitating as to how it was to be done, or waiting for more force. Having been anticipated by Murat at the camp of Sablons, they had no artillery—apparently not so much as a single gun; the number of their national guardsmen is variously stated at 20,000,

30,000, or 40,000. They were commanded, or at least headed, by General Danican, a brave officer of noble birth, General Duhoux, the Count Maulévrier, and Lafond de Soule, who had belonged to the garde du corps of Louis XVI. When section Lepelletier first came in sight of the conventional troops, they waved their hats, and intimated by other signs and words that they wished to fraternize. Women with dishevelled hair ran between the two armies, crying "Peace! peace!" But none of these appeals made the smallest impression on the men that manned the guns; for things were not now as they were on the 10th of August, 1792, when the cannoneers stationed to defend the Tuileries turned, at the first call of the insurgent people, the mouths of their guns against the palace. A little after four o'clock a part of the sections began to move in several columns along the quays and the Rue St. Honoré. As soon as they were within musket-shot, they were ordered to disperse in the name of the law; they answered by discharging their muskets, and thereupon Bonaparte's gunners opened a murderous fire of grape-shot and canister. The effect was instantaneous and decisive, for, although some desperate men returned to the charge once or twice, and attempted to carry the guns, the mass of those who had come into action ran from the open ground under cover of the houses and churches, and into the side streets where the cannon shot could not reach them. The party which had occupied the church of St. Roch attempted to maintain themselves, although their position lay exposed to the fire of the artillery: it was here that the greatest number of lives were lost, but when about 200 had fallen the post was evacuated. A few hundred that clustered about the Théâtre de la République were dislodged by a few shells. According to Bonaparte's own account, the fighting, which had not properly begun till half-past four, was all over by six. Faint attempts to erect barricades in the streets were defeated by rapid movements; and the scattered and panic-stricken insurgents, being followed into their several sections, were disarmed during the night. The victory was complete; the ill-combined sectioners, who would soon have turned their arms against each other if success had attended them, could never rise again. The victors, though not very moderate in their vengeance, were incomparably less sanguinary than any triumphant party had hitherto been.

The house now formed itself into an "Electoral National Assembly," to complete in its own bosom the two-thirds—that is, to name themselves the members that were to remain, and the members that were to go out to make room for the third who had been elected by the people, or by their electoral colleges. Next, they divided them-

selves, according to their several ages, into "Council of Ancients" and "Council of Five Hundred;" and all this being done, they proceeded to elect out of their own body or bodies the five directors. The directors thus chosen were Sièyes, La Réveillère-Lepeaux, Rewbell, Letourneur, and Barras. They were to preside in rotation, each for three months at a time; and he who presided was to keep the great seals and sign for the whole directory. Every year one-fifth of this directory was to be renewed; that is, one director was to retire annually, and make room for a new one. By this rapid rotation all the leading members of the convention might hope to be directors in their turns. A military guard and a sort of civil list were conferred upon them, and the palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for their residence. Sièyes, out of antipathy and hatred to his colleague Rewbell, or through calculation, or perhaps out of a vain desire to show that, if his perfect constitution did not work quite so well as its admirers had anticipated, it was because those intrusted with its execution did not perform their duty ably or honestly, very soon resigned, and was succeeded by Carnot. Except La Réveillère-Lepeaux, all these first directors had been Montagnards and ultra-Jacobins.

Notwithstanding the confident predictions of ministers in the last session of parliament, the dearness of bread and general scarcity of provisions had increased in Great Britain, and the poorer classes had certainly suffered severe privations ever since the beginning of the year. The successes of the French, and the defections from the coalition, together with some harsh practices used at home for recruiting the army, had to some extent rendered the war unpopular. The common council of the city of London passed, by a vast majority, a petition for peace, wherein was contained a severe criticism on the origin and conduct of the war, and Southwark and various other cities and boroughs followed this example. Counter-addresses were indeed procured by ministers, but their tone was thought to be but faint and languid. The political societies took advantage of the prevailing discontents, and laboured hard to give them growth and increase. At the end of June a numerous meeting was held in St. George's Fields to petition for annual parliaments and universal suffrage. A riot was apprehended, but the day passed over with nothing worse than some very bad speeches. The harvest, however, had been very abundant; bread was becoming comparatively cheap, and the worst cause of alarm was gradually subsiding by the month of October. On the 26th of October the London Corresponding Society called a general meeting in the fields between Islington and Copenhagen House. The multitude that as-

sembled was vaguely computed at 50,000; but it was a fine day, and it appears that the majority of those present were merely seeking a little amusement. The speeches, delivered by three professional demagogues, were excessively violent; but again there was no rioting. Ministers had, however, taken the alarm, and had convoked parliament for an unusually early day.

On the 29th of October, as the king was going down to the House of Lords to open the session in person, he was surrounded by a numerous mob who hooted and groaned at his majesty, and clamorously demanded peace, the dismissal of Mr. Pitt, and cheaper bread. As the state coach came opposite to the ordnance office, then in St. Margaret Street, a pebble or a marble thrown by a vigorous hand, or a ball discharged from an air-gun, went through one of the glasses and passed between the king and Lord Westmoreland, who was in the coach with him. On going back from the house to St. James's Palace, his majesty was again hooted and pelted.

In the meanwhile the speech from the throne had made the most of the check which the French had received from the Austrians on the Rhine. It also said that the ruin of their commerce, the diminution of their maritime power, and the unparalleled financial embarrassments of the French seemed to have induced them to have some wish for peace; and it gave the assurance that any disposition on their part to negotiate for a general peace, on suitable terms, would be met on the part of his majesty with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect.

On the 6th of November, Lord Grenville introduced in the House of Lords a bill "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts." And on the same day a bill was brought into the commons by Pitt, "for the prevention of seditious meetings." These bills, which went to restrict the right of the people to assemble for petitioning the crown and the legislature, and for discussing political subjects, were warmly opposed in all their stages and in both houses as violent and unnecessary encroachments on popular liberty and the privileges granted or acknowledged by our constitution, but they were both carried by majorities even larger than usual; for many men, without any rational link, had chosen to connect the meeting in the Copenhagen Fields with the outrages offered to the king; and others were of opinion that the unchecked harangues of the Thelwalls and Hodsons, the Binnses and the Gale Joneses, might lead the people into excesses. In this frame of mind the majority would probably have voted the bills in perpetuity; but it was thought proper to limit their duration to three years.

On the 8th of December a message from the king was delivered to both houses, stating that the present order of things in France would induce his majesty to meet any disposition for negotiation on the part of the enemy with an earnest desire to conclude a treaty for a general peace; and that his majesty hoped that the spirit and determination manifested by his parliament, added to the recent and important successes of the Austrian armies, and to the continued and growing embarrassments of the enemy, might speedily conduce to the attainment of this great object.

After the Christmas recess, Mr.

A.D. 1796. Grey, in the commons, made a motion to bind the country to a peace, complaining that, contrary to general expectation, the ministry, in lieu of opening negotiations, were making preparations for continuing the war. Pitt said that there was a sincere desire of peace if it could be obtained on honourable terms, but that the country could not break her faith with the allies that remained true to her, or consent to any arrangement which should leave the French in possession of Belgium, Holland, Savoy, Nice, &c.; and he added, that it was for ministers to determine when and how negotiations should be opened. Mr. Grey's motion was negatived by 190 against 50.

On the 10th of March the same honourable member moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee to inquire into the state of the nation. In his speech he dwelt upon the enormous expenses and the hopeless prospects of the war. Within the last three years £77,000,000 had been added to the national debt, and the country was less able to endure taxation than before. The opposition committed a political error in constantly repeating that England was ruined and never could compete with France; and Pitt bitterly accused them of taking pains to encourage the French to assume the arrogance of dictating the terms of peace. Mr. Grey's motion was negatived by 207 against 45. A few weeks later, on the 6th of May, he moved a long series of resolutions on the misapplication of the public money; but the order of the day was also carried against this motion by a majority of 209 to 38. On the 19th of May the session was closed by a speech from the throne, which expressed the happy effects experienced from the provisions adopted for suppressing sedition and restraining the progress of principles subversive of all established government.

In the course of the summer, Burke, to persuade or to shame a part of the country out of its fears, and to prove that there was more danger in treating with the French than in fighting with them, published the two first of his celebrated *Letters on a Regicide Peace*. These two letters, the last of his writings he lived to give to the

world, and the two others that were published after his death, are to be classed among the most splendid efforts of his great mind. The war had been conducted on a very different system from the one he had proposed; but the monstrous errors which had been committed did not make him despair of the final result, provided only a check could be given to that despondence which had seized upon many minds, and which the opposition were inculcating and promoting. "To a people," said he, "who have been once proud and great, and great because they were proud, a change in the national spirit is the most terrible of all revolutions!" Nevertheless Pitt considered himself obliged to continue some overtures which had been made to Barthelemy at Basle. Mr. Wickham asked whether the directory were desirous to negotiate with Great Britain and her allies on moderate and honourable conditions, and would agree to a meeting of a congress for this purpose. Barthelemy replied, that the directors sincerely desired peace, but must positively insist on keeping Belgium, or all the Austrian dominions in the Low Countries, as they had been formally annexed to the French republic by a constitutional decree which could not be revoked. Moreover, at the very same time the directors were fostering and entertaining at Paris a number of Irish revolutionists, and were contemplating a grand expedition to Ireland to co-operate with our rebellious subjects, and to convert that country into another small dependence. Nay, to such length had matters gone, that in the preceding month of June the directory had concluded a treaty with Wolfe Tone, Arthur O'Connor, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the leaders of the Irish revolutionists, who had smuggled themselves over to Paris for that purpose; and, though all unknown to his lordship, a copy of that secret treaty was lying not many yards from the spot where they, in October, pretended to enter upon a pacific conference with the noble English envoy.

In the autumn, not, we believe, with the slightest hope of bringing the negotiation to any admissible end, our government actually applied for passports for an ambassador and suite to go to Paris. "Thus," says Thiers, who can still chuckle over the matter, "the English aristocracy were reduced to sue for peace to the regicide republic! . . . This striking proceeding on the part of our most implacable enemy had something glorious in it for our republic!" As Thiers feels now, even so felt (but only much more intensely) the republicans then. The step raised their presumption and confidence by many degrees: it was a gigantic *faux-pas* in politics, from which the trumpet tongue of Burke ought to have warned every statesman, every Englishman;

its effects were likely to be as mischievous as all the blunders united which had been committed in the conduct of the war; but the opposition had driven for this, and Pitt had thought it necessary to prove to the nation that a peace with France was not attainable. Lord Malmesbury and his numerous retinue arrived in Paris on the 22d of October. The five kings of the Luxemburg (the directors were fast assuming a very regal state) appointed their minister of foreign affairs to confer with his lordship, who proposed mutual restitution of conquests as the fundamental principle of a treaty. The directors intimated that England had better treat by and for herself, and leave her allies to shift for themselves. When the mock negotiations, which were enlivened on the part of the French by many insolent sallies, had lasted six or seven weeks, Lord Malmesbury, in reply to a haughty message, told the directors that there could be no further negotiations; and on the next day, the 19th of December, his lordship was told that his further presence in Paris was totally unnecessary, and that he and his suite must take their departure within forty-eight hours. Rejoicing in the opportunity of insulting a lord, the low-bred directors added, that a common courier could do the business as well as he, if the English government were disposed to accept the conditions of the republic. They were encouraged by the victories of Bonaparte in Italy, and stimulated by the difficulty of providing for their military population if peace should be established.

Persevering in their old system, the English government sent out some large reinforcements to the West Indies. We had already more sugar colonies than we needed, and most of the French and Dutch colonies were wretchedly unhealthy (charnel-houses to the British troops that were sent to them); but the managers of the war are entitled to the benefit of the doubt, whether, without actual possession of the French islands, we could have kept our own in anything like a tranquil and thriving state.

By this time Sir Gilbert Elliot had made the island of Corsica too hot for him and the small English force there; he had entirely alienated the affections of the islanders, and had quarrelled with nearly all the English officers about him: he had so disgusted General Sir Charles Stuart, that that brave and high-minded man had sent in his resignation and returned to England. After driving the venerable Paoli (without whom the English would never have been there, nor Sir Gilbert have been made a viceroys) into an obscure retirement in the interior of the country, he had driven him, in his extreme old age, into another exile, by sending him an intimation that he must immediately leave the island. The Cor-

sican peasantry began to turn their arms against the English, the French party raised their heads, and it was evident that some great effort would be made from the opposite continent to assist them. So effectual was this hostility that our government transmitted orders for the evacuation of the island. On the 8th of October, Spain was driven by the French to declare war against Great Britain; and she had fitted out a fleet to co-operate with the republicans some time before this. But for the wonderful intelligence, decision, and gallantry of Captain Nelson, Sir Gilbert Elliot would have passed from his viceregal government to a French prison. But, threatening to bombard the town about their ears, the commodore imposed respect on the revolutionary committee of thirty who had taken upon them the government of the island, and sent their guards scampering out of the town; and quietly commencing the embarkation on the 14th of October, he saw that work completed on the 19th, just as the great Spanish fleet was coming in sight of Cape Corso. All private property was saved, and our public stores, to the value of £200,000, were gotten safely on board. On the very next day the French troops, who had been pushed over from Leghorn, and who had landed at Cape Corso under cover of the Spanish ships, marched into the citadel of Bastia only one hour after the rear of the British had spiked the guns and evacuated it. Nelson was the last man that left the shore: having thus, as he said, seen the first and the last of Corsica. He had captured forts and fortresses, fighting on land better than our professional soldiers; and after quitting the island he fought a most gallant action at sea with some of the Spaniards.

The most important operations of the French navy were connected with a descent upon Ireland. On the 17th of December, a fleet, numbering forty-three sail, of which seventeen were of the line, succeeded in getting out of Brest. On board were 25,000 men, choice infantry and cavalry, who had been tried in the war of the Vendée; a great quantity of field artillery, ammunition, and stores of every description; a good many spare muskets and bayonets to put into the hands, and some red liberty night-caps to put upon the heads of the Irish patriots, or insurgents, or rebels. The fleet was commanded by Vice-admiral Morand de Galles, Rear-admirals Richery, Nielly, and Bouvet; the commander-in-chief of the army was Hoche, a young sergeant in the gardes Françaises when the revolution began. Fearful of encountering our Channel fleet, separated by a storm, and navigating with confusion and rashness, this fleet and army suffered greatly, and did nothing. Seven or eight of the ships entered Bantry Bay; but the troops on board

could not venture to land. One ship of the line had already gone down with 1400 people on board; other vessels foundered or were driven



BASTIA, ISLAND OF CORSICA.—From a drawing on the spot by Capt Percy Fraser, 1792

on shore; and the remainder soon made all the haste they could to return to Brest. Of forty-three sail, thirty-one arrived in port in bad condition—seven had been captured by the British.

On the Continent the republicans had been more successful, though even there their fortunes were chequered—Carnot, as one of the five directors, now entirely monopolized the war department. Under his auspices, but not at his original suggestion—for the idea, obvious in itself, had occurred to Dumouriez, Moreau, Pichegru, Napoleon Bonaparte, and 100 officers besides—it was resolved, early in the year, to attack Germany and Italy at the same time, in order to divide the emperor's forces; and, in case of the complete success of both the attacking armies, that of Italy was to move through the passes of the Tyrol or of Carinthia, effect a junction with the army of Germany in Bavaria, or farther on in the hereditary states of Austria, and then the two were to advance upon Vienna, and impose the terms of peace there. Pichegru, who had fallen out of favour with the directory, was superseded by Moreau, and this able general, and Jourdan, who had been foiled and beaten by Clairfaut the preceding year, undertook the Ger-

man part of this great plan. Jourdan, who had 63,000 foot and 11,000 horse, driving back some Austrian corps from the ground they had conquered on the left bank of the Rhine at the end of the last campaign, invested the renowned fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, on the right bank of that river, immediately opposite to Coblenz. The emperor's brother, the Archduke Charles, who had taken the command of Clairfaut's army, which now amounted to about 70,000 foot and 20,000 horse, advanced rapidly with a part of it to the Rhine, defeated one of Jourdan's divisions under General Lefebvre, and forced Jourdan to relinquish his siege, and take up other positions.

But while the archduke was thus occupied by Jourdan, Moreau, who had about 72,000 foot and between 6000 and 7000 horse, dashing across the Rhine at Strasburg, some 150 miles higher up the river than Coblenz, captured, on the 24th of June, the fortress of Kehl, and after a series of victories advanced towards the heart of Suabia, his progress being facilitated by the rapid drafts made upon the army of his opponent, old General Wurmser, to reinforce the emperor's armies in Italy.

When the campaign opened Wurmser had not 60,000 foot to oppose to Moreau's 72,000, but his cavalry was superior in number, as in nearly every other quality—he having at one moment upwards of 20,000 horse. At one draft 25,000 men were withdrawn from Wurmser's army, and sent through the Tyrol into Italy; and in a short time the veteran general himself was obliged to hurry to the defence of Lombardy. On the 26th of June, the archduke, with the mass of his forces, marched up the Rhine in order to check Moreau. Jourdan, thus disembarassed, re-crossed the Rhine, and, finding nothing to oppose him except a small army of imperialists under Wartensleben, he pushed forward, and, after a series of skirmishes rather than battles, took Frankfort, Würzburg, and other towns. Moreau kept advancing on nearly a parallel line, his army and Jourdan's, *en échelon*, presenting a front which extended more than sixty leagues. It was by the imperative order of Carnot that the two armies thus spread themselves in order to turn both wings of the imperialists. The Archduke Charles perceived the error, and, narrowing his own front, and gradually bringing nearer to a converging point the separate forces of Wartensleben and Wurmser, he slowly retreated, fre-

¹ A week or a fortnight before the Brest fleet sailed, our ministers ought to have been fully aware of its destination. Early in December, an American vessel, laden with 20,000 stand of arms and cannon, was taken by an English man-of-war, on the shrewd suspicion of being bound for Ireland, which she unquestionably was. "She was a good emblem of American peace. Her name was the *Olus Branch*, with a covered cargo of arms."—Letter from Lawrence to Burke, in *Epistolary Correspondence of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke and Dr. French Lawrence*. Our American kinsmen had made very strenuous efforts to revolutionize Ireland on their own account during their war of independence, and now a very numerous party of them, partly through spite but more through the love of lucre, were willing to assist the French.

quently disputing the ground, but determined not to hazard a battle until his retiring forces were all brought so near to each other that he might fall with a superior force either upon Jourdan or upon Moreau. As the French advanced triumphantly, and with the appearance of so little opposition, some of the contingent corps, who, on the whole, behaved indifferently, quitted the imperial army and disbanded, and several of the states of the empire sued to the directory for a separate peace, which they obtained upon condition of paying enormous contributions. Still extending his front, and moving over a good deal of the ground which our great Duke of Marlborough had traversed in his Blenheim campaign, Moreau captured Ulm and Donauwörth on the Danube, and was preparing to

opposite side of the Rhine. In his retreat Jourdan had lost 20,000 men, and nearly all his artillery and baggage. Moreau, who was too far away to the right to render any assistance to Jourdan, could neither advance nor maintain himself where he was, on the Bavarian frontier: he therefore began his famed retreat, which lay through the Black Forest, on the 25th of September. Moreau had still 70,000 men, who had suffered no serious disaster. The imperial general Latour, who was nearest at hand to follow him, had not above 24,000 men; and some scattered corps did not join his standard with sufficient rapidity to enable him to contend successfully with the republicans. Latour, pressing too close on Moreau's rear, sustained a defeat on the 2d of October at Biberach. The republicans got safely through the valley of Hell and the whole of the Black Forest; but when they reached the banks of the Rhine they found the victorious Archduke Charles ready to meet them, with a force equal, or perhaps somewhat superior to their own. Moreau, at the end of his too much praised retreat, found himself compelled to fight two battles, and both battles were to him defeats. On the 19th of October he was beaten at all points, at Emmendingen; and, on the 20th, in spite of his formidable position among the rocks and cliffs of Schliengen, he was beaten again; and nothing but a violent storm, and the pitchy darkness of the night and the roughness of the ground, which prevented the splendid Austrian cavalry from acting, enabled him to get his disheartened columns to the safe side of the Rhine.

The Archduke Charles had saved Germany, but, owing to the invasion of Jourdan and Moreau on this side, the much smaller republican army of Italy had subdued all the north of the Italian peninsula. The command of this smaller army, which took the field much earlier than the army or the two armies on the Rhine, was given to the aspiring young man who had "killed the people for the regicides" on the critical 13th Vendémiaire, and who had since then married Madame Josephine Beauharnais, a native of Martinique, widow of Vicomte Alexandre de Beauharnais, who had served as a general in the republican armies, and who had been guillotined during the reign of terror, which had also consigned his fair relict to a prison. This very graceful captivating woman was linked in a close friendship with the fascinating Cabarus, who now bore the name of Tallien, the daring man who had been the first to beard Robespierre in the convention, and who, in consequence of that deed, had obtained a large share of political power and patronage. The Beauharnais was also exceedingly intimate with Director Barras,



ARCHDUKE CHARLES OF AUSTRIA — From a print after Kreutinger

cross the river Lech into Bavaria, and thence to move onward to the defiles of the Tyrol, on the Italian side of which the republican army was at the moment completely victorious, when, on the 24th of August, the Archduke Charles, who had gathered some reinforcements in the valley of the Danube, and who had rapidly executed his admirably designed movements, fell upon Jourdan with a superiority of force, and completely defeated him at Amberg. The Austrian prince then followed the fleeing republicans to the Maine, and gave them another tremendous beating, on the 3d of September, at Würzburg. Still pressing on the rear of the republicans, who fell into a miserably disorganized state, he defeated them again on the 16th of September, at Aschaffenburg, and drove them with terrible loss to the

¹ Victor Hugo, "*C'est lui*."

and enjoyed the friendship or patronage of other powerful individuals. It was unfair to say that the young Corsican owed his appointment to this marriage; but it would be unreasonable to doubt that Josephine contributed to it. It was Barras and Carnot that proposed to give the command of the army of Italy to Bonaparte, as the fittest man for it, and the other three directors, after some hesitation, assented. He arrived at head-quarters, at Nice, on the 26th of March. He found the disposable forces amounting to about 50,000 men, but badly provided and in a wretched state of indiscipline. The combined army of the Austrians and Piedmontese amounted to 60,000—in Bonaparte's reckoning to 75,000 men—and was now under the command of Beaulieu, a gallant veteran. It was stretched along the ridge of the Apennines, at the foot of which the French, as in the preceding campaign, were advancing. Not waiting to be attacked, Beaulieu descended from the heights, and on the 11th of April he met the advanced guard of the French at Voltri, near Genoa, and repulsed it. At the same time D'Argenteau, who commanded Beaulieu's centre, traversed the mountains of Montenotte to descend upon Savona, and thus take the French in flank. But when more than half his march was completed, D'Argenteau met a French division of 1500 men, who threw themselves into the old hill redoubt of Monteleghino, which in a manner shut up the road of Montenotte. The fate of the campaign, and perhaps the then young republican general, lay within that old redoubt. D'Argenteau attacked it three times with all his infantry, but Colonel Rampon maintained the post; and this gave time to Bonaparte to march round by night by an unguarded road to D'Argenteau's rear; and, before Beaulieu, who was on the left, or General Colli, who was on the right with the mass of the Piedmontese troops, could come up to his support, D'Argenteau was defeated, and driven in disorderly retreat beyond Montenotte. The young republican general had now pushed into the valley of the Bormida, between the two disjointed wings of the allied army. Beaulieu and Colli hastened to repair this disaster, by re-establishing their communications; but Bonaparte was too quick for them, and by two attacks, one at Millesimo on the 13th of April, the other at Dego on the 14th, Colli and the Piedmontese army were completely separated from the Austrians, and Provera, with an Austrian division of 2000 men, was obliged to lay down his arms. On the 15th, a mistake committed by Wukassowich nearly retrieved the fortune of the allies; that general with 5000 Austrians came suddenly from Voltri, where Beaulieu had been victorious over the French, ran upon Dego, where he expected to

find his countrymen, but where, instead, he found Massena, with a division of the French army, little prepared for any attack. Wukassowich made a brilliant charge and scattered the French division; but General Laharpe came down with reinforcements, and Bonaparte himself, dreading the fatal consequences of a defeat in his rear, hastened to the spot with still more troops. Then, after the most heroic conduct, Wukassowich was obliged to retire. As the republicans debouched through the valley of the Bormida into the rich plains of Piedmont, Beaulieu retreated in good order to the Po, to defend the emperor's Milanese territories, leaving Colli and the Piedmontese army to shift for themselves. Bonaparte instantly turned against Colli, who had taken post on the western declivities of the Apennines at Ceva, drove him from that post, followed him to Mondovi, dislodged him there, and pursued him beyond Cherasco. Betrayed by part of his army who had been proselytized, and now badly served by the rest, pressed by a superior force, and looking in vain for aid from Beaulieu, Colli at length retreated to Carignan, close to Turin. By this time all the provinces of Piedmont south of the Po were open to the republican invaders, the capital itself was almost at their mercy, and the resources of the country were consumed. Vittor Amadeo sued for a truce, which Bonaparte granted in consideration of having the key-fortresses of Cuneo and Tortona put into his hands. The directory soon after extended the truce into a treaty of peace, which his Sardinian majesty paid for by delivering up all the other Piedmontese fortresses and all the passes of the Alps, and by ceding to the French republic for ever Savoy, Nice, and some Alpine tracts of country. The poor old king did not long survive this ruinous peace, dying broken-hearted on the 16th of October. Immediately after concluding the truce Bonaparte marched against Beaulieu, drove him from the Po, beat him in a sharp battle at Fombio, between Piacenza and Milan, and made him fall back upon the river Adda. The Austrian general occupied the town of Lodi and its bridge across the Adda, which last he defended with a numerous and excellent artillery; but, with that want of *ensemble* or compactness which attended nearly all the operations of all these generals, he stationed his infantry too far off to be able properly to support the artillery. On the 10th of May, Bonaparte, after a terrific conflict, carried the bridge of Lodi, when, as he said himself many years afterwards, the idea first flashed across his mind that he might become a great actor in the world's drama. Beaulieu, with an army now demoralized and panic-stricken, made a faint attempt to defend the line of the Mincio;

but, after throwing a garrison into Mantua, he withdrew behind the Adige into the Tyrol. On the 15th of May, Bonaparte made a triumphal entrance into Milan, where the French had many converts and partizans. All Lombardy was now at the feet of the conqueror except Mantua, and that fortress was soon blockaded. And now began a system of plunder—a plundering of friends and foes and helpless neutrals—which had never yet been equalled.

The troops were to be supported, the officers were to be enriched by the spoils of Italy; and the five directors at the Luxemburg were incessantly calling upon the general for money—money—more money. Bonaparte himself says, that, besides clothing and feeding, and abundantly paying his army, he remitted to them 50,000,000 francs during his first Italian campaign. Until the emperor should send another army, there was absolutely nothing in Italy to offer any valid resistance to these insatiable plunderers. Wherever resistance showed itself on the part of the desperate Italian people, it was quenched in blood. The fair city of Pavia was for a night and a day given up to plunder, debauchery, and every species of violence and crime. Villages were burned together with those who dwelt in them. Advancing southward, Bonaparte showed how the republicans respected neutrality by overrunning Tuscany, taking possession of Leghorn, putting a garrison in it, seizing and selling by auction the English, Portuguese, and other goods found in the warehouses of that great free port, and commanding the native merchants to deliver up all property they had in their hands belonging to any enemies of the French republic. The next to be plundered were the states and possessions of the poor old helpless pope; and about this work the unbelievers went with great zest. On the 18th of June, a marauding column entered Bologna, and at once laid hands on the Monte di Pietà. Another division entered Ferrara and did the same. Pius VI. despatched envoys to sue for terms, and on the 23d of June, Bonaparte granted an armistice at the following price.—15,000,000 francs in cash, and 6,000,000 in provisions, horses, &c., &c.; a number of paintings, ancient statues, and vases, and 500 manuscripts to be selected out of the Vatican library by commissioners sent from Paris; the cession of the provinces of Bologna and Ferrara, the cession of the port and citadel of Ancona, and the closing of all the Papal ports to the English and their allies.

Bonaparte was recalled from this easy and profitable work by intelligence that Wurmser was coming against him with part of the imperial army which had retreated before Moreau. The German veteran descended from the valley of

Trento with from 50,000 to 60,000 men. Blind as ever to the fatal consequences of dividing his forces, Wurmser split his army into two, moving himself with the larger half along the eastern shore of the Lago di Guarda, and sending Quosnadovich with the other division along the western bank. Bonaparte, who had raised his blockade of Mantua, and concentrated his forces, instantly threw their entire weight upon Quosnadovich, crushed him at Lonato, drove him back into the mountains, and then, turning quickly round, faced old Wurmser with a force now nearly double that of the Austrians; and, in two bloody battles fought near Castiglione, on the 3d and 5th of August, the dull, but brave old man was defeated, and driven back into the Tyrol, with the loss of his artillery and several thousand men. Bonaparte followed him up the lower valley of the Tyrol, defeated an Austrian division on the 4th of September, and entered as a conqueror into the city of Trento. Descending the valley of the Brenta, Wurmser again entered Italy and advanced to Bassano, where he was joined by some reinforcements from Carinthia. But his active young opponent followed close upon his rear, and all that the veteran could do was to throw himself into the important fortress of Mantua with some 18,000 men, the wretched remnant of his army. It was the 14th of September when Wurmser got within the walls of the Virgilian city. By the end of October, as the snows were beginning to whiten the ridges of those Alps, two fresh Austrian armies were descending into Italy.

But, again, these two armies, instead of being united in the mountains, out of the reach of the enemy, and then poured down on the plain as one torrent, were allowed to come dribbling in different directions, and to get into the presence of the French divided and far apart. Marshal Alvinzi descended from Carinthia upon Belluno with 30,000 men, while Davidowich with 20,000 men moved down from the Tyrol. The two armies united would hardly have been a match for Bonaparte, who could bring at the least 45,000 men into action; but as it was arranged, they had between them to traverse nearly one-half of the breadth of Italy before Alvinzi and Davidowich could join at the appointed spot, between Peschiera and Verona, whence they were to march together to Mantua, where Wurmser was to be released, and the general with the Sclavonic name moved at a snail's pace. With the mass of his forces Bonaparte rushed to meet Alvinzi, and gave him battle at Le Nove on the 6th of November; but, instead of defeating him, he himself sustained a terrible repulse, and retreated next day towards Verona to pick up the shattered columns of Vauboise, who was retreating

before Davidowich. Contrary to expectation, Alvinzi, overcoming every obstacle, reached the heights of Caldiero, in front of Verona. But, instead of finding Davidowich there, he learned that that sluggard, or arch-traitor, had been reposing himself for ten blessed days at Roveredo, between Trento and the Lago di Guarda, and was still there or far away in that neighbourhood. Thus left to himself, Alvinzi was attacked, on the 12th of November, by Bonaparte, who attempted to dislodge him from Caldiero. This proved fruitless; the Austrians stood on those heights like rocks, and after considerable loss the French were compelled to retreat again into Verona. For a moment the young Corsican's heart failed him; but he soon roused himself, and, marching quietly out of Verona in the night of the 14th of November, and moving rapidly by a cross-road that ran through a marshy country, he got close to Villanova, in the rear of Alvinzi. The Alpone, a mountain stream, almost dry in some seasons of the year, ran between the French and Villanova, and was traversed only by the narrow stone bridge of Arcole. Bonaparte made a rush at the bridge, but found it defended by two battalions of Croats and Hungarians with some artillery. Three times the French column attempted to storm it amidst a shower of grape-shot and musketry, and three times reeled back with terrific loss, many of the men ran away along the narrow causeway which led up to the bridge and plunged into the marshes for safety. Bonaparte himself was thrown from the causeway into a marsh, and was very near being taken, for the Croats and Hungarians rushed across the bridge and swept everything before them. A charge of French grenadiers drove back the enemy, and extricated their general when he was up to his middle in mud and water, and almost surrounded. By this time Alvinzi had changed his front, and advanced from the heights of Caldiero, upon which the battle became general. It

lasted for three days, and was by far the hardest fought in all these Italian campaigns. If Davidowich had been at hand with only half of his 20,000 men, or if old Wurmser, leaving Mantua to take care of itself, had come up while Bonaparte was sacrificing his best men in obstinate and fruitless efforts to carry the bridge of Arcole, or when the French army was divided, one part on one side of the Alpone and the rest on the other side, the invaders must have been exterminated. But so bright an hypothesis was not to be realized by Austrian generals, or by any other generals for many a year to come. Undisturbed in flanks and rear, Bonaparte fought on, with a terrific loss to his own army; and yet, after all, he did not carry the bridge of Arcole. The attacks of the 15th were renewed on the 16th. On the 17th the Corsican general threw a bridge over the Alpone, and sent Angereau across to advance along the left bank, with a strong column to take the defenders of the bridge in flank. Angereau succeeded in his object and gained possession of the village of Arcole. Alvinzi then made his retreat upon Vicenza and Bassano, where he took up his winter-quarters. The French estimate his loss at 4000 in killed and wounded, and as many in prisoners; they do not state their own loss, but it must necessarily have been immense.

On the same day that Alvinzi began his retreat from the left bank of the Adige, Davidowich, as if waking from a drunken sleep, came blundering down by Ala to the right bank of that river, and entered the Italian plains between Peschiera and Verona; but Bonaparte, who had now nothing else to do, turned against him with his superior and victorious forces, and presently drove him back to Ala, to Roveredo, and the steep hills that overhang the Tyrol pass. Thus ended what was not incorrectly called the *third* Italian campaign of the year 1796; and thus Bonaparte had beaten successively Beaulieu, Wurmser, and Alvinzi.¹

¹ The year 1796 was signalized by the complete execution of the formal and final partition of Poland, after the compulsory abdication of Stanislaus on the 25th of November, 1795. Of this deed, the chief political crime of modern Europe, a great writer says—"Thus fell the Polish people after a wise and virtuous attempt to establish liberty, and a heroic struggle to defend it—by the flagitious wickedness of Russia—by the foul treachery of Prussia—by the unprincipled accession of Austria—and by the short-sighted as well as mean spirited acquiescence of all the nations of Europe. Till the first partition, the sacredness of ancient possession, the right of every people to its own soil, were universally regarded as the guardian principles of European independence. They gained strength from that progress of civilization which they protected and secured; and the violation of them seemed to be in a great degree precluded by the jealousies of great states, and by the wise combinations of the smaller communities. Confederacies were formed long wars were carried on, to prevent the dangerous aggrandizement of states by legitimate conquest. To prevent a nation from acquiring the power of doing wrong to others was the great object of negotiation and war. These principles were just and wise, as the preservation of the balance of power was in truth the only

effective security of all independent nations against oppression. But in the case of Poland a nation was robbed of its ancient territory without the pretence of any wrong that could justify war without even those forms of war which could bestow on the acquisition the name of conquest. It was an attack on the balance of power, the great network of national independence itself. It is a cruel and bitter aggravation of this calamity, that the crime was perpetrated under the pretence of the wise and just principle of maintaining the equilibrium—as if that principle had any value but its tendency to prevent such crimes—as if an equal division of the booty bore any resemblance to a joint exertion to prevent the robbery. But in truth, the equality of the partition did not hinder it from being the very worst and most dangerous disturbance of the balance of power. It left the balance between three powerful states as it was before; but it destroyed the balance between the strong and the weak. It strengthened the strong and it taught them how to render their strength irresistible by combination. In the case of private highwaymen and pirates, a fair division of the booty leads, no doubt, to the harmony of the gang and the safety of its members, but renders them more formidable to the honest and peaceable part of mankind."—*Sir James Mackintosh*.

CHAPTER XXXIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1796—1798.

GEORGE III.

Meeting of parliament—Debate on the budget—Difficulties of the Bank of England—Remedial measures of parliament—Mutinies in the fleets—Proceedings of the mutineers—Mutiny of the Channel fleet at Portsmouth—Mutiny at Sheerness—Richard Parker, its leader—Suppression of the mutinies—Naval victory of Jervis off Cape St. Vincent, and of Duncan off Camperdown—Caricature invasion of Britain by the French—The war in Italy—Successful operations of the French—Bonaparte's advance into the Venetian dominions—Venice occupied and revolutionized by the French—Bonaparte's negotiations with Austria—Peace of Campo Formio between France and Austria—Its terms—Revolutionary movements in Paris—Reaction of the French royalists against the directory—Bonaparte interposes in behalf of the directory—Their power restored and their opponents banished—Re-assembling of parliament—Symptoms of revolt in Ireland—Sympathy of the Irish with the French revolution—They adopt the example—The chief Irish revolutionists and their proceedings—Their negotiations with the French directory—Detection of their conspiracy—Apprehension and death of Lord Edward Fitzgerald—The Irish revolutionists break out into open revolt—They are defeated and suppressed—General Humbert arrives from France to their assistance—He is defeated and compelled to surrender—Defeat of a French squadron bound for Ireland—Colonel Coote's unsuccessful attack on Ostend—Capture of Minorca by Admiral Duckworth—St. Domingo abandoned by the British troops—Aggression of France upon Switzerland—The Swiss defeated—The French enter Berne—Oppression of the Papal government by the French republicans—Revolt in Rome—The French troops take possession of the city—They depose and banish the pope—They revolutionize Piedmont—Bonaparte embarks for the conquest of Egypt—Malta surrenders to him—The French army arrives at Alexandria—Battle of the Pyramids and defeat of the Mamelukes—Nelson's pursuit of the French fleet—His signal victory over it at Aboukir Bay—Its total destruction—Turkey declares war against France—Encouragement afforded by Nelson's victory at Aboukir Bay—Russia in alliance with Britain against France.



SOON after the close of the last session, the British parliament had been dissolved by proclamation. The new parliament assembled on the 6th of October, 1796, and was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty repeated his anxious wish for an honourable peace, and announced the intended fruitless and degrading mission of Lord Malmesbury to Paris. Allusion was also made to the success of our arms in the East and West Indies, and to the brilliant campaign of the Archduke Charles. The usual addresses passed without a division.

On the 7th of November, Pitt opened the budget. The money required by ministers was £27,945,000. Among the ways and means they proposed was a new loan of £18,000,000. There seemed to be, on the whole, a good English spirit in the house. Whatever Pitt said that was animating, as to the courage and resources of the country, and our capability of achieving the safety of Europe, our own glory and permanent advantage, was well cheered: but Fox, on the other hand, was heard in dead silence when he endeavoured to attribute the zeal shown in the new loan, called the loyalty loan, to a desire of peace.¹ It had been stated by Pitt, in his speech on opening the budget, that ministers had made an advance of £1,200,000, to the hard-pressed

emperor. On the 13th of November, Fox triumphantly moved "That his majesty's ministers, having authorized and directed, at different times, and without the consent and during the sitting of parliament, the issue of various sums of money for the service of his imperial majesty, and also for the service of the army under the Prince of Condé, have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have thereby violated the constitutional privileges of this house." Pitt took up good ground, by admitting that it was an irregular act which he had hazarded, knowing his responsibility, but not doubting his duty; that he had had only a choice of difficulties, from the exigencies of our ally on the one side, and from the public panic, on account of the scarcity of specie at home, on the other. When Pitt sat down, the Hon. Charles Bathurst Bragge, treasurer of the navy, moved an amendment upon Fox's resolution, to the effect that the advance to the emperor, "though not to be drawn into precedent but upon occasions of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in his majesty's ministers by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce consequences which have proved highly advantageous to the common cause, and to the general interests of Europe;" and this was carried by a majority of 285 to 81.

The precipitate return of Lord Malmesbury

¹ Dr. French Lawrence to Burke. — *Epistolary Correspondence.*

from Paris was followed, on the 26th of December, by a message from the king to parliament, in which his majesty declared that the rupture of the negotiation did not proceed from the want of a sincere desire on his part for the restoration of peace, but from the excessive pretensions of the enemy, which were incompatible with the permanent interests of this country and the general security of Europe.

A.D. 1797. During the last year the directors of the Bank of England had several times represented to the chancellor of the exchequer their inability of supplying his rapid and increasing demands. The dread of an invasion had, moreover, produced a run upon the bank for specie, and certain opposition pamphlets and journals had done their best to increase this panic, as a likely means of overthrowing Pitt; not bearing in mind that it might have overthrown the country as well. On the 9th of February, the bank directors informed Pitt that to comply with his new request of making a further advance of £1,500,000 as a loan to Ireland, would most probably force the directors to shut their doors. In this alarming state of affairs, the privy council, on Sunday, the 26th, sent an order prohibiting the directors of the Bank of England from issuing any cash or specie in payment, till the sense of parliament could be taken, and measures be adopted for supporting public credit. This decisive step was announced to parliament on the next day by a royal message; and the subject was immediately taken into consideration by both lords and commons. The opposition testified as much glee as a noted smuggler is said to have done at seeing the old Custom-house on fire. This must crush the cold proud minister, who prided himself most of all on his financial ability, or nothing would. Fox exultingly gave notice that he should feel it necessary to move an inquiry into all the past transactions between the bank and the minister, and said several things very proper to keep up the panic, and destroy what little credit there was left at that moment. Sheridan, Whitbread, and others made motions with the same animus. Ministerial motions were carried in both houses for appointing by ballot a secret committee to examine into the affairs of the bank. In the meanwhile the bank was authorized to issue small notes. The secret committee soon reported that there was a clear balance or surplus belonging to the bank, of £3,826,890, exclusive of a debt from government of £11,666,800; that the bank had lately experienced a drain of cash, owing to the prevalence of alarm; that, as this alarm might continue, the bank might be deprived of the means of supplying the cash necessary for the exigencies of the public service; and that there-

fore it was proper to continue the measures already taken, for such time and under such limitations as should seem expedient to parliament. The commons having resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house to take this report into consideration, Pitt moved for a bill to continue and confirm for a limited time the restriction of the issue of specie by the Bank of England; and, after various clauses had been added, chiefly by ministers themselves, this bill was passed. The bank was to be authorized to issue specie to the amount of £100,000 for the accommodation of private bankers and traders; and saving and except to the army and navy, who were to be paid in cash, bank notes were to be a legal tender to all. The government immediately guaranteed a further loan of £2,000,000 for our ally the emperor.

While parliament was sitting mutinies broke out in the fleets, which gave far greater alarm than the bank suspending cash payments. For some time discontents had prevailed among the seamen, the principal subjects of which were the miserable smallness of their pay and of the Greenwich pensions, neither of which had been augmented since the reign of Charles II.; the very unequal distribution of prize-money, which gave almost everything to the admirals and superior officers, leaving next to nothing to the petty officers and the crews; the excessive harshness and severity of the discipline, and the haughty and tyrannical behaviour of many of the officers. Within three days, at the beginning of the month of March, Lord Howe, who still held the chief command of the Channel fleet, but who was then at Bath for the benefit of his health, received four petitions, from the *Royal George*, *Formidable*, *Ramillies*, and *Queen Charlotte*, soliciting the interposition of his lordship, as the seamen's friend, with the admiralty, in order that the seamen might in their turn experience an act of munificence like that which had been shown to the army and militia, in the provision made for an increase to their pay, and for their wives and families. Lord Howe, considering their tone rather mutinous, submitted the four petitions to Earl Spencer, the head of the admiralty, and wrote to the port-admiral, Sir Peter Parker, and to Lord Bridport, who was holding the command of the Channel fleet under him (Earl Howe). Sir Peter and Lord Bridport replied, that the petitions (three of which seemed to be in the same handwriting) were the work of some ill-disposed person; and in consequence of this reply, both Lord Howe and Earl Spencer thought that no danger was to be apprehended. But on the 12th of April the board of admiralty were startled by Sir Peter Parker, who reported that intelligence had been communicated to him of a regular plan, concerted, some time before, by the seamen,

to take the command of the ships from their officers, which plan was to be carried into execution on the 16th of April. Instantly orders were given by telegraph from London to Portsmouth for the fleet to proceed to sea. But, when Admiral Lord Bridport made the signal to prepare for sailing, the seamen mounted the rigging, instead of going to the capstan, and gave tremendous cheers—cheers of defiance. This astounding act was followed by others still more decisive: the men took all command from their captains and officers; they appointed “delegates,” two from each ship, who met in council in the great cabin of the *Queen Charlotte*, Lord Howe’s flagship; and there they wrote and issued orders to all the seamen of the fleet to take oaths of fidelity to the cause. By the 17th every man was sworn. They put on shore a good many officers whom they accused of oppression, keeping the others on board as prisoners or hostages; but at the same time they passed resolutions to maintain order and sobriety, and to pay all due respect to the officers on board from whom they had taken the command. To strike terror, ropes were then reeved (the sailors’ preparation for hanging) at the fore-yardarms of every ship, but they found no occasion to use this tackle, except for ducking minor offenders. There is no denying or concealing the fact—the men had been ill-paid, ill-fed, shamefully neglected by the country which depended upon them for its all, and in many instances harshly and brutally treated by their officers, and belly-pinched and plundered by the pursers. But not a drop of blood was spilled, nor, after the landing of the obnoxious officers, was there so much as an insult offered. Punishments were inflicted on all who got drunk, or misconducted themselves in any way. The mutineers allowed all frigates with convoys to sail, in order not to injure the commerce of the country. The thirty-two delegates drew up and signed a petition to parliament and another to the admiralty; their language was respectful, and their demands were very far from exorbitant. Government was now in an extremity of alarm. The board of admiralty was transferred to Portsmouth, and a kind of negotiation was entered upon with the mutineers. After some discussion it was notified to the sailors that their demands were complied with, and that it was expected that all would return to their duty. The delegates, however, declared it to be the general resolution that nothing could be agreed to which was not sanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the king’s proclamation; and one of the admirals having used menaces on the occasion, the mutiny bore a more hostile aspect than before. At length, Lord Bridport went aboard, hoisted his flag, and acquainted them that he brought

with him a redress of all their grievances, and the king’s pardon; the consequence of which was that obedience was immediately restored.

From April 23d to May 7th the fleet remained in due subordination, when a fresh mutiny broke out, on a suspicion among the sailors that the promises made to them would be violated. Lord Howe, whose influence in the navy was greater than that of any other person, then went down, and his addresses and assurances having fully satisfied their minds, they were again reduced to order. In all these measures the seamen lying at Plymouth concurred. On May 8th, the ministry laid before the House of Commons estimates for the augmentation of pay to the seamen and marines of the navy, the sum of which was stated at £436,000. Mr. Pitt, in moving for this grant, deprecated any discussion in the house of the case, and hoped that it would pass its judgment by a silent vote. The opposition, however, urged that the ministers had been culpably negligent in not having applied to the house sooner on the business, and a motion of censure to that purpose was made; it was, however, negatived, and a bill for the increase of pay in the navy, with a clause for continuing the pay to wounded seamen till cured, passed into a law. At the demand of the sailors, who charged them with oppression and tyranny, one admiral (Colpoys), four captains, twenty-nine lieutenants, seventeen master’s mates, twenty-five midshipmen, five captains of marines, three lieutenants of marines, four surgeons, and about thirteen petty officers, were withdrawn from the service, and others appointed to fill their places.

While these things were transacting in Portsmouth, a fresh mutiny broke out at Sheerness. At first it gave little alarm, as it was reasonably calculated that the terms which had satisfied Lord Bridport’s ships, and which were to be extended to all ships and fleets whatsoever, would satisfy the mutineers at Sheerness; but great was the consternation when, on the 20th of May, many of the ships lying at the Nore, and soon afterwards nearly all of those belonging to the North Sea fleet, hoisted the red flag, chose two delegates from every ship, and went much farther than their precursors had done, by electing a president, who styled himself “President of the Floating Republic.” This mutiny was, in fact, altogether different from the other; and it was met in a very different spirit by all classes on shore. The Portsmouth men had demanded nothing but a redress of long-accumulated and crying grievances; in the midst of alarm the sympathy of the nation went along with them; but these madmen at the Nore had been perverted by some floating demagogues, and had no grievances left to complain of, and no demands

to make but such as were ridiculous, or incompatible with the service; and, like so many other half or wholly jacobinized classes of men, they knew not what they were aiming at. It appears that their chief perverter was the very aspiring man they had elected for their president. This was Richard Parker, a native of Scotland, and at one time a little tradesman of Edinburgh, who had ruined his affairs by a too close attention to politics, and who had then abandoned his wife, and entered on board a man-of-war as a common sailor. The man had some education, and he had frequented debating clubs and reforming societies until he concealed himself an orator and a statesman. Under his direction a committee of twelve was appointed in every ship; and these committees decided upon all affairs, and upon the merits of the respective delegates. There were some minor arrangements, which showed how attentive a student Parker had been in the school of the Edinburgh clubs. On the 20th of May the delegates delivered "A Statement of the Demands of the Sailors," peremptorily insisting upon compliance as the only condition upon which they would return to their duty. This mutiny was the more alarming, as the position of the ships enabled them to establish an effectual blockade of the port of London. Two vessels laden with stores and provisions they seized and appropriated. The conduct of the Foxite opposition, who had done great mischief during the previous mutiny, by delaying the minister's bill in favour of the seamen, was at this present crisis unpatriotic in the extreme. On the 26th of May, when the mind of the country was wholly occupied and agitated by the daring conduct of Parker and his delegates, Mr. Grey rose in the House of Commons to move for a *sweeping reform in parliament*. He was seconded by Erskine, and supported by Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Richard Hill, Sir William Dolben, Mr. Smith, Mr. Pollen, Mr. Fox, the great leader, and others of his party. The vast majority of the house testified their disgust at the time chosen for agitating such a question, and the motion was smothered by a vote of 258 against 93. Not a man of the defeated party could have had the shadow of a hope that the motion would pass; but now they pretended to be driven to despair by its rejection, and by the numbers and obstinacy of the Pittites; and Fox and most of his friends instantly seceded from parliament, declaring their attendance there useless; retired into the country, and hoisted as it were the black flag of despair to the English people, or to the, at that time, very limited portion of the nation that was eager for a reform of the House of Commons. Some of the seceders returned to their seats, and attended occasionally to their parliamentary duties; but none of them

returned during Parker's mutiny, and from this time till the month of February, 1800, Fox spoke only three or four times in the house.

The members who remained at their posts behaved with becoming spirit, and imparted additional firmness to the government. The buoys at the mouth of the river were taken up, batteries were erected alongshore for firing red-hot shot, and a proclamation was issued declaring the ships in a state of rebellion, and forbidding all intercourse whatever with them. Fierce dissensions now broke out among the mutineers, who became sensible that their fellow-seamen in the other fleets and the whole nation were against them. For some time they had been sick of Parker's long speeches, and had deprived him of his presidency. On the 4th of June, the king's birthday, the whole mutinous fleet, to prove its loyalty, fired a royal salute and displayed all the gay colours and flags usual on such occasions, the red flag being struck during the ceremony on board every ship except the *Sandwich*, where Parker was. A day or two after this, several of the ships deserted the rebels, who pointed their guns at them, but did not fire, and went for protection either up the Thames or under the guns of Sheerness. In those that remained, the well disposed rose upon the determined rebels, and many wounds were given and some few lives lost. By the 13th of June the bloody flag had disappeared from every mast-head; and on the following morning the crew of the *Sandwich* carried the ship under the guns at Sheerness, and gave up ex-President Parker to a guard of soldiers, who carried him on shore. Parker was solemnly tried, and was hanged at the yard-arm of the *Sandwich* on the 30th. A few of the delegates were executed shortly after, some of the ring-leaders were flogged through the fleet, and others were left under sentence on board prison-ships; but the general good behaviour of our fleets at sea, and Admiral Duncan's victory off Camperdown, gave an excellent occasion for the exercise of royal mercy, and in October a general pardon was proclaimed. The mutiny at the Nore, which had madness for its origin and nothing but mischief for its end, was thus put down with (for the times) a very small sacrifice of human life. From the other mutiny may be dated the most rapid improvement in the management and condition of our sailors, with a proportionate improvement in the discipline and spirit of the men and the gallantry of their officers.

On the 20th of July the king prorogued parliament.

"The year of mutinies" was not altogether an inglorious year to the British navy. On the 14th of February the late Mediterranean fleet, under Admiral Sir John Jervis, fell in, off Cape St.

Vincent, with the great Spanish fleet, just come out of Cadiz under the command of Don José de Cordova, who had recently superseded Langara. The Spaniards had twenty-seven sail of the line, the English only fifteen; but the greater part of the Spanish crews were about equally destitute of seamanship and spirit; and Nelson, who was in himself worth a whole squadron of line-of-battle ships, was with Sir John Jervis, and executed all the daring and really brilliant part of the action. By breaking the line, by battering and boarding, four Spanish ships of the line, including one of 112 guns, were taken, and all the rest were driven into Cadiz and there blockaded. The news of this opportune victory reached London at the time of the panic caused by the state of the Bank of England, and had a great effect in reviving the national spirit. Sir John Jervis was made Earl St. Vincent, and Nelson a knight of the Bath.

On the 11th of October Admiral Duncan, with sixteen sail of the line, attacked a Dutch fleet of eleven sail of the line and four 56-gun ships, which had stolen out of the Texel during a storm, and which was on its way to join the great French fleet at Brest. The Dutch admiral, De Winter, his officers and crews, fought their ships in a very different style from the Spaniards—fought them like brave men and excellent sailors—like worthy descendants of those who had so long disputed with us the empire of the seas. Their inferiority of force was very considerable, and the only particularly glorious part of the action, on the side of the British, was the daring way in which they ran between the Dutch line, close in-shore, and the dangerous coast; thus setting an example which Nelson afterwards followed at the battle of the Nile. After a most obstinate combat, and a terrible loss in killed and wounded on either side, Admiral de Winter struck; and eight ships of the line, two 56-gun ships, and two frigates, remained as trophies of victory to the British; but they were little more than trophies, being maddled in their hulls like sieves, and otherwise so cut to pieces as to be nearly all incapable of repair. This victory off Camperdown excited a rapturous joy at home. Duncan was very properly elevated to the peerage. In the meanwhile, in the month of July, misled by incorrect intelligence, Nelson with a small force had made a very unfortunate attack on Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, which had ended in the loss of his own right arm and of the lives of some 200 of his men.

Before proceeding to the war on the Continent, we must mention a strange expedition of the French to the English coast, which occurred during the money-panic. On the 20th of February four vessels, three of them old French fri-

gates, came to anchor in the Bristol Channel off Ilfracombe. They had troops on board, but no attempt was made to land there, as the North Devonshire volunteers presently lined the coast. The ships stood over to the Welsh coast, and there, in a bay near Fishguard, the troops were disembarked. They advanced into the wild country of Pembrokeshire, apparently without knowing whither they were going. The alarm was spread rapidly; the Welsh collected on every hill and in every valley to oppose them; and more than 3000 men, including 700 well-trained militia, with Lord Cawdor at their head, marched directly against the invaders, who, without firing a shot, laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners of war. There were 1400 of them, without artillery, but well supplied with ammunition. The men were in rags, and looked more like felons escaped from prison, than soldiers.

In order to strengthen the armies in Italy, the victorious Archduke Charles had been left weak on the Rhine. He recovered Fort Kehl at the beginning of the year; but Moreau, strongly reinforced, again reduced that important fortress, and defeated the Austrians in a great battle in the month of April. Nearly at the same moment Hoche, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, defeated General Krey; and other French divisions were again advancing into the heart of Germany, when their march was suspended by the intelligence that the emperor was negotiating for a peace with Bonaparte.

Both the young republican general and the old Austrian marshal had received reinforcements during the winter. Alvinzi, as early as the month of January, took the field with 50,000 men, intending not merely to relieve Wurmser, but also to drive the French from the whole line of the Adige; but he again divided his forces; was defeated at Rivoli on the 14th of January; and after General Provera, who had surrendered with 2000 men the year before, had surrendered with a division of 5000 men now, old Wurmser, being reduced to extremities for want of provisions, was obliged to capitulate in Mantua.

The pope was unable to pay the enormous contributions demanded from him. After the surrender of Mantua the French overran the greater part of the Papal States, scattered with a few shots some 6000 or 8000 very unwarlike troops in the pope's pay, took possession of the city and port of Ancona, and at Tolentino dictated new and still harsher conditions of peace to the helpless head of the Catholic church. By this time Austria had poured another army to the frontiers of Italy, and had given the command of it to the Archduke Charles. But this last Austrian army was composed almost entirely of raw recruits, and of the disheartened fragments of the forces of

Beaulieu, Wurmser, Davidowich, Alvinzi; and the archduke, instead of being left to his own genius and ready resources, was checked and embarrassed by the aulic council at Vienna. On the other side, the French, already superior in numbers, were flushed with victory; and General Bernadotte, who had quitted the army of the Rhine, joined Bonaparte with 20,000 men. After sustaining some terrible defeats in the month of March on the Tagliamento, the archduke retreated slowly and in admirable order towards Vienna, in the hope of receiving reinforcements from that capital and from Hungary, and of drawing the French into the hereditary states, where a population enthusiastically devoted to the emperor would be sure to rise *en masse* and attack them on their flanks and rear. The campaign was not hopeless; the archduke was full of confidence and ardour; the French, who had violated the continental territories of the republic of Venice, were apprehensive of an attack on their rear from that quarter. General Laudon was pouring through the valleys of the Tyrol with another Austrian division, was driving back the French detachments on the Upper Adige, and was almost on the edge of the plains of Lombardy. Bonaparte was full of anxiety; but, disguising this feeling, and suddenly pretending to deplore the horrors of war, and to be anxious, merely for humanity's sake, for a peace, he wrote a very flattering letter to the archduke, calling him the saviour of Germany, and representing England as the only power in Europe that had an interest in continuing the war. The archduke referred him for an answer to Vienna. Bonaparte was now at Judenburg, in Upper Styria, about eight days' march from Vienna; but notwithstanding the successes of Moreau and Hoche, there was no republican army in the valley of the Danube to co-operate with him, he had many streams to pass, and several dangerous defiles before him, and behind him the Lombard-Venetians, though without any aid from their timid, contemptible government, were actually rising in insurrection, it being reported among the people, who had many wrongs to avenge, that the French army had got inclosed in the mountain passes of Carniola and Styria, and would inevitably be compelled to lay down their arms.

The French, on their first advance into the Venetian dominions, and many months before any popular insurrection was heard of or thought

of, had made up their minds to overthrow that aristocratic republic, to appropriate all its territories on the Continent, together with the city of



THE GRAND CANAL AND DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE.—FROM PIOUT'S CONTINENTAL ANNUAL

Venice itself, seated on its hundred isles, to keep all this as an affiliated or dependent republic, or to barter it away (after having well plundered it) for territory elsewhere and other advantages.¹ In a secret article to the preliminaries Bonaparte now agreed to give the neutral state of Venice to Austria in compensation for her losses. This done, Bonaparte hurried back to the Adige, took a sanguinary vengeance for some disgraceful excesses which had been committed by the people of Verona and its neighbourhood, sent his propagandists into the city of Venice, to excite a mad democratic party into insurrection against the doge and the aristocrats by promising them liberty and equality, and by setting up the tree of liberty under the shadow of the winged lion in the square of St. Mark; roused the people to rebellion in Bergamo, Brescia, and other towns, got possession of the castles and other fortified places by pretending that he meant merely to keep them until a free, democratic, and essentially independent republican government could be settled by delegates and representatives of the people (in all these deeds a body of Poles, who had been so recently duped, betrayed, and then beaten out of their own country, were active and zealous co-operators with the French); introduced surreptitiously troops into Venice, and next, with something plainer than words, told the doge and the senate that the people must have a new constitution and form of government, and that they must resign; which the equivocating, heartless cowards did in the month of May. Bonaparte then took possession of the arsenal and docks,

¹ The correspondence of Bonaparte, published by Panckoucke fully establishes this fact which is proved by a mass of other evidence equally incontrovertible.

with all their stores and all the ships of war; a provisional government of the required democratic form was established, and the democratized people insulted their pusillanimous, degenerate nobles with impunity, sang the "*Ça ira*" with the French soldiery, and danced round the tree of liberty in the square of St. Mark in an ecstasy, and down to the last moment, without any foreboding that they and their country were to be given up to the hated rule of the Austrian Kaiser. At the same time, but with much less deception and difficulty, Genoa was democratized and affiliated. The shuffling senate and aristocracy of that once proud republic had hoped to preserve themselves by their neutrality, and their secret co-operation with the French; but one fine day in June the democrats of the city hoisted the red nightcap, and told them that their government was no longer compatible with the improved notions of the times. Four millions of livres were wrung from the principal nobility, and sent to the five kings at the Luxemburg; a French garrison took possession of the city, and of the mountain fortifications which gird it; and all who gainsaid what was done were put under arrest, while the peasants who attempted to defend their native mountains and their homesteads were tried by martial law and shot.

All this while negotiations were going on, and the young republican general was browbeating the Austrian diplomatists, now hinting that he might have gained much more for France by continuing the war, and now threatening to shatter Austria like a potsherd. As England was now clearly to be left in the war without a single ally, Pitt, as early as the month of June, intimated to the directory a willingness to enter into a new negotiation. The directors, who had taken up and echoed Bonaparte's note that France loved peace, agreed to the opening of conferences at Lisle. In the beginning of July, Lord Malmesbury repaired to that city, and continued there exchanging useless notes and receiving many insults until the middle of September, when he was ordered to quit the place within four and twenty hours. Again, as we believe, Pitt was driven into a humiliating negotiation without any expectation of concluding a treaty; and again the French, while pretending to negotiate and to blame the insincerity of the English cabinet, were stirring up insurrection and civil war in Ireland.

On the 17th of October the definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria was signed at Campo Formio, near Udine. The emperor ceded to France all the Netherlands, and the left bank of the Rhine, with Mayence, the great outpost and bulwark of Germany; he gave up, nominally to the natives, but virtually to the French, all

that he had held in Lombardy, acknowledging the independence of the Milanese and Mantuan states, under their new name of the "Cisalpine Republic;" and he consented that the French republic should have the Ionian Islands, which then belonged to Venice, and the Venetian possessions in Albania. The French republic, on its part *consented* (which was the word) that the emperor should take and keep Venice, and its territory in Italy as far as the Adige, together with Istria, at the head of that sea, and all Venetian Dalmatia, on the opposite side of the Adriatic. The Venetian provinces between the Adige and the Adda were to be incorporated with that political phantom, the Cisalpine republic. The emperor, who, in the case of Venice, had admitted the principle of taking neutral or friendly states as compensations from an enemy, was also to have an increase of territory in Germany at the expense of Bavaria, and his feudatory and relative by marriage, the Duke of Modena, was to have the Brisgau. Modena, Massa, Carrara, and all the Papal provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, Ravenna, Faenza and Rimini, as far as the Rubicon, were declared to be annexed to the Cisalpine republic aforesaid. Tuscany, Parma, Rome, and Naples were left to their old governments and monarchic institutions; but, except Naples, they were all in complete subjection to France and her liege vassals the new Italian republicans, who never ceased promoting plots and conspiracies against the said established governments. From these manoeuvres Naples itself was certainly not exempted.

Numerous turmoil, conspiracies, and changes had taken place in Paris. In 1796 the Montagnards and Jacobins made a terrible effort to recover the power they had lost; but their deep conspiracy was detected at the moment it was about to break out by the vigilant directors, who had organized a very complete system of espionage and treachery; and Gracchus Babeuf, betrayed by one Grisel, a brother-conspirator, was arrested by night, and all his papers, containing every particular of the plot, were found and seized. Forthwith all the chiefs of the conspiracy, as Vadier, Amar, Choudieu, Drouet (the hero of Varennes), Rosignol (whose name in the Vendée was "Devil"), Ricord, and a great many others, were captured. There was an attempt made to liberate them and arrest the directors; but it failed, and Gracchus Babeuf and Darthé were condemned to death, the rest to deportation. On hearing their sentence, Babeuf and Darthé stabbed themselves with concealed daggers; but, not doing the thing effectually, they were both carried to the scaffold in a half-dead state, and guillotined. These men were about the last of the honest fanatics of the revolution, and they left behind them few or none but selfish time-servers,

or men prepared by want of principle, or want of courage, to conform to the course of events, be it what it might, and to submit to that military despotism which was already forging for France. Before the trial and execution of Babœuf, which did not take place till March, 1797, the royalists in their turn began to conspire against the directory and the so-called republic. Two or three men, said to be secret emissaries of Monsieur, or Louis XVIII., were apprehended in January, and accused of attempting to seduce the soldiers in the camp at Grenelle. In the month of March, when the elections came on for one-third of the legislature, some of the ancient noblesse were returned; and these decided royalists soon formed a powerful coalition, in absolute opposition to the directory. In May, they were even strong enough to get General Pichegru elected president of the council of five hundred, and Barbé-Marbois president of the council of ancients. If Pichegru was not a royalist before, the depriving him of his high command in the army had made him one now: Barbé-Marbois was a warm and honest constitutional royalist. In the same month when, in conformity with Sièyes' last constitution, one of the directors went out, Barthelemy the diplomatist, who was also by this time suspected of royalism, was brought in to fill up the vacancy. Loud outcries were raised against the extravagance, corruption, and profligacy of the directional government; the full liberty of the press, so often promised, was demanded by the royalists; peace—peace even with England—was recommended, some of the severest of the decrees against the emigrants and nonjuring priests were actually revoked, and the coalition were evidently making considerable progress, when Director Barras secured the services of the astucious Talleyrand by making him minister for foreign affairs, and then appealed to General Bonaparte and the victorious army of Italy. Bonaparte hereupon despatched Angereau, one of the most devoted and most daring of his satellites, to Paris, with terrible addresses from the army of Italy, which were evidently Bonaparte's own compositions. "Tremble," said one of these significant addresses, "tremble, royalists! From the Adige to the Seine is but a step—tremble!" Besides sending army addresses, Bonaparte sent a few more millions of livres.

To overawe the two councils, numerous de-

tachments of troops were marched into Paris. Everything announced that a *coup d'état* or another revolution was at hand. Carnot hated royalty and royalists; but he hated three of his colleagues in the directory—Barras, Rewbell, and La Réveillère-Lepeaux—quite as much; he was enraged too at the tone of "that little Corsican," and, though he did not league himself with his new brother-director Barthelemy, or with the coalition in the legislature, he refused to co-operate in the energetic measures proposed by Barras and Rewbell. Therefore it was they determined that Carnot, that rabid republican, should be treated even as a royalist, and classed with Barthelemy in the *Dies Iræ*. The legislature, on the motion of Pichegru, decreed the immediate arming of the national guards, and the removal of the regular troops which had been brought into the capital or stationed around it. But Pichegru hesitated; others were all for acting according to law or the new constitution; and, while they were thus deliberating, Bonaparte's own Angereau took the command of the troops of the line in and round Paris, put some more grape and canister into their guns, and with 12,000 men, and forty pieces of artillery, surrounded the Tuileries, and stepped in to execute the order of the triumvirate—Barras, Rewbell, and La Réveillère—and arrest all their enemies. Pichegru, Willot, General Ramal, and about sixty other members of the legislature, were instantly arrested and transferred from the Tuileries to the Temple, charged with high treason. The triumvirate had also proscribed Carnot and Barthelemy; the first of these personages concealed himself, and afterwards escaped, but Barthelemy remained to be condemned and deported, or transported with his party. Fortunately, the Parisians had become sick of blood, and "deportation" was all the mode.¹ The proprietors, editors, and writers of forty-two journals (collectively an immense number) were also condemned to deportation to French Guiana. It was laid down as good, free, republican law, that for the future the directory should have the power of suppressing whatsoever journals, or newspapers, pamphlets, and books, it might think fit. Some cargoes of the deported were shipped off for the pestiferous settlement in South America; but a good many of them remained on the French coast, in prison or under strict police surveillance in the Isle of

¹ Few narratives of human suffering are more affecting or so full of harrowing details as the *Journal ou Témoignage de l'Adjudant Général Ramal, Commandant de la Garde du Corps législatif, &c., l'un des Déportés à la Guyane, &c., Leipzig, 1799*; and *Déportation et Naufrage de J. J. Aymé, ex législateur, suivis du Tableau de vie et de mort des Déportés, à son départ de la Guyane*, published at Paris without a date. Ramal escaped with Pichegru and some others in an open boat, and after much risk and suffering having reached, first the Dutch and then the British possessions in South America, went from Demerara to London

and Hamburg. Aymé escaped in a United States merchant vessel, and narrowly missed being lost on the coast of Scotland, near Fraserburgh, having been driven back from the Catgath by a storm of long continuance and great severity. The sufferings of the deported, which extended over so long a period, and were so many, began from the moment of their arrest, and from that moment they seem to have been treated with a systematic brutality that leaves little doubt that the object of their persecutors was to kill them by a slow death, while they got credit for humanely saving them from the guillotine.

Rhé. Merlin de Douai, a timid, submissive lawyer, and François de Neufchâteau, a man of letters, a writer of republican odes, and as servile as Merlin, were put into the directory to fill up the places left vacant by Barthelemy and Carnot. Such was the revolution or *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor.

The British parliament re-assembled on the 2d of November. The speech from the throne dwelt on the excessive pretensions of the French; the failure of the negotiations at Lisle, the flourishing state of trade and the revenue, our naval victories and our new conquests in the West Indies; and it once more recommended those vigorous exertions which alone could make peace attainable. As Fox and other great orators of the opposition continued in their secession, there was little interest in the very slight opposition offered to the addresses, or in any of the debates which followed during the session. The army and navy estimates were smoothly passed, and, as a beginning, supplies were voted to the amount of £25,500,000. Among the ways and means adopted was the trebling of all the assessed taxes.

A.D. 1798. At the end of April, when the sword of rebellion was all but drawn in Ireland, the minister demanded further supplies to the amount of more than £3,000,000. The money was voted with little opposition, as was a new increase of taxes to meet it. As the storm thickened in the west, as the Irish were fleeing to arms in all parts of the country, and as the French were not merely preparing to co-operate with them in the heart of that island, but also threatening to invade England with 100,000 men, a bill was readily passed for allowing men in the supplemental militia to enlist into the regular army; and another bill soon followed to enable his majesty to provide more effectually for the security and defence of the realm, and to indemnify persons who might suffer in their property by such measures as it might be thought necessary to adopt. The alien bill was revived, and the suspension of the habeas corpus act was renewed or prolonged.

Discussions on the state of Ireland were stopped by ministers and their majorities, as being only dangerous at so critical a moment. On the 29th of June the king prorogued parliament, with a good, manly, English-sounding speech, in which honourable testimony was borne to the public spirit of the nation.

Not less through the faults of the governed than through the faults of the governors, Ireland had never enjoyed any continuance of tranquillity, not merely since the Reformation, which introduced the capital, embittering difference of religion, but not even since its first connection with England in the 12th century. Since the period of the American war, when the Irish volunteers

were allowed to arm themselves, the turbulence had greatly increased. Generally speaking, the period from 1778 down to 1798 had been one of concession to the Irish Roman Catholics, who formed about seven-tenths of the population. Whilst the American revolutionary war lasted, and for some years after it ceased, the disaffected Irish took their inspiration from the other side of the Atlantic, and in many instances closely imitated the proceedings of the Americans. But, as soon as the eruption of the great volcano commenced in France, they fixed their eyes on that pillar of fire as that which was to lead them through night and darkness, and waves more perilous than those of the Red Sea, to the glorious light of day, and to regions more blessed than the Promised Land. From that moment the French revolutionists became the models of the leaders of the Irish reformers, some of whom, at a very early stage of the revolution in France, contemplated nothing less than a revolution in Ireland, and went over to Paris to be indoctrinated into the modes of making it, and to bargain for the *disinterested* assistance of the French. At the beginning of 1793, or almost immediately after the declaration of war against England, the ruling party in France (then Jacobin-Gironde) despatched a secret agent to Ireland to confer with the leaders of the Society of United Irishmen, and to offer them the aid of French arms for the liberation of their country. This emissary brought a letter of introduction to Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been dismissed from the English army for having frequented the Jacobin Club at Paris; for having been one, with Thomas Paine, and men of that stamp, at a great public dinner at Paris, where the most revolutionary and jacobinical speeches were delivered, and the hope expressed that England as well as Ireland, would soon be revolutionized *à la Française*. Soon after that unlucky dinner, he became acquainted with Madame de Genlis, and married her Pamela—her own illegitimate daughter by the Duke of Orleans, or Philippe Egalité.

In 1794, when the reign of the Jacobins and of terror was at its height, another secret emissary came over from France to Ireland. This individual, a subject of the king, an Irishman by birth, and a Protestant clergyman by profession, was the Rev. William Jackson. He conferred with Wolfe Tone, and many others of the Irish revolutionists, and repeated the promises of the French to assist them "in breaking their chains." This Jackson was arrested in Dublin soon after his landing, and was tried and condemned for high treason: but he made no confessions, he left government in the dark as to the extent of the conspiracy, and he escaped a public execution by committing suicide. A stop was put to

further concessions; and in Ireland, with at least as much reason as in England, every attempt at reform or change was reprobated. Wolfe Tone, who had fled to America, found at Philadelphia his friend Hamilton Rowan, who had also escaped from justice, a Dr. Reynolds, and other Irish patriots who had made their own country too hot for them. Hamilton Rowan (formerly the friend and guide of Muir), introduced Wolfe Tone to Citizen Adet, the minister or ambassador of the French to the American republic; and a negotiation for invading Ireland by a French army was opened forthwith. Tone himself tells us that he consulted at every step with Dr. Reynolds, Hamilton Rowan, and James Napper Tandy; that, being at length supplied with some money by Keogh, Russell, and other United Irishmen in Ireland, and furnished with a letter to the committee of *salut public* by Citizen Adet, he sailed for France to conclude his treaty there. He arrived at Havre-de-Grace on the 1st of February, 1796, and found that the French "are a humane people, when they are not mad," and that he liked them, "with all their faults, and the guillotine at the head of them, a thousand times better than the English." On arriving at Paris he was received by Carnot, and by General Clarke, then a sort of secretary-at-war, and afterwards the notorious Duke de Feltre, who told him that General Hoche should sail for Ireland with an irresistible army as soon as the directory could raise money to hire and equip transports.

The directory expressed an anxiety to see some agent or agents from the United Irishmen of a more exalted condition and of better known name and character. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the then Duke of Leinster, and Mr. Arthur O'Connor, nephew of Lord Longueville, and said to be lineally descended from Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, readily accepted the mission at the request of the chiefs of the United Irishmen. They left Dublin at the end of May, 1796, Lord Edward being accompanied by his French wife. They took London in their way; and during their short stay in that city Lord Edward dined at the house of an opposition peer, in company with Fox, Sheridan, and several other distinguished Whigs of the Fox party. From London the secret negotiators proceeded to Hamburg, where they began to treat with a French agent; and from Hamburg they went to Basle, and through Barthelémy negotiated with the directory. They were informed that an army for Ireland would soon be ready, and that Hoche would have the command of it. After a month's stay at Basle, O'Connor went into France to confer with Hoche, and to finish the negotiation; and Lord Edward returned to Hamburg, talking on

the road with his chance fellow-travellers in what appears to have been the most rash and puerile style. Hoche, having full powers from the directory, very soon concluded the treaty with O'Connor, and pledged himself that the expedition should sail in the course of the autumn. Lord Edward and O'Connor soon returned to Ireland; but Tone remained to come over militarily with Hoche and the French army. The fate of the expedition has been already narrated. Wolfe Tone went with it to Bantry Bay, running two narrow and terrible chances—the one of being taken and hanged, the other of being shipwrecked and drowned. He, however, got back safely to France, spent some months at the head-quarters of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, employing himself principally in attempts to corrupt the British soldiers and sailors that were prisoners of war in France, with a view of embarking them with the next invading army; for neither abroad nor at home in Ireland was the notion given up of another invasion. The winds of heaven had scattered the late armament, but another might be more successful. In the course of the spring of 1797, the chiefs of the United Irishmen, thinking it expedient to have a resident ambassador at Paris, despatched thither a Mr. E. J. Servins, with powers to act as their accredited minister, and with instructions to negotiate, *if possible*, a loan of £500,000 sterling. In the course of the summer "the Irish executive" sent over Dr. McNeven on a special mission, which was to urge the directory to hasten their preparations. The directory, who were then on the point of sending an ambassador to Lisle to meet Lord Malmesbury, and delude the English with a feigned negotiation for peace, told the doctor that they would soon be ready, and that the Batavian republic would have the honour of taking the lead in the invasion of Ireland with the fleet collected in the Texel. But that fleet, which could not get ready or would not venture out to sea until the month of October, was annihilated, as we have seen, off Camperdown. In the month of February of this present year, 1798, a most pressing letter was addressed by the so-called Irish executive to the French directory, urging them to send immediate succour, and stating that the people of all classes throughout Ireland then regimented, and partly armed, amounted to little less than 300,000 men. Talleyrand positively assured their agent at Paris that an expedition was getting ready in the French ports, which should certainly sail in the month of April. On the 28th of February, Lord Edward Fitzgerald's friend, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Quigley or O'Coigley, an Irish priest, and Binns, an active member of the London Corresponding Society, were arrested at Margate, as they were on the point of

¹ Wolfe Tone's own *Diary*, published by his son.

embarking for France. A paper was found on the priest, addressed to the French directory, and earnestly inviting an invasion of *England*, which, it was calculated, would prevent our sending troops into Ireland. This paper, and the trial which followed, put government in possession of many important secrets; but a great deal had been unravelled before this time. Quigley, the priest, who died protesting his innocence of treason, and who really appears to have been less deeply engaged in the conspiracy than any of them, was found guilty, and was executed on Pennenden Heath; O'Connor was remanded on another charge of high treason, and Binns was acquitted. Some arrests were forthwith ordered at Dublin, and some more papers were found in a printing-office—the office where O'Connor had been publishing a revolutionary journal, called the “*Press*.” But much completer revelations were now about to be made, by one of the chief revolutionists. Several obscurer members of the Association of United Irishmen had played false before; but the great secrets of the society were not intrusted to such as those; and the government was anxiously looking for some higher and more fully informed traitor to that cause, when a Mr. Thomas Reynolds, who had *Esquire* written after his name, and who lived in what was called a *castle*, who had been deep in all the plots and intimate with most of the leading plotters, who was the nominal treasurer of a county and the appointed colonel for a regiment of the insurgent army, pretending that the United Irishmen were going much farther than he, in his innocence, had ever anticipated, and that his love of the constitution and the integrity of the empire induced him to betray his friends, but in reality being hard driven by debt, and filled with the hope of an immense reward, divulged all that he knew to a friend of government, and undertook to render further services to enable or assist the government to counteract the whole plan. A warrant from the secretary of state's office was forthwith placed in the hands of Major Swan, a magistrate for the county of Dublin, who, on the 12th of March, repaired to the house of Mr. Oliver Bond (a merchant, and one of the principal conspirators), where there was to be a great meeting, attended by thirteen sergeants in plain clothes, and by means of the pass-words—“Where's M'Cann? Is Ivers from Carlow come?” obtained admission to the meeting, and arrested all such persons as were there assembled. Dr. M'Neven, who had been on the special commission to Paris, Emmet, Sampson (both barristers), and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, were not at the meeting; but separate warrants being issued against them, M'Neven and Emmet were soon apprehended: Sampson fled to England, was

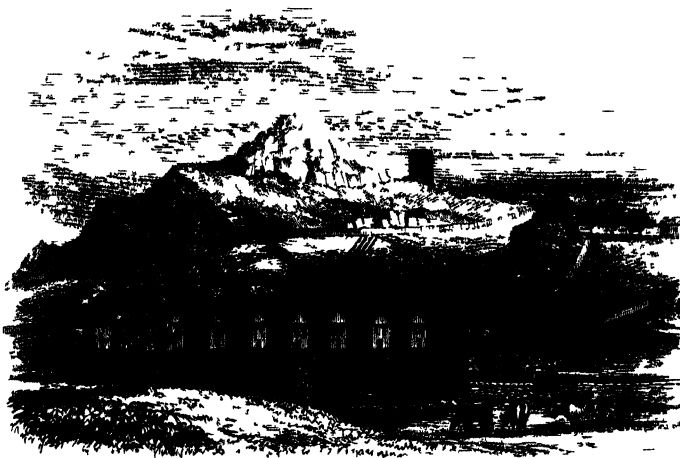
seized at Carlisle, and brought back to Dublin, but Lord Edward Fitzgerald concealed himself in Dublin and the neighbourhood, and was not discovered till the 19th of May. It appears that, on the part of government at least, the search after him had not been very active, and that, on account of his noble family and his numerous friends, his escape would gladly have been connived at. But seemingly he never contemplated escaping, but employed himself all the time he was under hiding, in arranging how the insurgents were to rise and march upon Dublin. He had fixed the 23d of May for the general rising. On being surprised, lying on a bed in the house of one Murphy, on the evening of the 19th, he behaved more like a madman than a hero, savagely shedding blood without the slightest hope of fighting his way out, for the house was surrounded by pickets, and a numerous and steady garrison were under arms in the streets of Dublin. When Major Swan entered the garret and showed his warrant, he sprung up like a tiger. Swan to stop his attack, fired a pocket-pistol at him, but without effect. A soldier now entered, and at that instant Lord Edward ran at Swan with a dagger which had been concealed in his bed. Mr. Ryan, a magistrate, next entered, armed only with a sword-cane, and presently received a mortal wound from Lord Edward's dagger. Major Sirr, the active town-major who had been setting the pickets, next rushed into the room, where he found Lord Edward, a very tall and powerful man, struggling between Swan and Ryan, Ryan being on the ground weltering in his blood, but still clinging, like Swan, who was also bleeding and wounded in several places, to his adversary. Major Sirr, threatened by the bloody dagger, took a deliberate aim, and lodged the contents of a pistol in Lord Edward's right shoulder. A number of soldiers followed Sirr up stairs, and, after a maniacal struggle, Lord Edward was disarmed and bound, carried to the castle, and thence to Newgate. Ryan died of his wounds on the 23d of May; Lord Edward died of his wounds, or fever brought on by them and his anxiety of mind, on the 5th of June; Swan recovered from the frightful gashes he had received.

In spite of the fall of Lord Edward, who was to have been their commander-in-chief, and in spite of the flight or arrest of every member of the directory or executive, the Irish flew to arms in various places on the appointed 23d of May. On the 24th they made an abortive attempt on Naas, Carlow, and some other towns. But on the 25th an army of 14,000 or more pikemen, headed by a Father John Murphy, marched to Wexford, defeated part of the garrison that sallied out to meet them, killed all the prisoners they took, and terrified the town of Wexford into

a surrender on the 30th. Encouraged by these and other trifling advantages, the rebels made a rush at New Ross, took part of the town, began to plunder and drink, got for the most part very drunk, and were then driven back by General Johnson, leaving 2600 of their number behind them in killed, wounded, and dead drunk. At the news of this success of the king's troops at New Ross, a body of the insurgents stationed at Scullabogue, massacred in cold blood more than 100 Protestants they had taken prisoners. These and similar atrocities prevented the Presbyterians of the north from rising, and gave to the insurrection the old character of a Popish rebellion and massacre. But the best of the Roman Catholics presently came forward to express their abhorrence of the whole rising, and to offer their assistance to government in suppressing it. After a few other fights or skirmishes, General Lake

but his life was spared on condition of disclosing all he knew respecting the rebellion—a condition he accepted, with the proviso that his information should not affect the lives of his fellow-prisoners. Arthur O'Connor, M'Neven, Emmet, Sampson, and the rest, were merely banished. In the month of August, when the flames of rebellion seemed completely extinguished, three French frigates, eluding the vigilance of our fleets, reached Killala, and threw on shore 900 troops of the line, commanded by General Humbert. A small number of the Roman Catholic peasantry of the country joined him, and Humbert proceeded rapidly to Castlebar. There he encountered General Lake, with a force superior in number, but consisting chiefly of Protestant yeomanry and militia. Lake was beaten, and in his retreat lost six guns.

From Castlebar, Humbert marched eastward into the very heart of the country, expecting to be joined by all the men of Connaught, if not by all the Papists of the island, but finding, wherever he advanced, that the mass of the people slunk him and his soldiers as though they had brought the plague with them. About seventeen days after his first landing, Humbert was beaten by the advanced guard of Lord Cornwallis, who was marching against him with troops of the line; and on the 8th of September, being entirely surrounded, the French laid down their arms and became prisoners of war. To keep up the ferment and suspicion, and to oblige England



VINEGAR HILL ¹—From a view by Anthony Sinnot, 1801

attacked, on the 21st of June, the fortified position at Vinegar Hill, carried it with a frightful loss to the insurgents, who never rallied again, and then retook Wexford and Enniscorthy. Lord Camden was now recalled from the lieutenancy of Ireland, and succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who brought with him a general pardon (with a very few exceptions) to all who submitted. Of the leading conspirators who had been taken, only four—M'Cann, Byrn, and two brothers of the name of Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork—were executed. Bond was condemned to die ;

to maintain a large force in Ireland, the French, within a month after the surrender of Humbert, ordered a squadron of one ship of the line and eight frigates, with troops, arms, and ammunition on board, to choose a favourable moment for getting to sea, and then to proceed to Ireland at all hazards. This armament actually reached the western coast of Ireland; but Sir John Borlase Warren, with his squadron, met it there, and gave a very good account of it, capturing the ship of the line and three of the frigates.² On board the French ship of the line was seized Wolfe Tone, who had not improved his very lax morality during his residence at Paris, and whose deeds, words, and writings had placed him beyond the liberally extended verge of mercy. On his trial, he pleaded his commission of a brigadier-general in the French army as a bar to punishment for all trea-

¹ This hill lies on the north bank of the river Slaney, close to the town of Enniscorthy. It rises with a gentle swell from the plain until it becomes very steep on all sides, and ends in a craggy summit crowned with the ruins of a windmill. At the declivity of the hill there is a vast pit, in which the bodies of the slain were deposited to the number of 500. The south side of the hill next Enniscorthy was for some yards covered with the bones of men and animals bleached by the weather.—*Gentleman's Magazine*.

² Eventually three more of the frigates were taken.

sons, present or past; but he was condemned to die the death of a traitor; and, finding that the sentence really meant hanging, he cut his throat in Dublin jail to escape the ignominy of the gallows.

In the month of May, while parliament was sitting, a spirited attempt was made to interrupt the preparations for invasion on the coast of Belgium, and to destroy the sluices, gates, and basin of the Bruges canal at Ostend. Captain Home Popham, with a small squadron having on board a body of troops commanded by Colonel Coote, sailed from Margate Roads, bombarded Ostend, and landed about 1000 men at a short distance from that town. The soldiers blew up the sluices, destroyed a good many vessels, and did all the work they were sent to do in very quick time; but on returning to the beach to re-embark, they were prevented by the fury of the wind and surf; and, being next day hemmed in by an immense force, Coote found himself under the necessity of surrendering, after he had lost about one man in every ten.

An expedition to Minorca was more successful, and gave us possession of an excellent port, which our Mediterranean fleet much needed. In the autumn Admiral Duckworth's squadron landed in Addaya Bay, in the island of Minorca, a land force of about 800 men, commanded by General Sir Charles Stuart. Assisted by a hot fire kept up by Duckworth's smaller craft alongshore, Stuart defeated about 2000 Spaniards, drove them from post to post, attacked them in some entrenchments, and easily compelled the governor to surrender the whole of the island by capitulation.

In the West Indies orders were received from ministers to abandon that large portion of St. Domingo which we had reduced at the invitation and with the aid of the French planters, but which we could not retain without a constant, terrible sacrifice of human life. General Maitland entered into a compromise with Toussaint l'Ouverture, formerly a slave, but now chief of the revolted negroes and the founder of a sort of negro republic, who engaged to respect the lives and properties of all the European and creole planters and inhabitants that might choose to remain. In the month of May all that were left alive of our troops were withdrawn; and towards the end of the year some French troops, who had maintained their ground in some strong places, shipped themselves off, and left Toussaint in undisturbed possession of the best part of St. Domingo.

The fate of Switzerland was decided in the spring of this year. The unprovoked aggression of the French was hardly more infamous than the means they employed. They began by complaining of the permitted residence of Mr. Wick-

ham, the English envoy, and they next demanded his expulsion. To remove this ground of quarrel Mr. Wickham was recalled by his own government. The directory then ordered the French troops to take possession of Basle, and almost as soon as this was done they sent a strong division under General Menard into the Pays de Vaud, a dependency of the aristocratic canton of Berne. Menard was received as a liberator by all the democrats and sans-culottes among the Vaudois, who, like all the French-speaking portion of the Swiss, had been stirred up by French propagandists and French books. These people had some reasons to complain of the pride and oppression of their Bernese rulers; but, to get rid of these minor evils, they threw themselves and the whole of Switzerland at the feet of the Gallic republic. Aided and assisted by these unworthy half-Swiss, the French republicans proceeded to subdue, slaughter, or scatter the thorough German-speaking Swiss, who mustered some 26,000 troops, but chiefly militia. The French army under Brune consisted of 45,000 disciplined practised troops; and reinforcements were sent to him from time to time. On the 5th of March the Swiss fell upon Brune, who was advancing to Berne, defeated him with terrible loss, and drove him back for several miles on the road to Freyburg. But the odds were too great, the country was too much disorganized; the brave General d'Erlach, who commanded a part of the Swiss army, was defeated at another point, and was afterwards murdered on the road by some infuriated Swiss soldiers and peasants, who had been artfully led by the French to believe that they had been betrayed by their own commander. On the 6th of March, Brune in greater force repeated his attack, and a wavering on the part of the Swiss troops was followed by a most sanguinary defeat. More than 100 officers—the pride of the Bernese nobles—were killed on that dreadful day. After this victory Brune, unopposed, entered the city of the Fighting Bear—that bear “that once gave fearful strokes with his paws.”¹ The treasure, the well-stored arsenal, and nearly all the property, private as well as public, were seized by the conquerors. The plunder was soon extended over all parts of Switzerland, and the brave mountaineers who attempted to defend their homes were massacred as traitors or rebels. The liberty for which William Tell had fought and bled was now annihilated by these new Gallic republicans, who had professed to give liberty and equality, and an augmented happiness to all mankind!

The Swiss were not the only people in Europe that felt the hollowness of the friendship of the French during this eventful year. The Belgians

¹ The Gugler's Song, or the Song of Victory of the Bernese, written in 1876.

were so harassed by military conscriptions that they broke out into insurrections in five departments—insurrections which added the loss of blood and life to that of money and goods. In Italy the people of the so-called Cisalpine republic were made to sigh and groan for the blessings they had enjoyed under their old governments. Rome was made the seat of anarchy and woe. In order to raise the money required from it by the treaty of Tolentino, the Papal government was obliged to drain the pockets of its subjects. This created violent discontents, which were fermented by a strong French or revolutionary party, who recommended, as a proper remedy for every evil, the destruction or expulsion of the old pope with all his hierarchy, and the setting up of a *Roman republic* under the immediate *protection of the French*. The family of the fortunate Corsican general had risen as he rose; his elder brother, Joseph Bonaparte, was no longer in the commissariat, but in the diplomatic department, being at this time ambassador at Rome, with instructions to change the state of that government without appearing to take any active part with its disaffected subjects. Joseph, who loved his ease, and respected the ease and comfort of others, had no zeal to co-operate with the Roman reformers and demagogues. To excite him to more activity, or in order that they might act for him, the five kings at the Luxembourg sent to Joseph two fiery republican generals: one was General Duphot, who had had the chief management of the overthrow and change of the ancient republic of Genoa; the other was General Sherlock, who was descended from an Irish family, and who testified an earnest desire to date the era of the new world, not from the birth of Christ, but from the birth of the French republic. As soon as these two men arrived, the Roman democrats became uncommonly bold and turbulent. They insulted the pope's guards, and even the pope himself when he showed himself in public. This roused the common people, the true sans-culottes of Rome, who had no French political sanctuities about them, but who were devout, superstitious, attached enthusiastically to their pontiff and their priests. On the 28th of December (1797) after the Roman democrats had hoisted the tricolor flag, and shouted "Down with the pope, and up with the Roman republic!" an encounter took place, in which Duphot was mortally wounded by a shot from a carbine. Several of the democrats were killed in the same way, and a greater number wounded. As soon as he was able, Joseph Bonaparte, with his suite, fled to Florence, calling the poor old pope the assassin of Duphot. The directory, who had long wanted some such occasion, sent orders to General Berthier to march instantly to Rome with a

large body of troops. With nothing to oppose them, the French and 4000 Poles, under Dombrowski, advanced into the States of the Church; Loretto, with its holy house, was sacked; Osimo was plundered and burned; and on the 10th of February, Berthier drew up his forces on the Roman hills, and planted his guns as if to bombard the city. The terrified cardinals who formed the government signed a capitulation, in which they gave up the castle of St. Angelo,¹ and nearly everything else. On the same day the pope's garrison was turned out of the castle, and the French entered it; and Cervoni, the Corsican, took possession of all the principal posts in the city. On the morrow Berthier made his triumphal entrance into the capital of the ancient world. Four days after—the 15th of February, and the anniversary of the day on which the reigning pontiff, Pius VI., who had now reigned for twenty-three years, had first put on the triple crown—the democrats of Rome assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Forum, erected a tree of liberty with the tricolor and the red night-cap at the top of it, renounced for ever the government of priests, aristocrats, or kings, and proclaimed that, by the will of the Roman people, the ancient republican form of government was restored. A wretched constitution, badly translated into Italian from the French, was presented next day to Berthier for his approval, without which they knew full well the thing could not live for an hour. The French general gave his approbation, but only conditionally. When these farces were played out, the spoliation commenced. As a beginning, immense contributions were demanded, and as security for the prompt payment of them, four cardinals and a number of the principal lay nobles were seized and thrown into the castle of St. Angelo. Berthier, having some delicacy of feeling, some respect for venerable age and fallen dignity, which made him shrink from the task himself, sent the Corsican general, Cervoni, to the Vatican to tell Pius VI., in the name of the French republic, that he must recognize the new Roman republic, lay down his temporal authority, and quit his palace. A commissioner or commissary of the directory, who had come to look after the plunder, finished what Cervoni had begun, by telling Pius that by will or by force he must leave Rome within forty-eight hours. The aged pontiff replied that he could not resist violence, but that his people would see and remember that he was torn from them by force. On the 20th of February he was seized in the Vatican, and put into a coach with two or three faithful ministers; and, escorted by a regiment of French cavalry, he was whirled rapidly out of Rome and along the northern road which leads

¹ A view of the castle of St. Angelo is given in vol. i. p. 775.

to Tuscany. He was allowed to take up his residence in Siena, where he was closely watched as a state prisoner.

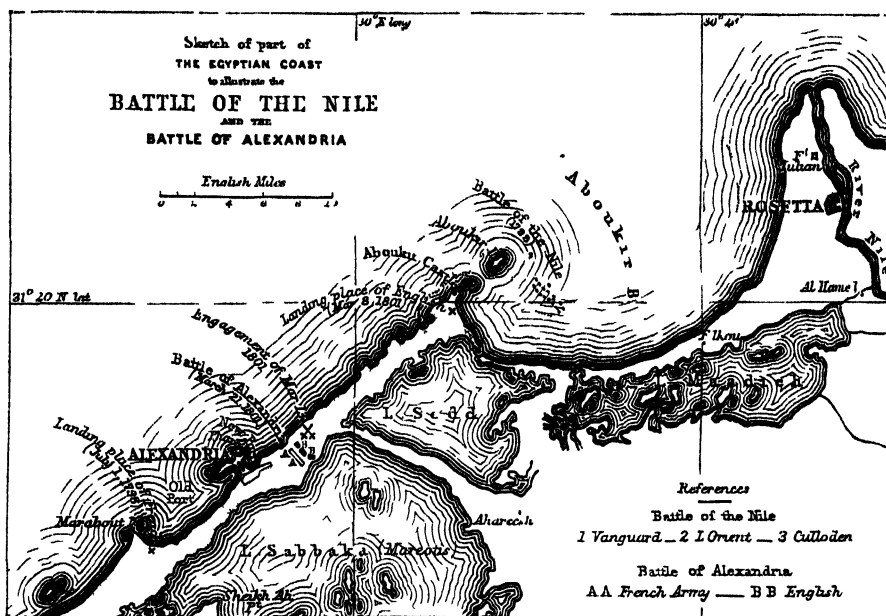
Shortly after these troubles at Rome, popular insurrections, fomented by the French and the democrats of Genoa, or the new Ligurian republic, broke out in Piedmont; and the new King of Sardinia was compelled to admit a French garrison into Turin, and all the citadels which he had hitherto retained. Thus that fine country became virtually a province of France.

Bonaparte, after a rapid inspection of the French coasts and of the so-called "Army of England" stationed near them, had returned to Paris to undertake the command of another army destined for no less an object than the conquest of Egypt, which country, it was calculated, would not merely supply to France the loss of her West Indian colonies, but also enable her first to annoy, and afterwards to invade the British possessions and dependencies in the East Indies. Bonaparte's fame as the conqueror of Italy, or rather of the Austrians in Italy, was an additional inducement; and 30,000 men, chiefly from the army of Italy, assembled with wonderful enthusiasm at Toulon, to sail, whenever the opportunity should offer, for Alexandria and the mouths of the Nile. The secret of the expedition was well kept from the enemies of the republic; a continuance of violent winds drove the English blockading fleet from those waters; and on the night of the 19th of May, Bonaparte, with a vast fleet of men-of-war and transports, put to sea and sailed up the Mediterranean. On the 9th of June the fleet arrived before Malta, the capture of which important island was included in the plan adopted by the directory. The knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, who had held Malta ever since the days of the Emperor Charles V., had not acknowledged the French republic; but not a few of those noble knights entertained French notions or had sold themselves to French interests. Hompesch, the grand master, a weak old man, was bullied and terrified by these traitors; and, instead of manning the works of La Valetta, which might have defied the whole French fleet and army for months—whereas every moment was precious to them, and full of apprehension, for they knew that the British fleet would soon be after them—he returned a miserable answer to Bonaparte's summons to surrender, and actually capitulated on the 11th, the date fixed by the republican general. After plundering the churches and the alberghi and other establishments of the order, and thereby collecting no inconsiderable quantity of gold and silver, Bonaparte re-embarked on the 19th for Egypt, leaving General Vaubois and a garrison to take care of Malta. As the French fleet sailed by the island

of Candia, it passed near the English fleet, but without being seen by it; for a thick haze favoured the invaders, and prevented their utter annihilation, with the destruction or captivity of all the troops, and of Bonaparte himself, by Nelson. On the 29th of June the French came in sight of Alexandria; and on the following day the troops landed within three miles of that city, without any opposition, but with such haste and confusion, produced by the dread lest Nelson should be upon them, that a considerable number were drowned. The town of Alexandria was easily taken. From its ancient walls Bonaparte issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Egypt, telling them that he came as the friend of the sultan, to deliver them from the oppression of the Mamelukes, and that he and his soldiers had a particular respect for God, the prophet Mahomet, and the Koran. On the 7th of July he moved from Alexandria to Cairo, marching over burning sands, where the French troops suffered greatly and murmured not a little. On the 21st, on arriving in sight of the great Pyramids, they saw the whole Mameluke force, under Murad Bey and Ibrahim Bey, drawn up at Embabeh. Battle was joined almost immediately. The "Battle of the Pyramids," as the affair was called by the French, was easily won: such of the Mamelukes as escaped destruction retreated towards Upper Egypt; and two days after Bonaparte entered Cairo without resistance. Here he assembled a divan, or council of the principal Turks and Arab chiefs, to whom he promised the civil administration of the country. While he was thus engaged at Cairo, Nelson disturbed his visions by destroying the fleet which he had left near Alexandria. The British hero had returned up the Mediterranean without any instructions from his government, and without any certain knowledge of the French expedition. He was unfortunately without frigates to scour that sea, and he was thus, as it were, compelled to grope his way in the dark. The first news he got of Bonaparte's movements was that he had surprised Malta. Instantly he bore away for that island; but some days before he could reach it the French were gone, and he could find no one to tell him whither. Making, however, a shrewd guess, he sailed for the mouth of the Nile, and arrived off Alexandria on the 28th of June. But no French fleet was there, and although it was so near at hand, he could learn nothing of its whereabouts. He shaped his course to the northward for the coast of Caramania, and then steered from thence along the southern side of Candia. It was here he so nearly touched the objects he was seeking. Baffled in his pursuit, he crossed the Mediterranean, and returned to Sicily. He had sailed 600 leagues with an expedition almost incredible;

his flag-ship, the old *Vanguard*, was nearly strained to pieces; but as soon as he could re-victual and take in fresh water, he turned his

proW again towards Egypt On the 28th of July he entered the Gulf of Coron in the Morea; and there for the first time he received certain intelli-



gence that the French had been seen about four weeks before steering between Candia and the coast of Egypt Then setting every sail that his ships could possibly carry, he stood over once

more for the mouths of the Nile, grieving for the time which had been lost, and wishing it had only been his fate to have tried Bonaparte upon a wind The British fleet, consisting of thirteen seventy-



THE BATTLE OF ABOUKIR — from Denon's Egypt.

four's, one fifty-gun ship, and a brig of fourteen guns, at about ten in the morning of the 1st of August, again got sight of Alexandria and its harbours, now crowded with ships. At four in the afternoon, Captain Hood, in the *Zealous*, signalized the enemy's fleet at anchor in Aboukir

Bay. Nelson, who had scarcely taken rest or food for some days, ordered dinner to be served, and at half-past five signal was made to form in line of battle, abreast and astern of the admiral. At a little before six they were rapidly approaching the enemy, whose force comprised one ship of

120 guns, three of eighty, and nine of seventy-four, moored in compact line of battle, describing an obtuse angle, close in with the shore, flanked by gun-boats, four frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on an island in their van. Nelson no sooner perceived the enemy's position than his plan of attack was formed. Where an enemy's ship could swing, there was room for a British one to anchor; and he therefore determined to station his ships on the inner side of the French line. At about twenty minutes past six the French opened their fire on the two leading British ships. The guns on Aboukir Island also fired at the ships as they rounded the shoal, but ceased as the ships became closely engaged, to avoid striking the French van. The *Culloden*, seventy-four, Captain Trowbridge, unfortunately grounded on a ledge of rocks, and could take no part in the action. The *Vanguard*, Nelson's flagship, with six ensigns flying in different parts of the rigging, lest any should be shot away, was the first that anchored, within half pistol-shot of the *Spartiate*, the third ship in the enemy's line. By seven o'clock eight of the British fleet had anchored, and were in close action with the enemy. At half-past nine or thereabouts five of the French van had surrendered; the *Orient* was in flames, and at about ten o'clock blew up with a tremendous explosion. Nelson had received a severe wound in the head; but in the confusion, to the astonishment of every one, he appeared on the quarter-deck, and immediately gave orders that the boats should be sent to the relief of the enemy; and many of the *Orient's* crew were saved by our boats, or dragged into the lower parts of British ships by British sailors. The brave French admiral, Brueys, was dead. Among the many hundreds who perished was the Commodore Casa Bianca and his son, a brave boy, only ten years old. They were seen floating on a shattered mast when the ship blew up. The dreadful shock stayed the fury of battle: for full ten minutes not a gun was fired on either side. The French ship *Franklin* was the first to recommence, but was soon silenced, and struck her colours. At midnight the only French ship whose guns continued in active play was the *Tonnant*; but, her masts being shot away, she ceased firing, and, by veering cable, took up a station in the rear, and another interval of silence ensued. As the day broke the battle recommenced between four of the French ships and two of the English, soon assisted by two others. The French frigate *Artemise* fired a broadside, and then struck her colours, and soon afterwards blew up. The four French line-of-battle ships, and two frigates, kept dropping to leeward, and were almost out of gun-shot of the British that had anchored to attack them. Two of these

ships ran themselves on shore; and, after an exchange of a few distant shots, struck their colours. The others got under weigh and escaped—only one of our fleet, the *Zealous*, being in a condition to make sail after them. Of the thirteen French ships of the line eight had surrendered, one had perished, two had escaped, and two were on shore with their colours flying, one of which soon after struck, and was taken possession of, and the other was set fire to by the crew, who escaped on shore—making eleven line-of-battle ships lost to the French. The British loss, in killed and wounded, was 895; Westcott, of the *Majestic*, was the only captain who fell: 3105 of the French, including the wounded, were sent on shore by cartel; and 5225 perished. The victory was complete. "Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene." He called it a conquest.

The destruction of the French fleet, which was announced far and wide by bonfires kindled by the Arabs along the coast and over the whole land of Egypt, left Bonaparte with only such stores and military materials as he had succeeded in bringing with him, and shut him out from all communication with France.

The sultan now issued an indignant manifesto, declaring war against France for invading one of his provinces in a time of peace and pretended amity. he called upon the pachas of Syria to collect their forces; and he prepared to send from Constantinople an army for the recovery of Egypt. On the 22d of September the people of Cairo, who had hitherto been quiet, puzzled and bewildered at the French doings, burst out into insurrection, and killed a good many Frenchmen in the streets. The insurrection was put down by a dreadful massacre.

In Europe the victory at Aboukir, or the "Battle of the Nile," as it was called, produced an immediate and an immense effect, reviving in every country the drooping spirits of the anti-Gallican party, and filling England from end to end with transports of joy and triumph. From Egypt, Nelson returned to Naples, where he found that King Ferdinand was collecting a numerous army with the view of driving the French from Rome and from Tuscany; that the congress at Rastadt had been virtually broken up; that the emperor was arming, and a new coalition forming against the French, who, by their conduct at Rome, in Switzerland, and in other countries, had broken the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio. Nelson's achievement, and the absence of Bonaparte, who, it was expected, would never find his way back to Europe, were the two grand circumstances of encouragement to this new coalition.

¹ The two line-of-battle ships, and one of the frigates, were afterwards taken by the British squadron in the Mediterranean.

In the month of November the island of Gozo, separated from Malta by a narrow channel, capitulated to a detachment of Nelson's squadron. Malta itself was closely blockaded.

The British parliament assembled on the 20th of November. The speech from the throne congratulated the country on the hopes of new alliances, by which it might be anticipated that the common enemy of nations would be humbled and repressed. This alluded more particularly to Russia. The Czarina Catherine had died of apoplexy in November, 1796, and had been succeeded by her son Paul. At first, anxious doubts had been entertained whether, as usual in despotic countries, the successor would not pursue a line of foreign policy directly opposite to that of his predecessor. It was known that tempting overtures had been made to him by the French;

and Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt, by embarrassing the sultan, and obliging him to send an army down the Archipelago, would probably leave the frontiers of European Turkey in a weakened state, and even possibly lay open the road to the Balkan pass and to Constantinople, the grand object of Russian ambition. But Paul had now engaged to respect existing treaties, had contracted a close alliance with Great Britain, and had engaged to take an active part in the war against the conquering republic, upon condition of receiving from Great Britain £112,000 per month, during a campaign of eight months, for the pay of troops.

The estimated supplies for the ensuing year were put at £29,272,000; and Pitt presented a new plan for raising a considerable part of them by an INCOME TAX.

CHAPTER XL—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A. D. 1799—1802.

GEORGE III.

Resolution of parliament to unite Ireland with Britain under one legislature—Movements of the Austrians to drive the French out of Italy—The French occupy and revolutionize Naples—Austria and Russia combine against France—Successes of the Austrian armies over the French, and of the Russian army under Suvaroff—The French almost driven out of Italy—Expedition of the British and Russians against the French in Holland—The Duke of York appointed their commander—Utter failure of the expedition—Bonaparte's career in Egypt—His unsuccessful siege of Acre—Defeat of the Turks by the French at Aboukir—Unpopularity of the French directory—Bonaparte resolves to return to France—His safe arrival—His intrigues in Paris to depose the directory—He forms a new government, of which he is first consul—His overtures to England for peace—War of the British in India—Tippoo Sultan's measures for expelling the English from India—The British army under General Harris marches against him—Tippoo besieged in his capital—The city taken and Tippoo slain—Assembling of parliament—Its proceedings—Aversion of the Irish parliament to the union with Britain—The union effected—Bonaparte's satisfaction at the rejection by Britain of his proposals for peace—His preparations to invade Italy—His march across the Alps—His victory over the Austrians at Marengo—Fruits of the victory—Successes of the French under Moreau—His victory over the Austrians at Hohenlinden—Austria submits to humiliating terms—Malta surrenders to the British—Desultory war proceedings of the British government—Motions in parliament—Its session closed—Opening of the first imperial parliament—Pitt retires from office—His designs for Catholic emancipation—Effect of the proposal upon the king—Construction of the Addington administration—Its first proceedings—Hostile movements of the Emperor Paul of Russia against Britain—His death—Armed neutrality of the three northern powers against Britain—It is dissolved by Nelson's naval victory at Copenhagen—The French army in Egypt capitulates—The capitulation rejected and the war renewed—Expedition of Sir Ralph Abercromby to Egypt—His landing at Aboukir—His victory over the French at Alexandria—Death of Abercromby—Difficulties of the French army in Egypt—Its surrender—Hostilities of the French in Spain and Portugal—The peace of Amiens.



HE regular army was slightly increased; 120,000 men, including marines, &c., were voted for the navy; the volunteers and yeomanry cavalry had risen from 5000 to 30,000 men; and the militia, a portion of which had done good service in Ireland, was now about 85,000 strong.

A plan for uniting Ireland under one legislature with Great Britain, as Scotland, to her inestimable advantage, had been united to England

nearly a century ago, had been discussed and seriously entertained before the breaking out of the late unhappy rebellion; but that event had made the necessity of such a union more apparent. On the 22d of January, a royal message to both houses recommended the consideration of the most effectual means for defeating the design of our enemies to promote a separation between the two kingdoms. It was agreed by an immense majority that the question should be considered on the 31st. On that day, Pitt proposed certain re-

solutions as the basis for the measure; and his motion, that the house should go into committee on these propositions, was carried by 140 against 15. After some long and warm debates, the resolutions, with some slight amendments, were agreed to, and sent up to the peers. After equally warm debating in the upper house, a joint address to the king was agreed to, presenting the resolutions as a proper basis for the union. And here, as far as regarded England, the matter rested for the present year. On the 12th of July the king prorogued parliament.¹

The court of Vienna had formed a close alliance with the czar; and in the autumn of the preceding year Russian troops had begun to collect on the frontiers of Austria, while a great army of the German empire was assembling between the rivers Inn and Lech. One great object proposed was to drive the French out of Italy, where, through the folly of King Ferdinand, who had begun too soon, or through the slowness of the Emperor Francis, who had begun too late, they had been allowed to overrun the kingdom of Naples, and to drive that Bourbon court into Sicily. General Mack, who had passed from the Austrian into the Neapolitan service, had miserably conducted a very bad army; and after entering Rome in triumph, had been thoroughly beaten by General Championnet. On the 21st of December, King Ferdinand and his family embarked in Lord Nelson's flag-ship, and set sail for Palermo. Championnet took possession of Naples on the 23d of January. Royalty was abolished; and the country in Europe least fitted for such institutions was converted into a republic under the name of *REPUBBLICA PARTENOPEA*.

It was while Naples was thus falling so easy a prey to the French, that her Austrian and Russian allies began collecting on the other side of the Alps. The French negotiators at Rastadt, after demanding from the Emperor of Germany the dismissal of the Russian troops, declared the congress to be dissolved. A republican army forthwith pressed the siege of the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein,

which was obliged to capitulate at the end of January. Jourdan then crossed the Rhine once more, and established himself in Suabia. The directory, however, did not declare war against the Emperor Francis until the month of March, when Jourdan advanced towards the Danube; but again the Archduke Charles met this unlucky republican, and after defeating or weakening him in several rapidly succeeding engagements, he drove Jourdan back over the Rhine in April. Nearly at the same time, the Austrian generals Bellegarde and Hatze recovered the Grison country which had been invaded, drove the French from the St. Gothard, and poured into Switzerland, where General Massena occupied a strong position in front of Zurich. In the meanwhile, another fine Austrian army had taken the field with old General Melas for its commander. Melas, pouring through the Tyrol towards the end of March, drove all the French outposts before him, entered Upper Italy, cleared all the left bank of the Adige, and obliged Scherer, the unpopular and very inferior general whom the directory had appointed to the supreme command of their army of Italy, to retire beyond the Mincio in great confusion. Moreau, who had a much higher reputation, took the command, but only to be beaten like Scherer. On the 18th of April, when Melas was driving Moreau before him, the famed Suvaroff came up with some 50,000 Russians, joined the Austrians, and assumed the chief command of both armies. On the 27th of April, the battle of Cassano decided the fate of the Cisalpine republic, the people of which were almost everywhere in open insurrection against the French and the native democrats whom they had set up as a government. The citadels of Brescia and Peschiera surrendered to the allies, Mantua was closely invested, and Suvaroff entered Milan in triumph. Moreau continued his hasty retreat towards Genoa, hoping to be able to guard the barrier of the Apennines, and to be joined there by Macdonald, with the army of Naples, whom he had pressingly summoned to his assistance. Leaving

¹ "The whole history of the Irish insurrection and union forms not a parallel but a contrast to the Jacobite conspiracies, and the union between England and Scotland. In Scotland, the Tory principles of a few great families and national pride united some powerful interests, even in a country where the people were Presbyterian, in favour of a Roman Catholic prince. In Ireland, a sense of suffering and deep resentment for the persecution of ages connected the great mass of Catholics with a democratical republic yet reeking with the spoils of a Popish establishment. The Scotch Jacobites often held back from the expectation of a more favourable season, and their leaders generally demanded greater succours than the French court was willing or able to grant. The Irish Catholics, on the contrary, were goaded into premature hostility before their northern countrymen were ready to co-operate, or their foreign succours had arrived; and thus a dread of being overwhelmed by too large a force from their allies having produced delay and disunion among them, led to a detection of their designs and to the loss of their best opportunity. The union was the chief source

of disaffection in Scotland, and one of the great causes of the two rebellions of 1715 and 1744. On the other hand, the insurrection in Ireland was the chief cause of the union, by furnishing the English government with both the means and the pretext for accomplishing a measure which in no other circumstances could have been attempted. These consequences of his undertaking and its discomfiture, Lord Edward Fitzgerald never lived to witness. His early arrest was a fatal blow to the whole design of the insurrection; for though his abilities were not of the first order, nor even equal to those of some engaged in the same cause, yet he combined advantages of birth, education, and personal character, which would have enabled him to reconcile, better than any other man, the jarring materials of which the conspiracy was composed. He, too, could have directed their military operations, if not with consummate skill, at least with less ignorance and rashness than characterized all their wretched efforts in the field. He had been educated in the army, and was exceedingly beloved by those with whom he served."—Lord Holland, *Memoirs of the Whig Party*, vol. i. p. 105.

a small garrison in the castle of St. Elmo under the command of Colonel Mejean, and advising the Neapolitan democrats to defend that helpless infant, their three-months-old republic, Macdonald, on the 7th of May, began his rapid march from Naples, got out of the kingdom (not without sustaining considerable loss from some daring royalist partizans), traversed the Roman states and the whole of Tuscauy, reached the river Trebia, and, being joined by General Victor, ventured to face the Russo-Austrian army. But after fighting for three days on the banks of the Trebia in the neighbourhood of Piacenza, he was crushed by Suvaroff, and, fleeing thence towards the pass of the Bocchetta, he joined Moreau with what was only a fragment of his army. Before Macdonald's arrival, Moreau had drawn some reinforcements from Nice and Genoa, and had made some entrenchments on the declivities of the Apennines, and in the entrance of the Bocchetta pass behind the Piedmontese town of Novi. Dissatisfied with Moreau, the directors now sent Joubert to take the command-in-chief of the army. Joubert stationed himself on the same heights behind Novi which Moreau had occupied, and improved and extended his field-works. But, being attacked in that formidable position by Suvaroff on the 16th of August, Joubert was most thoroughly beaten, and was killed in the action by a cannon-ball, and the miserable wreck of the French army which survived his fall left nearly all their artillery behind them, and fled like sheep over the mountains and through the pass towards the city of Genoa. Shortly after this victory, Suvaroff quitted the Apennines and struck across the Alps to make head against Massena, who had resumed the offensive, and marching from Zurich, had defeated the Russian corps of General Korsakoff, who had arrived in Switzerland to relieve or co-operate with General Bellegarde and the Austrians. There was some fearful fighting among the precipices and ravines of St. Gothard, which the French had again occupied. Suvaroff swept the republicans back, and opened his way into the heart of Switzerland; but the Austrian general, who had engaged to form a junction with him, was nowhere to be seen; and Korsakoff was too far separated, and too weak, to move to meet him. This obliged Suvaroff to turn aside towards the Lake of Constance and the frontiers of Germany. He was interrupted in his march by Massena; but, fighting and retiring, halting and fighting again, he attained his object, and effected a junction with Korsakoff, though with an army sadly diminished. Leaving the French once more absolute masters of Switzerland,¹ the

two Russian generals marched away to Augsburg, where they received orders to lead back all their troops to their own country.

The Neapolitan kingdom was recovered in the course of the months of June and July by Cardinal Ruffo, with an army of wild Calabrians, by a motley force of English, Russians, Portuguese, and Turks, and by Lord Nelson and his squadron. A detachment of Nelson's squadron, under Commodore Trowbridge, blockaded the French garrison in Civita Vecchia, the pope's seaport town near the mouth of the Tiber. The French soon capitulated, as did also a small garrison which had been left by Championnet in the castle of St. Angelo at Rome. The Papal government was reinstated; but to restore the old pope was impossible—Pius VI. was dead. His successor, Pius VII., was named by thirty-five cardinals, assembled at Venice under the protection of the Austrians, but his election was not completed until the month of March, 1800. Long before the close of the year hardly anything was left to the French in Italy except Genoa.

When Suvaroff was carrying everything before him in Italy, and when the French seemed fully occupied by the wars in that country and in Switzerland and Germany, the Emperor Paul sent another Russian force to co-operate with the English in an attack on the French in Holland. It was, however, the month of August before this armament was ready. An army of 30,000 men, of which 17,000 were Russian and the rest British, was collected on the Kentish coast. On the 13th of August, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was intrusted with the first division, consisting of 12,000 troops, embarked in transports and in the squadron of Admiral Mitchel, who was to join the fleet of Admiral (now Lord) Duncan, then cruising in the North Sea. The fort of the Helder was immediately abandoned by its garrison; Abercromby landed there; the Texel was occupied by our fleet—the Dutch fleet surrendering or hoisting the Orange flag. General Brune, with a mixed army of French and Dutch, 25,000 strong, attempted to dislodge Abercromby, who was left for a whole month in a very critical situation; but his inferior force stood its ground manfully, and Brune was repulsed with considerable loss. At last, on the 13th of September, another and a stronger division of the Anglo-Russian army arrived, bringing, unfortunately, with it the Duke of York to take the command-in-chief of the whole. From this moment nothing went well; and, after fighting several battles honourable to the troops, but rather disgraceful in point of generalship, his royal high-

¹ The Archduke Charles, when marching against Massena, was obliged to descend the Rhine by a fresh incursion of the

French into Germany. He fought several battles with varying success; but, in the end, he once more drove the invaders to the other side of the Rhine.

ness was fain to conclude a convention (on the 17th of October), by which it was agreed that the English and Russians should be allowed to re-embark without molestation; and that, as the price for that favour, 8000 prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be released.

Eight days before this convention or capitulation by the Duke of York, Bonaparte arrived in France. In the month of February he had



A STREET IN CAIRO.—From Hay's Sketches of Cairo

quitted Cairo with the intention of conquering all Syria. Crossing the desert with 10,000 men, he took Gaza, stormed Jaffa, and swept onward like the Man of Destiny, until he came under the old crumbling walls of Acre. This place, the key of Syria, was defended by the Pacha Djezzar, a very cruel but very resolute old man; by Colonel Philippeaux, an emigrant royalist, and an able officer of engineers, who at one time had been Bonaparte's schoolfellow; and by the brave and alert Sir Sidney Smith, who not merely brought two ships of the line close in-shore to maul the besiegers, but also lauded some of his sailors and marines. After spending sixty days before the place, making seven or eight assaults, and losing 3000 men, the French raised the siege of Acre, and on the 21st of May they began their

retreat. On the 14th of June, Bonaparte re-entered Cairo. During his absence, General Desaix, ascending the Nile, had driven the remnant of the Mamelukes from Upper Egypt, and beyond the cataracts of Assouan; but this expedition had no other importance than that of affording the French artists and *savans* the opportunity of visiting the monuments of Thebes, Denderah, and other ancient places. In July, Bonaparte, with nearly his whole army, was called down to the coast—to the point where Nelson had annihilated the French fleet—for a Turkish army of 18,000 men had landed at Aboukir. On the 25th of July a terrible battle took place on the sandy coast. The Turks fought with admirable courage; but their irregular, undisciplined, unformed masses could not stand long against masses of French that were even in number nearly equal to their own: 10,000 of them perished, by shot, bayonet, or in the sea, where they threw themselves in the hopes of reaching their ships. Soon after this battle of Aboukir, Bonaparte began to make secret preparations for getting back to Europe. If, as some have suspected, one strong inducement which led him to quit France at a critical moment, and embark on this wild Egyptian expedition, had really been to allow the five kings at the Luxemburg time and opportunity to disgust the French people with their profligacy and ineptness, and to prove how essential he was to French victory and conquest by or through the failures of the other republican generals, he had most completely succeeded in his object. Letters from his brothers Joseph and Lucien, and from his numerous friends in Paris, informed him that Italy was lost; that the French armies were being beaten everywhere; that the directors were quarrelling among themselves—were intriguing and quarrelling with the two legislative councils; and that the people, whose rage for liberty and equality was now merged in military pride and a passion for conquest—with those good things which the conquests of rich countries bring with them—seemed heartily sick of directory, ancients, and cinq cents, and ripe and ready for another revolution.

Two small frigates which lay in the harbour of Alexandria were made ready for sea; and on the 23d of August, leaving behind him his army, now reduced to 20,000 men, and taking with him his favourite officers, Murat, Lannes, Berthier, Marmont, and three of the *savans*, he embarked secretly in one of the frigates, and set sail for France. Though happy to escape the comfortless life in Egypt, most of those who went with him expected to be stopped on their passage, and carried prisoners of war to England; but the extraordinary fortunes of the man favoured him

still, and, without being pursued, or even seen by any of our ships, he landed in the Gulf of Fréjus, to the eastward of Toulon, on the 9th of October. He had been in Paris two days, pri-

sican officer, after listening, in two or three private conferences to the persuasive tongue of Talleyrand, and to splendid offers of honours and riches, agreed to give up the last shred of his pretended republicanism, and to remove all opposition by sending in his resignation. The two directors, who remained to support the present constitution and resist a military dictatorship, were Gohier and Moulins, a couple of incapables. The council of ancients were easily persuaded of the necessity of a new constitution; but a great majority of the council of five hundred vowed that they would die for the constitution they had got. On the 19th Brumaire, or 10th of November, just one month and a day after Bonaparte's landing at Fréjus, the business was finished by Murat and a detachment of grenadiers with levelled bayonets; the council of five hundred was cleared in a trice; most of the members jumped out of the windows—not one of them stayed to die. On that night all the ardent republicans were proscribed; three provisional consuls (for the government was now to be consular) were appointed—and who so fit to be consuls as Abbé Sièyes, Roger Ducos, and Napoleon Bonaparte? On the following day the rising general took up

privately consulting with chiefs of parties and officers of the army, before the directors knew of his arrival. Augereau, who had fought by his side at Arcole, who had surrounded the Tuileries with troops and artillery, and had purged out two former directors and all the refractory members of the legislature, on the 18th Fructidor, 1797, and who was now ready to do whatsoever Bonaparte might command, was one of the first to wait upon him. In the course

of a few days Talleyrand gave his counsels the benefit of all his craft and ability. Abbé Sièyes, though now one of the directors himself, had made the notable discovery that his last constitution was a great deal too democratic; had conceived a mortal hatred to his brother-director Barras, whom he accused of downright Jacobinism and sans-culottism; and was now ready to co-operate with the ambitious general, duping himself into the absurd be-

lief that Bonaparte would remain in allegiance to him and to another perfect constitution which he had, all ready, in his portfolio. Roger Ducos, another of the directors, yielded to circumstances. Even Barras, the early patron of the young Cor-

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MAMELUKES—From an etching by Bert
1, Full dress 2, Fully armed



FRÉJUS—From a view by Denon¹

commanded the forces, and superintended both the internal and foreign departments of the state.

¹ In the foreground are the remains of a Roman amphitheatre, and in the distance, entering the port of the town, are seen the two frigates that brought Bonaparte back to France.

Left perfectly free to choose his own two satellites, Bonaparte would have retained Sièyes; but the ex-abbé preferred taking the place of senator, with the yearly salary of 25,000 francs, and the royal domain of Crosne in the park of Versailles. Cambacérès and Lebrun, who had both been brought up to the law, were appointed second and third consuls. Roger Ducos was also put into the senate. The first consul very soon removed from the Luxemburg to the palace of the Tuileries, where he lived with royal state. He now wrote to the King of England, as one sovereign writes to another, expressing a wish for peace, but without stating any conditions. George III., who could scarcely do otherwise, gave the epistle to his secretary for foreign affairs, to answer it. Lord Grenville addressed his reply, not to the first consul, but to Talleyrand, now the French minister for foreign affairs. Talleyrand replied, Lord Grenville rejoined, and there the matter ended. Our opposition orators attached great importance to the overture, which was the hollowest of all that had been made, for the first consul was preparing at the moment to recover Italy, and was determined to keep Switzerland, Savoy, Nice, Belgium, Holland, and all the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine.

In the course of this year Tippoo Sultaun was destroyed. To recover what he had lost in the last war, he had sent an embassy to Cabool to bring the Afghan tribes down into India; he had negotiated or intrigued with the Nizam of the Deccan, and with other native princes; and, towards the end of 1797, he had sent two ambassadors to the Isle of France to propose an alliance with the French republic, and to request an immediate supply of troops (30,000 or 40,000 men, Tippoo thought, would be sufficient) to enable him to expel the English from every part of Hindoostan. The governor of the Isle of France, who was daily expecting a visit from the English, had no troops to spare; but he forwarded Tippoo's letters to Paris, and allowed his two ambassadors to enrol about 150 Frenchmen, "the refuse of the democratic rabble of the island," some of whom were lying in jail at the time. But, when the moment came for embarking nearly one-half of these desperadoes refused to go to conquer India. Some sixty or seventy of them, however, arrived at Mangalore, and thence proceeded to Tippoo's capital. As soon as Bonaparte had arrived in Egypt he had despatched a letter to Tippoo requesting him to send a confidential person to Suez or Cairo, to confer with him and concert measures for the liberation of India; but it appears doubtful whether this epistle ever reached the sultan. The embassy to the Isle of France—the arrival of Frenchmen at Seringapa-

tam (but not their number)—the intrigues set on foot in various parts of the country—and the fact that Tippoo was rapidly increasing his army—all became known to the government at Calcutta. The Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis Wellesley), who was now governor-general, determined to anticipate the sultan; and, after demanding explanations which were never given,



GENERAL LORD HARRIS —From a portrait by Davis

his lordship sent General Harris into the Mysore country with 24,000 men, and called up General Stuart with the Bombay army of about 7000 men, to co-operate with Harris. General Harris, moreover, was joined at Vellore by a strong British detachment serving with the nizam, and by some regiments of sepoy which the nizam had raised, and which were officered by Englishmen. Harris entered the Mysore territory on the 5th of March (1799), and moved straight on for Seringapatam, reducing all the forts in his way. General Stuart's advance was attended with greater difficulty, and with some loss, for he was encountered by the main army of Tippoo. On the 27th, when Harris was within two days' march of Seringapatam, he found the active sultan drawn up to oppose him. In the action which ensued Colonel Wellesley (the late Duke of Wellington) particularly distinguished himself; and it was his regiment, the 33d, that decided the affair. Tippoo then retreated, and threw himself with his whole army into Seringapatam, the fortifications of which had been improved and increased since General Abercromby's attack in 1792. On the 5th of April, General Harris took up ground for the siege; and on the 14th he was joined by General Stuart with the Bombay army. Until the 17th of April, the

time was employed by General Harris in surmounting the obstacles by which the approach to the walls was guarded; but these being happily overcome, chiefly through the gallant conduct of General Baird and Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the siege of Seringapatam commenced in earnest. A detachment of the Bombay army, commanded by Colonel Vaughan Hunt, drove the enemy from their posts near the village of Agrar, on the north side of the Cauvery, and established themselves in the ruins of an old redoubt and village, by which they could enfilade the enemy's entrenchment on the south side of the river; and about the same time, a nullah, called the Little Cauvery, which afforded 600 yards of cover from the fire of the town, was secured and used as a shelter for the British troops, and the engineers' tools and materials. On the evening of the 27th an attack was made on the enemy's post on the front and right of the British line, and was conducted by Colonel Wellesley with great skill and complete success. The post thus gained was of the utmost importance, as it furnished the ground where the breaching batteries were to be erected; and, aware of its value, Tippoo made a desperate attempt to regain it, by an attack on it from the guns of the fort, and from the stone bridge, but without success, as the troops in possession gallantly maintained the orders they had received to keep it to the last extremity. This was the last vigorous effort of Tippoo; he felt that the deadly circle was closing upon him; his subsequent resistance became more feeble and confused, and he was only constant to his single purpose—which he had recognized as his inevitable destiny—to find a grave among the ruins of his capital. Every obstruction being cleared away, and all got in readiness for the decisive assault, this important duty was committed to Major-general Baird, a hero whose daring and chivalrous character was admirably adapted to such a service. He was instructed by Harris to make the capture of the ramparts his first object. For this purpose he was to divide his force into two columns, the one to move along the northern rampart, and the other along the southern, until both should join on the east face, thus making the whole round of the ramparts before descending into the town. To conceal this arrangement also, as well as to insure its effect, the different corps were moved silently to the trenches during the night, and arranged according to the order in which the attack was to be made on the following day. And, indeed, in the worn-out condition of the British army, not only decisive but instant exertion could not be delayed a day longer. To Captain (afterwards Sir John) Malcolm, who asked his commander why he looked

so thoughtful, Harris sternly replied, "We have serious work on hand; don't you see that the European sentry over my tent is so weak from want of food and exhaustion, that a sepoy could push him down: we must take this fort, or perish in the attempt."

The attack that sealed the fate of Seringapatam and its lord was made on the 4th of May. During the whole previous night the British batteries had kept up a heavy fire upon the breach, to prevent its being repaired, and on the morning it was reported by the chief engineer to be practicable. One o'clock was the hour appointed for the assault; and, as it struck, the voice of Baird was heard like a trumpet exclaiming, "Now, my brave fellows, follow me, and prove yourselves worthy of the name of British soldiers!" They rushed across the river under a heavy fire of rockets and musketry from the fort; they ascended the glacis and the faussebraye, and reached the summit of the breach, where they planted the British colours. The ramparts were scaled; and, like two trains of gunpowder simultaneously kindled, two streams of red uniforms ran along the northern and southern ramparts in a destructive circle, bearing down or sweeping before them every obstacle, until they had reached the prescribed point of reunion. And still as they went along their progress was indicated by the British colours, which were planted in rapid succession upon the cavaliers that yielded to their onset. It was on the left attack that the greatest resistance was experienced, for here Tippoo was present in person to cheer on his troops, and retard the progress step by step of his successful assailants; but, although he was animated with the courage of despair, and at the head of those who had promised to die with him, they were struck down and slain in thousands; for Tippoo had murdered his British prisoners who had been captured during the siege, and their living comrades were drunk with revenge. But resistance ceased when the two divisions joined on the eastern rampart, and at the same time the slaughter terminated. When the havoc had abated, and the city was won, the sultan was nowhere to be seen; and, until his fate was ascertained, the conquest of Seringapatam would prove but an uncertain advantage. Even his family were ignorant of what might have befallen him; and, although a report had been brought to his killedar that he had been shot, and was lying dead under one of the gateways, neither the family nor that royal major-domo dared to open the palace gates without the sovereign's permission. After much negotiation and delay, the result of jealous eastern etiquette, the palace officials threw open the gates that the royal mansion might be examined, and, with the two princes who had been formerly the

captives of Cornwallis, aided the victors in the search for the body of Tippoo. At a gateway on the north face of the fort which was covered with hundreds of the slain, an exploration was made by torchlight, and from among the heap of dead they at last found and brought out the object of their search. The eyes of the dead king were still open, and his body was so warm that they



SERINGAPATAM North-east View.—From DILLY'S NARRATIVE.

thought he was still alive, but, on examining further, they found that his heart had ceased to beat, while three wounds in the body and one in the temple from a musket-ball were more than enough to insure his destruction. In an hour and a half his glory and life had departed—his capital and his kingdom had passed into other hands. On the following day, his body was interred in the grave of his father with military honours; and a storm of thunder and lightning that signalized the rites of sepulture, and destroyed several Europeans and natives, appeared as a characteristic and befitting close to his vindictive, sanguinary character and tempestuous career.

On the death of Tippoo Sultan, submission became the sole proceeding of the vanquished; only two days after, his sons and chiefs acknowledged the rule of their conquerors, and this example was speedily followed over the whole kingdom of Mysore. The rule of the tyrant had been so oppressive to his own subjects, that the dominion of foreign masters was welcomed as a most grateful relief, and the Mysoreans, instead of bewailing their late sovereign and their own defeat and subjugation, sat down to eat, drink, and be merry. A conquest so rapidly achieved, and followed by a submission so cordial, could not be otherwise than highly gratifying to the hero by whom it had been achieved, and we find General Harris thus alluding to both circumstances in a letter to Sir W. Medows:—"In seven months' absence from Madras, we not only took the capital of that enemy, who, you observe, should never have been left the power of being troublesome,

but marched to the northern extent of his empire, and left it in so settled a state that I journeyed from the banks of the Toombudra, 300 miles across, in my palanquin, without a single soldier as escort, except, indeed, at many places, the polygars and peons of the country, who insisted on being my guard through their respective districts. This was a kind of triumphal journey I did not dream of when setting off. The Almighty has been wonderfully bountiful to us. A conquest so complete in all its effects has seldom been known, and certainly in my respect left me nothing to ask." In consequence of these successes, British India, instead of being invaded, was much enlarged, and was enabled to send an armament across the ocean and up the Red Sea, to assist in driving the French invaders out of Egypt.

The British parliament was assembled as early as the 24th of September, when the government entertained sanguine hopes of success for the Anglo-Russian army in Holland. A bill was instantly introduced to facilitate the reinforcing our regular army by allowing three-fifths of the militia of each county to enlist in the regulars for service within Europe, and it was passed into a law on the 4th of October.

A. D. 1800. After the recess the sense of parliament was shown by divisions which took place on an address to the king in approbation of the conduct pursued towards the first consul. In the lords there were seventy-nine votes for the address to six against it, and in the commons 260 to 64. "As a sincere lover of peace," said Mr. Pitt, "I will not sacrifice it by

grasping at the shadow, when the substance is not within my reach." On the annual motion for renewing the act for suspending the habeas corpus bill, there was a very stormy debate, but the measure was carried by the usual majorities. The attempt of the maniac, Hadfield, on the 15th of May, to shoot the king in Drury Lane Theatre, led to the insertion of two additional clauses in the insanity bill, by which the privilege of bail allowed to alleged lunatics was considerably abridged, and the personal safety of the sovereign, which had been so often endangered by the attempts of insane individuals, was specially consulted. The scarcity of corn continued to excite serious alarm, and a committee of each house was appointed to consider of the most effectual means for remedying that distress. These committees neither brought any great store of knowledge to the subject nor displayed any great fertility of invention.

At first the Irish parliament testified no great willingness to accede to the union. The resolutions which had passed the British parliament in 1799, excited a terrible storm in Dublin and other towns; but it was observed that a large proportion of the Roman Catholic party, who had suffered most by the late rebellion, preserved a sullen neutrality. When the Irish commons debated the address proposed by ministers in answer to the speech from the throne, in January, 1799, it was carried by a majority of only one vote. Yet, on the 15th of January, 1800, a motion made in the same house to declare their disapprobation of an incorporating union was negatived by a majority of forty-two, the numbers being 138 against 96. On the 5th of February, the whole plan of the union was detailed by Lord Castlereagh, then principal secretary for Ireland. After some more vehement debates the whole plan of the union was approved by the same parliament which the year before had all but rejected it *in toto*; and on the 27th of March the two Irish houses agreed in a joint address, informing his majesty that they considered the resolutions of the British parliament as wisely calculated to form the basis of an incorporation of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom; that they had adopted them as their guide, and now felt it their duty to lay before his majesty the resolutions to which they had agreed, and which, if they should be approved by the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by mutual consent of both parliaments. On the 2d of April, this address, together with the resolutions, was laid before the British parliament. The three first resolutions were finally carried without opposition; and, all proceedings both in Ireland and in England relative to this great

national measure being concluded in the month of June, the act of union received the royal assent on the 2d of July. On the 29th, parliament was prorogued.

Bonaparte tells us himself that the answer from London filled him with secret satisfaction, as war was necessary to maintain union and energy in the state, which was ill organized, as also to maintain his own influence over the imagination of the French people. But notwithstanding this secret satisfaction, he, in public, pretended to be greatly grieved, and in a proclamation to the French people, he complained of the obstinate hostility of the English; and called upon the French to furnish men and money in order to acquire peace by force of arms. Giving the command of the army of the Rhine to Moreau, the first consul assumed the direction of the army of Italy. Having made a demonstration of assembling an army at Dijon, in Burgundy, where he never collected more than a few thousand men, mostly raw recruits or old invalids, Bonaparte secretly directed a number of regiments from the interior of France to assemble in Switzerland, in the town of Lausanne and along the Lake of Geneva. The Austrians, lulled into security, continued their operations against Genoa, and on the side of Nice, recovering the greater part of that maritime country, and menacing the old French frontier beyond it. On the 13th of May, the first consul himself appeared at Lausanne, and prepared to march, with about 36,000 men and forty pieces of cannon, up the Great St. Bernard. His left wing, 15,000 strong, under Moncey, was ordered to cross the Alps by the pass of St. Gothard, while, on his right, 5000 men under Turreau were to cross at Mont Cenis, and 5000 more, under Chabran, were to pass by the way of the Little St. Bernard. The march was attended with the greatest difficulty, lying for the best part of the way among rocks and precipices and eternal snows. The cannon were dismounted, put into the hollowed trunks of trees, and dragged by the soldiers; the carriages were taken to pieces and carried on mules, or, slung upon poles, were borne upon men's shoulders. The powder and shot were packed into boxes of fir-wood, which were carefully lashed on the backs of mules, while every mule, nearly every sturdy peasant in those Alps was hired or pressed into the service. On the 16th of May, Bonaparte's vanguard under Lannes descended from the Great St. Bernard into the beautiful Piedmontese valley of Aosta, being closely followed by the other divisions. On the 17th, Lannes drove in a detachment of Austrians, who were as much astonished at the appearance of the French in that quarter as if the enemy had descended from the clouds. The consul then pushed forward, driving several Aus-

trian divisions before him, for the Ticino, on the banks of which river he was to be joined by Moncey, Chabran, and Turreau, who had passed the barrier of the Alps by easier roads. On the 2d of June, Bonaparte entered Milan without any opposition, and was there joined by some of his divisions. On the 5th of June, after his soldiers had eaten their shoes and the leather of their knapsacks, Massena gave up Genoa to the Austrian general Ott and Admiral Keith. More than a week before this event, Melas, the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army, advised of the descent of the first consul into Italy by so unexpected a route, retraced his steps through the Nissard country and the territories of the Genoese republic, being followed by Suchet, who had been contending almost hopelessly on the old frontier line of France.

With considerable rapidity the old Austrian concentrated his scattered forces at Alessandria, a well-fortified town in the open plain of Piedmont. Marching to meet Melas, Bonaparte crossed the Po at Piacenza, drove back Melas's advanced guard, and took up a position in the plain of Marengo, on the right bank of the insignificant river Bormida, and close in front of Alessandria. On the very next day, the 14th of June, Melas came out of Alessandria, crossed the Bormida in three columns, and attacked the French. For a long time the Austrians carried everything before them; and at four o'clock in the afternoon the battle seemed lost to the French, who were retiring on all points, and in considerable disorder. Melas, oppressed with age and infirmities, exhausted by the fatigues he had undergone, and fondly fancying the victory to be secured, quitted the field and returned to Alessandria. He was scarcely gone ere his advancing and victorious column was suddenly confronted by a fresh French division under General Desaix, and was presently afterwards charged in flank by a mass of heavy cavalry commanded by the younger Kellermann. But for the opportune arrival of Desaix and Kellermann, the main army of the first consul was clearly ruined; and nothing but the extraordinary luck of the man, and some new blunder or torpidity on the part of the Austrians, could have allowed him to recross the Alps otherwise than as a fugitive. But now his fleeing column rallied; and the Austrians, who had fought hard all day, allowed their column to be broken; General Zach, Melas's second in command, was taken prisoner with nearly all his staff; a panic arose, and horse and foot fled back in confusion towards the Bormida, the cavalry in their frantic haste riding over the infantry. The Austrian official report stated their total loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners at 9069 men and 1423 horses. The French stated their own loss

at only 4000, and that of the Austrians at 12,000. But it has been proved that the loss of the French must have been much greater. Desaix, who had saved them, was shot through the heart at his first charge. He had arrived from Egypt only a very few days before, and had made all possible haste to join the first consul. Neither during the battle nor in his preceding campaigns in Italy had old Melas shown any want of judgment or of firmness; but after his defeat, and when he came to negotiate, it seemed as if his eighty-four years had indeed reduced him to a second childhood. Perhaps, however, the Austrian and Italian diplomatists who now gathered around him may be more answerable than he for the pusillanimous, imbecile (or it may be treacherous) throwing up of a game which was not yet lost—of a great game, where the stake was little less than the whole of Italy. Even after his serious reverse, Melas might have collected in the field from 40,000 to 50,000 men; General Ott had thrown a great force into Genoa, and most of the fortresses were well garrisoned. Yet, by the armistice concluded on the 16th of June, the Austrians gave up Piedmont and the Genoese territory, with all their fortresses, including Alessandria, which might have stood a long siege, and the superb Genoa, which had only been taken from the French eleven days before this disgraceful armistice, after a very protracted siege and at an enormous expense. The French were to keep all Lombardy as far as the river Oglio. In return for all these immense sacrifices old Melas was allowed to withdraw his troops to the line of Mantua on the Mincio. Having established a provisional government in Genoa, and another in Turin—although here the King of Sardinia, Charles Emmanuel, was shut up in the citadel of his capital—Bonaparte returned to Paris, where he made a triumphal entrance on the 3d of July.

The French army on the Upper Rhine, under Moreau, had been scarcely less successful than the army of Italy. Moreau crossed the Rhine on the 25th of April; and, after defeating the Austrians under Kray in several engagements, he penetrated to Ulm. As soon as he was apprised of the first consul's successes beyond the Alps, he crossed the Danube, drove the Austrians from an entrenched camp, overran a great part of Bavaria, captured Munich, the capital, and pressed upon the frontiers of the emperor's hereditary dominions. The armistice concluded in Italy did not extend to Germany; but Bonaparte ordered Moreau to accede to the request of the Austrians for a truce till the month of September. The Russian czar, instead of assisting his imperial brother, now seemed disposed to join the first consul. Conditions or overtures of peace,

such as became an ambitious conqueror, were now tendered by Bonaparte; but Austria refused to treat without England, and France demanded an armistice by sea as a preliminary to the negotiations with England. The object of this last demand was as transparent as air; the French garrison in Malta, and the French army in Egypt, seemed on the point of surrendering to the British, and the first consul wanted to send reinforcements to those countries during the naval armistice. But the armistice was instantly refused by the British government, and hostilities were recommenced by land and by sea, the Emperor of Germany and the King of Great Britain reciprocally binding themselves not to conclude a peace the one without the other. At the word given by Bonaparte from Paris, three French armies put themselves in motion nearly at one and the same moment. The army of Italy, now under General Brune, drove the Austrians from the Mincio, and beyond the Adige and the Brenta, and advanced to within a few miles of Venice. Macdonald, with another army, occupied the passes of the Tyrol, being prepared to reinforce either Brune in Italy or Moreau in Germany. Moreau himself directed the heads of his columns towards Salzburg and Vienna. He was met, near Haag, by Archduke John, the younger brother of his old adversary, as brave but not so skilful a general as the Archduke Charles. A battle took place, which was decidedly favourable to the Austrians; but, hazarding a general engagement, on the 2d of December, at Hohenlinden, between the rivers Iser and Inn, the Archduke John was thoroughly defeated and driven from the field with the loss of 10,000 men. Moreau, advancing, occupied Salzburg, and the road to Vienna seemed almost open, not only to his army, but also to the armies of Brune and Macdonald. In this terrible condition the Emperor Francis was compelled to sue for a separate peace, and the British government obliged to release him from the terms of his alliance. An armistice was concluded on the 25th of December; and the treaty of peace, called the "Treaty of Lunéville," was signed on the 9th of February, 1801. It ratified all the conditions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and included several new articles very humiliating to the house of Austria. The emperor was to retain possession of Venice, but Tuscany was taken away from the Grand-duke Ferdinand, and bestowed upon Louis, son of the Duke of Parma, who had married a Spanish princess—the first consul, who had need of her further assistance, thinking it proper to give some recompense to Spain for her past services, and for the serious losses her fleet had sustained in encounters with the British. The emperor again acknowledged the independence of the Cis-

alpine and Ligurian republics, renouncing all right or pretension to any part of those Italian territories; and a new and extended and more advantageous frontier was drawn for the Cisalpines, the line of the Adige being taken from the point where that river issues from the Tyrol down to its mouth on the Adriatic. Piedmont, which lay awkwardly between the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, was for the present left to his Sardinian majesty Charles Emanuel, whose fortresses and cities were occupied by French troops, whose subjects were in a state of revolt, and whose authority scarcely extended beyond the walls of the citadel of Turin, into which he had been compelled to throw himself with his family and a few faithful adherents. Through the mediation of the Czar Paul, the King of Naples obtained a peace shortly after, agreeing to close all his ports against the English, and our only remaining allies the Turks.

Through the timidity of the court of Naples, which became a perfect panic after the battle of Marengo, the supplies of corn and other provisions which had been drawn from Sicily for the use of our Mediterranean fleet, and of our forces blockading the French in La Valetta, had been interrupted for many months before King Ferdinand obtained the brief respite of this treaty of peace; and, instead of starving out the French, our forces and the poor Maltese, who co-operated with us to a man, were in great danger of being starved away themselves; but at last, after a blockade which had lasted for more than two years, the island of Malta was surrendered to the British troops, commanded by Major-general Pigot, on the 15th of September. The work ought to have been done sooner, but the prize was truly great, though it could be valuable only to the power that held the dominion of the seas.

Except in the services which Admiral Lord Keith had rendered at the useless reduction of Genoa, there was little more deserving of attention in any of our military operations during this unhappy year. Absurd and apparently contradictory orders had been sent out by our government—by the admiralty and by the secretary of state—to the land and sea officers in command. General Pulteney was sent with six battalions to Lisbon, as the Spaniards were threatening an invasion of Portugal; General Abercromby, who had been beating about the Mediterranean, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the part of the Atlantic nearest to them, with 15,000 soldiers cooped up in crowded transports, now fancying he was to be called upon one expedition, and now upon another, did at last receive positive information that he was to be employed in Egypt; but the year was now spent; and it was the middle of December ere the armament got so far as Malta.

The scarcity of grain and season of dearth still continued at home, depressing the national spirit, which, during the whole year, had scarcely a glimpse of victory or of glory to cheer it. The city of London and other places presented petitions to the king in the month of October, implor-



VALLETTA, ENTRANCE TO THE GREAT PORT

ing him to convene the parliament. That assembly, which had taken but paltry means to relieve the distress during the last session, met on the 11th of November.

After sundry attacks rather on the foreign policy of ministers than on their spiritless conduct and undeniable mismanagement of the war, a motion was made, on the 1st of December, in the commons, by Sheridan, for an address to his majesty, earnestly to desire him to enter into separate negotiations with France for a speedy and *honourable* peace. This being negatived by 156 against 35, Mr. T. Jones, on the 10th of December, moved an address to implore his majesty to dismiss his present ministers. This was rejected by sixty-six against thirteen. Supplies were voted for three lunar months only. For the service of the navy 120,000 men, including marines, were granted, from the 1st January to the 1st of April, 1801. On the last day of the year the king closed the session of parliament, notifying that the time fixed for the commencement of the union of Great Britain and Ireland necessarily terminated their proceedings; and that the IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT (as the united parliament was to be called) was appointed to meet on the 22d of January, 1801.

A.D. 1801. On the 22d of January the first Imperial Parliament was opened by commission. The former members for England and Scotland continued, according to the provision in the treaty of union, to form part of the House of Commons; and Mr. Addington was re-elected speaker. The king did not meet this parliament till the 2d of February, when all the members had been sworn, and other preliminary matters arranged. In his speech from the throne, after adverting to the happy accomplishment of the union, and to the unhappy course of events on the Continent, which had forced his allies to abandon him, he announced that a fresh storm was gathering in the North; that the court of St. Petersburg had already proceeded to commit outrages against the ships,

property, and persons of his subjects; and that a convention had been concluded by that court with the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, the object of which was to renew their former engagement for establishing, by force of arms, a new code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights and hostile to the best interests of this country.

In consequence of these hostile movements of Russia, preparations were forthwith made for sending that British fleet into the Baltic, which, together with the death of the insane czar, put so speedy an end to this northern coalition; but before the tremendous battle of Copenhagen, and also before the brilliant success of the Egyptian expedition (the only army expedition of all that Pitt had planned that was successful), the premier of seventeen years' standing retired from his post. While recommending and urging on the union, he had flattered the Irish with the hope that that grand measure would be the best means of obtaining the abolition or very great mitigation of the penal and disabling laws affecting the Roman Catholics; and two anonymous but authoritative papers (one known to proceed from himself, and the other from Lord Cornwallis) had been circulated among the leading Irish Roman Catholics, and were supposed to have had no small influence in removing the obstacles which stood in the way of the union. Before committing himself thus deeply and decisively he ought to have ascertained whether the strong religious scruples of George III. would allow him to redeem his pledge. When the question was first mooted (apparently in a council held towards the middle of January of the present year), the king's objections were found to be insurmountable. At the levee on Wednesday, the 28th of January, the king said to Dundas, "What is this that this young lord (Castlereagh) has brought over, which they are going to throw at my head?" Lord Castlereagh had brought over some plan of Catholic emancipation. The king continued, "I shall reckon any man my personal enemy who

proposes any such measure!" After a short but very painful correspondence, his majesty, expressing his cordial affection for Mr. Pitt, and his high opinion of his talents and integrity, agreed to accept the resignation which the minister had tendered.

It soon became known that the king had intrusted the formation of the new cabinet to Mr. Addington, now speaker, who was the son of Pitt's father's favourite physician, Dr. Addington, and who had been brought forward in public life by the Pitt family and connections. On the 10th of February, Lord Darnley rose in the upper house to move for an inquiry into part of the conduct of the existing administration. Lord Grenville then stated, in the most downright manner, that the failure of their intentions in favour of the Roman Catholics had induced them to resign their places, which they now held only till their successors should be appointed. At the earnest request of several peers, who knew the real state of the king, Lord Darnley agreed to postpone his motion. On the same day a letter was read in the commons from Addington, tendering the resignation of his office of speaker, on account of his majesty's declared intention of appointing him to a situation incompatible with that post. When this letter had been read, Pitt rose to state that he had his majesty's commands to inform the house that they were to proceed in due season to the election of another speaker, and, in order that time might be had for consideration, he moved an adjournment till to-morrow. The adjournment was agreed to. On the 14th of February it was publicly announced that the king was confined to the house by a *severe cold*, and on the 16th the bulletin declared that he was affected by a fever; but it appears now to be fully proved that his majesty was suffering under a return of his former indisposition, brought on by anxiety and agitation of mind—an agitation occasioned principally, if not entirely by the Catholic question and the resignation of Pitt. On the 16th, the order of the day for the house to resolve itself into a committee of supply being read, Mr. Harrison rose to oppose it. At the moment, he said, when the house was called upon to pass a vote for so large a sum as £28,000,000, there was no ostensible person at the head of affairs, on whom responsibility could be fixed, for the proper use and application of the money. Sheridan, Whitbread, and others, supported Harrison; but his motion was negatived after some long debates, by an immense majority; and on the 18th of February the house resolved itself into a committee of supply. The sum required amounted altogether, for Great Britain and Ireland, to £42,197,000. The house, having agreed, after some slight alterations, to the re-

solutions upon the budget, Pitt on the 14th of March resigned, to the regret and perhaps to the dismay of a great majority in both houses. He was accompanied in his resignation by Dundas, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Windham. Almost the last words that Pitt delivered in the house as prime minister were words full of hope and confidence; he felt convinced, he said, that the British fleet would, with one blow, shatter the coalition of the North.

As soon as the serious nature of the king's indisposition was made known, a new regency bill was expected. Fox quitted his pleasant retirement at St. Anne's Hill, came up to London, and presided over a meeting of the Whig club, where he deprecated any public allusion to the king's malady, and declared that, still despairing of the House of Commons, if he re-appeared there, it should only be to support Mr. Grey's motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation. But all the time Fox stayed in town he was surrounded by speculating, hopeful visitors, who would not divest themselves of the expectation that he would soon be prime minister to the regent, or to George IV. These hopes were, however, damped, by reports that the old king was rapidly recovering, and they were altogether extinguished on the 12th of March (two days before Pitt's final withdrawing), when the physicians announced that his majesty was well, and that no more bulletins would be issued. Fox returned to St. Anne's Hill, and his friends to the opposition benches. The new ministry now installed in office consisted of Addington, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; the Duke of Portland, president of the council; Lord Eldon, chancellor; Earl St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty; the Earl of Chatham, master general of the ordnance; Lord Pelham, secretary of the home department; Lord Hawkesbury (eldest son of the Earl of Liverpool), secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Hobart, secretary for the colonies; Viscount Lewisham, president of the board of control for the affairs of India; Charles Yorke, secretary-at-war, &c.

Under the new cabinet bills were passed for continuing the act for the suppression of rebellion, and for the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland, which country still remained in an uneasy, turbulent state; and, a select committee of the House of Commons having reported rather alarmingly on the existence and proceedings of certain political societies in Great Britain (particularly one in London, entitled the United Britons), the suspension of the habeas corpus was continued also for England and Scotland, and an act for preventing seditious meetings was revived. Parliament was prorogued, not by the king in person, but by commission, on the 2d of July.

As early as the 15th of April, intelligence had

been received in London of the astonishing success of our attack at Copenhagen, and of the death of the Emperor of Russia. Various circumstances had converted Paul from an ally into the bitterest enemy of Great Britain, but the weightiest of them all was the disappointment of his irrational expectation of obtaining possession of the island of Malta. Above 300 British vessels were seized, and the captains and crews of them were hauled on shore, put into irons, and sent into the interior of the country, not without threats of undergoing the horrors of the knout, and of the Siberian exile. By another proclamation this madman ordered that all the English goods and effects whatsoever on shore should be sequestered and sold forthwith. A few of his creatures congratulated him on the glory of standing at the head of the great northern confederacy; but the nobility and landed proprietors, who were incensed by a hundred other freaks, and by the incessant operation of a capricious and horrible tyranny, saw nothing but the annihilation of the trade of Russia in this quarrel with England, and nothing in the continuance of such a system of government but destruction to themselves and total ruin to the empire.

Sweden and Denmark were unfortunately too ready to join Paul, and to work out the purposes of the French. The Danes, in particular, had persisted, ever since the beginning of the war, in carrying French goods and articles contraband of war, and had resisted or eluded the search wherever they were able so to do. As soon as Paul proposed his armed neutrality, they joined it enthusiastically, and commenced making immense preparations.

The confederacy of the three northern powers, under the influence of France, against England's naval supremacy, would soon have become formidable, if extraordinary efforts had not been made to crush it. With this view a fleet was despatched from Yarmouth Roads, on the 12th of March, consisting of eighteen sail of the line, and a num-

ber of frigates and smaller vessels, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Vice-admiral Lord Nelson as his second. The Russian, Swedish, and Danish effective force in the Baltic was estimated at more than forty sail of the line; but deficiency in naval tactics (on the part of the Russians and Swedes), it was presumed, would neutralize this numerical superiority. As negotiation was preferred to war, the Hon. Mr. Vansittart was embarked with full powers to treat. He left the fleet in the Scaw, and proceeded in a frigate with a flag of truce to Copenhagen, but returned unsuccessful from his

mission, which only served to stimulate the Danes, and give them time to augment their means of defence. Nelson disapproved of distant negotiation; he said "the Dane should see our flag every moment he lifts up his head," and he urged the necessity of instant decision; but the pilots magnified the dangers of the expedition, and more days were dissipated in inactivity. At last, on the 30th of March, the British fleet proceeded into the Sound, and about mid-day anchored between the island of Hveen and Copenhagen.

The whole fleet of Denmark was thence

seen stationed in the road of Copenhagen, and flanked by very powerful batteries, some floating and some on land. The wind did not serve for an attack until the 2d of April; but then, at day-dawn, Nelson made for the Danes, and soon began one of the most memorable of his battles. At about an hour after noon the fire of the Danes slackened, and before two o'clock it had nearly ceased. Nelson then, sure of success, and regretting the loss of so many brave men, sent a proposal for a truce to the Prince-royal of Denmark, and shortly after went on shore himself for the purpose of adjusting the terms of conciliation. At this moment, the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown Islands, consisting of seventeen sail, were sunk, burned, or captured. Nelson repeatedly declared that no men could have behaved with more bravery and steadiness than the Danes;



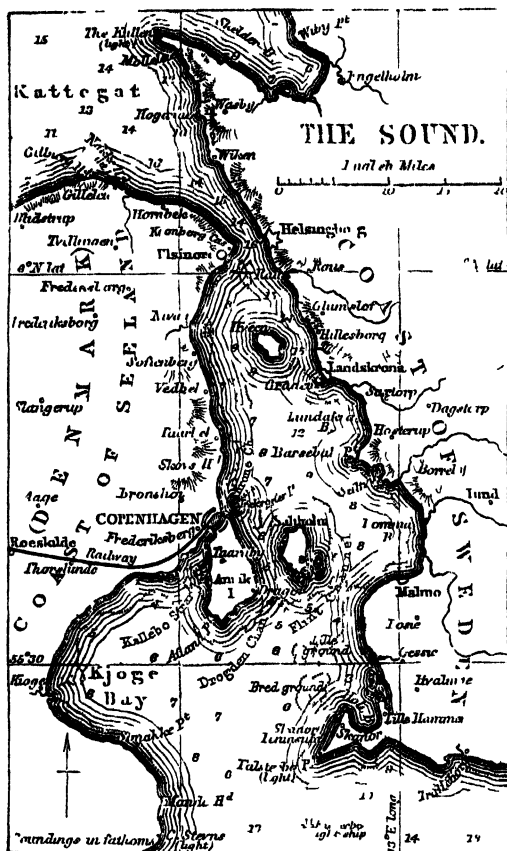
HORATIO VISCOUNT NELSON — From the portrait by L. F. Abbot

that the battle of Copenhagen was the most dreadful affair he had ever witnessed; that this was the most difficult achievement, the hardest-fought battle, the most glorious result that had ever

who had occupied Hamburg, evacuated that great trading city; the navigation of the Elbe, and of the other German rivers which had been closed, was re-opened to our flag; and Frederick William

III. of Prussia—who had succeeded his father Frederick William II., in November, 1797, who continued in vassalage or subservience to the French, and who had seized not only the independent trading city of Bremen, but also the whole of the electorate of Hanover, the hereditary dominion of George III., where he had levied contributions, and acted as a conqueror and sovereign—engaged to give up both these acquisitions, and to withdraw his troops within his old frontiers after certain amicable arrangements should be completed.

The fate of the French army in Egypt was sealed about a fortnight before the battle of Copenhagen. In the year 1800 General Kleber, after losing the fortress of El-Arish, and retreating before a Turkish army commanded by the grand vizier, and essentially aided by an English squadron under Sir Sidney Smith, found himself under the necessity of agreeing to evacuate Egypt. On the 24th of January, 1800, a treaty was concluded at El-Arish between the Turks and the French, and confirmed by Sir Sidney Smith, who had received no instructions to that effect either from his commander-in-chief, or from the government at home. By the conditions of this treaty the French army was to be allowed to return to Europe unmolested. Pitt's ministry, naturally averse to permit the arrival of such reinforcements to Bonaparte, then contending or about to contend with the Austrians in Italy, and with the imperialists in Germany, sent out orders to Lord Keith not



graced the annals of our country. The result was the dissolution of the coalition, the battle being aided by the death of the Czar Paul, who had been strangled at St. Petersburg on the 24th of March, nine days before the great battle had been fought at Copenhagen. He was reported to have died of apoplexy, and the intelligence of his death was tardily communicated to the neighbouring countries. His son and successor Alexander very soon released the British merchants and mariners, and entered into friendly communications with Lord Nelson, who had ascended the Baltic. On the 17th of June a convention was signed at St. Petersburg by Lord St. Helens and the Russian ministers. Sweden and Denmark acceded to the same terms, which included a more explicit definition of the right of search, and of the law and principles of blockade, together with a limitation of articles considered as contraband of war to those of real military and naval stores, ammunition, &c. The Danish troops,

to ratify any such convention as that of El-Arish. Hostilities recommenced immediately, and on the 20th of March, Kleber routed the undisciplined, disorderly army of the grand vizier. But at this critical moment the Moslems of Cairo rose in insurrection, murdered many of the French that were in that city, and drove the rest of them into the citadel. Instead of following the fleeing vizier, Kleber was obliged to return to Cairo. After some sanguinary conflicts, and many atrocities committed on both sides, the insurgents were obliged to capitulate. Kleber was engaged in the very hopeless task of restoring order and tranquillity, when, on the 13th of June, he was stabbed by an Arab. He was succeeded by General Menou. The French were, however, enabled to maintain themselves in Egypt until the arrival of the British army under Sir Ralph Abercromby; and in the interval four French ships of war and some fast-sailing transports escaped our cruisers, ran into the mouth

of the Nile, and lauded important succours of troops and ammunition.

By the 1st of January, 1801, the fleet under Admiral Lord Keith, which carried this small but excellent army, had all come safely to anchor in the Bay of Marmorice, on the coast of Karamania, one of the finest harbours in the world. Here the troops were kept waiting for some time for horses which had been promised from Constantinople to mount the cavalry, and for other necessaries, some of which arrived very slowly, and some not at all. During the stay of the army in Marmorice Bay, it was joined by two more regiments of dismounted cavalry; and a sloop of war arrived in the harbour, which had a few days before captured a French brig, having on board a general officer and 5000 stand of arms for the army in Egypt. The horses for our cavalry at last arrived; but they were such sorry beasts, that the English dragoons were ashamed to mount them or take charge of them, and every commanding cavalry officer solicited rather to

serve with his corps as infantry. About 200 of these half-starved, diminutive, galled steeds were, however, kept for the cavalry, and about fifty for the artillery, the remainder being shot, or sold for a dollar a-head.

General Moore, who had been sent to examine the grand vizier's army, stationed at Jaffa, returned with the melancholy intelligence that it was weak as to numbers, without discipline, and infected with the plague; so that its co-operation offered no apparent advantage. At the same time it was ascertained that the French force in Egypt was far greater than had been supposed: it had been calculated that, through disease, battle, assassination, wounds, and other casualties, the army under Menou had been reduced to 13,000 or 14,000 men, whereas it was now found that, through reinforcements they had received, and some hundred of auxiliaries they had raised, the French were more than 30,000 strong, having with them above 1000 pieces of cannon. When Abercromby had received all his reinforcements,



ALEXANDRIA.—From Denon's Egypt

he could not muster more than 15,330 men, including 996 sick, 500 Maltese, and all kinds and descriptions of people attached to an army except officers:—the effective force, therefore, could not be, at the highest computation, above 12,000. It was resolved, however, to wait no longer, and the fleet on the 23d of February weighed anchor, and set sail in a gale of wind. On the 2d of March the whole fleet anchored in Aboukir Bay; the men-of-war riding exactly where the battle of the Nile was fought.¹ From the 2d to the 7th of March the state of the weather prevented any operations in boats; but, on the afternoon of the 7th, the weather moderating, Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir Sidney Smith went in boats to reconnoitre the coast, and fix upon the best place for landing the troops. On the following morning some gun-vessels and armed launches were sent forward to clear the beach, 5500 soldiers were put into the boats, and at a given signal a simultaneous dash was made for the shore. Though rapidly, the boats advanced in perfect order, the soldiers sitting between the seats close together, with unloaded arms. When the boats

came within range, fifteen pieces of ordnance from the opposite hill, and the artillery of Aboukir Castle, opened upon them with round and grape shot; and on advancing still nearer, musket-balls were showered upon them. The British soldiers huzzaed occasionally, but never attempted to return a shot. Numbers of the soldiers were killed and wounded; some boats were sunk, some turned aside to save the drowning men, but the mass of them rowed steadily forward, until they touched the strand, when the soldiers with wonderful rapidity got all on shore, and General Moore, drawing them up in line, gave the welcome word to load. Some of the English guards were roughly handled by a division of French cavalry before they could form; some loss was sustained in ascending the sand-hills which rose above the beach; but in less than half an hour those heights were carried, and the French fled, leaving all their field-pieces behind them. Advancing against the French, who took post on the ridge of heights between Aboukir and Alexandria, Sir Ralph Abercromby, with sailors dragging the artillery through a deep and burning sand, came to an indecisive action on the

¹ See plan at page 107

13th of March, and had a horse killed under him. On the 19th, Fort Aboukir capitulated; and on the 20th, General Menou having arrived from Cairo, the whole of the French disposable force was concentrated at Alexandria. The British forces now occupied excellent positions near the ground where they had fought on the 13th. About three o'clock in the morning of the 21st, when all was quiet, the report of a musket was heard at the extremity of the British left: this was followed by the report of a cannon; scattered musketry succeeded, and then the roar of two more guns was heard. Early as it was, our men were all under arms; but it was still dark, and although some streaks of gray were perceptible in the eastern horizon, the morning seemed slow to break. Menou had hoped to take the British by surprise, but they were on the alert. The attack soon became general, and the fighting more terrible than any the French had hitherto met with. Menou's cavalry was literally destroyed; and after a long and obstinate contest, the infantry was completely routed with a terrible loss. A corps which, like nearly all the regiments now under Menou, had formed a part of the conquering army of Italy, and which in its pride had taken the name of "The Invincible," was almost annihilated. Our triumph was clouded by the loss of the brave old Abercromby, who was mortally wounded in the battle during a charge of the French cavalry. Regardless of the hurt, which he thought was a slight one, he continued to superintend the conflict to its close, and died on board Lord Keith's flag-ship on the evening of the 28th.

The consequences of the three victories we had obtained were of the utmost importance: the French were daunted by an unexpected resistance; the Arabs, who had witnessed fighting such as their fathers had handed down to them no tradition of, flocked into the British camp with abundance of provisions; the remnant of the splendid Mameluke cavalry soon began to re-appear in Upper Egypt; and even the quiet spiritless fellahs thought of resenting the wrongs and insults they had sustained from the French soldiery. The French at Aboukir soon surrendered: in a few days the capitan-pacha's fleet anchored there, and landed 5000 or 6000 Turks; and the grand vizier, who had been dozing at El-Arish, began to rouse himself. General (afterwards Lord) Hutchinson succeeded to the command of the British army, which was reinforced in the month of April by 3000 men. Rosetta and Fort Julien were taken from the French about the middle of April. Alexandria, into which Menou had retired, was almost insulated from the rest of Egypt by General Hutchinson, by cutting through the embankments which served to retain the waters of the

Aboukir lake, and by inundating the dry bed of the ancient Lake Mareotis; a British flotilla ascended the Nile, capturing the convoys of pro-



GENERAL SIR RALPH ABERCROMBY —From a print by B. B. Tolazzi, after Hoppner.

visions destined for the French, and carrying several works which had been erected on the banks of that river. The grand vizier was crossing the desert, and troops from India were expected to be soon at Suez. Leaving General Coote to maintain the lines before Alexandria with 6500 men, General Hutchinson proceeded to Ramanieh, where the French had collected 4000 men, who had dug entrenchments and raised batteries. Having driven the enemy from this important post, Hutchinson proceeded still farther up the Nile towards Cairo, which the grand vizier was approaching in an opposite direction. Before he could effect a juncture with the vizier's army, the French sallied out of Cairo and attacked it; but so spiritless had they become in their adversity, that 5000 disciplined republicans, with twenty-four pieces of artillery, allowed themselves to be repulsed by a most irregular Turkish army. Cairo was soon invested; and, on the 27th of June, General Belliard capitulated. The French, who issued out of Cairo, exceeded 13,000 in all: they left behind them 313 heavy cannon and 100,000 lbs. weight of gunpowder. At this moment the Anglo-Indian army, under Major-general Baird, was ascending the Red Sea. Baird, who had sailed from Bombay on the 7th of April, with about 2800 British, 2000 sepoys, and 450 of the East India Company's artillery, reached Jeddah on the Red Sea, on the 17th of May, and was there joined by an English division from the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of the 61st regiment, some squadrons

of light horse, and a strong detachment of artillery. On the 8th of June, Baird reached Kosseir, and commenced landing his troops; but it was the month of July before his van division began to cross the burning deserts which lie between the Red Sea and Egypt; and, before he could unite his forces at Cairo, Menou capitulated upon the same conditions as Belliard, and Egypt was cleared of the French.

In the month of March the court of Madrid, considering that it could only stop French invasion by submitting in all things to the will of the first consul, declared war against Portugal; and towards the end of April a Spanish army, commanded by Godoy, the Prince of the Peace, invaded the Portuguese provinces. In June the court of Lisbon purchased a treaty of peace (the treaty of Olivenza), by yielding some territory to Spain, and by engaging to shut their ports against the English. Bonaparte refused to concur in this treaty, and sent a French army, 25,000 strong, through Spain, to attack Portugal. The Spaniards not merely allowed the passage of these Frenchmen, but gave them every countenance and assistance they could. The French soon invested Almeida, and menaced both Lisbon and Oporto. The helpless Portuguese could do little beyond imploring English succours in troops, ships, and money. Some £300,000 and some ships were sent; but our government thought it could spare no more troops than the three or four regiments that were already in the country. During these contests, however, an expedition was sent from England to take possession of the island of Madeira, in order to secure it for Portugal. As the negotiations for peace with Britain, which had been secretly renewed in the course of the summer, were now drawing to a conclusion, and as the French generals were gratified by enormous donations or bribes, the operations of the invading were soon suspended; and, by a definitive treaty, concluded at Madrid in the last days of September, Bonaparte agreed to withdraw his troops and respect the independence and integrity of Portugal—the court of Lisbon, on their part, agreeing to confirm to Spain all the territory which had been ceded by the late treaty of Olivenza; to make over to France one-half of Portuguese Guiana; to shut all the ports and roads of Portugal, in Europe, against all British vessels until the conclusion of peace between France and Britain; to nullify all preceding treaties and conventions with Britain; to treat France, in all matters of commerce, as the most favoured nation, &c. By a more secret article the Portuguese court paid immediately 20,000,000 francs to the French republic.

The naval war became very languid, the French and Spanish fleets not venturing out of port, and

their detached squadrons putting to sea only in the absence of the English. Admiral Saumarez, however, succeeded in coming up with an united French and Spanish squadron which was stealing from the Mediterranean to Cadiz; and, after failing in an attack at Algesiras, beat it on the 12th of July in the Straits of Gibraltar. Two Spanish ships, of 112 guns each, took fire, and blew up, and a Spanish seventy-four was taken.

On the 1st of August, Admiral Lord Nelson, with a flotilla of gun-boats and other small vessels, stood over to the coast of France to reconnoitre the preparations said to be making for the invasion of England. On the 4th he made an experimental attack upon the flotilla which lay at the mouth of Boulogne harbour. He sunk two floating batteries and destroyed a few gun-boats which were outside the pier. But on the night between the 15th and 16th, going right into the harbour, he was repulsed with considerable loss.

Many circumstances now rendered the first consul really eager for some short suspension of hostilities with Britain. The Addington administration, which had started as a peace ministry, agreed to preliminaries, which were signed on the 1st of October. The Turkish sultan and the young Czar Alexander treated with the first consul, and there was a grand interchange of compliments and of promises, which were never meant to be kept. In the month of November the Marquis Cornwallis went over to France as ambassador plenipotentiary. From Paris, where he was received with the greatest honours, and with the very lively joy of a part of the population, his lordship repaired to Amiens, the place appointed for holding the conferences. The discussions, in which Cornwallis had to contend with Joseph Bonaparte and the wily Talleyrand, were prolonged beyond expectation, and were several times all but broken off in anger and with mutual defiance. Great and reasonable jealousies were excited by the use the first consul made of the suspension of hostilities, which had followed the signing of the preliminaries in October, in sending out the French fleets; but at last, on the 27th of March, 1802, the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Amiens.¹

¹ Of the war that was now supposed to be concluded, but which in reality was only intermitted for a time, the eloquent Robert Hall speaks thus:—"The war in which so great a part of the world was lately engaged, has been frequently styled a war of principle. This was indeed its exact character, and it was this that rendered it so violent and obstinate. Disputes which are founded merely on passion or on interest are comparatively of short duration; they are at least not calculated to spread; however they may inflame the principals, they are but little adapted to gain partisans; to render them durable, there must be an infusion of speculative opinions; for corrupt as men are, they are yet so much the creatures of reflection, and so strongly addicted to sentiments of right and wrong, that their

CHAPTER XLII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1763—1802.

Political change of the high-church party to modern Toryism—Their advantages in the change—Controversy on subscriptions to church confessions—Blackburne's publication of the Confessional—Bill in parliament for relief from subscription—It is defeated—Bill for the relief of dissenters from subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles—Claims of Arians and Socinians for exemption—Their claims rejected—Relief subsequently granted to dissenters—Complaints of dissenters against the corporation and test acts—Their removal proposed—Unsuccessful appeals to parliament on the subject—Demand of several sects for relief from religious disabilities—Demands of the Roman Catholics—Success of their application—Bill for checking the growth of monastic institutions in Britain—Debate in parliament on the subject—Defeat of the bill—Sabbath observance bills brought into parliament—Their rejection—Revival of the national religious spirit during this period—Manifestations of change and improvement—Agency of Methodism in producing the change—Growth and progress of Methodism—Its early trials and persecutions—The Calvinistic Methodism originated by Whitefield—The Arminian Methodism of Wesley—State of the parties at their death—Progress of Wesleyan Methodism—Commencement of divisions in the party—Introduction of Moravianism into England—Origin of the sect—Its principles—Its principal distinctive forms—Its progress in England—The Swedenborgians—Account of Emanuel Swedenborg—His strange revelations—Their progress in England—Tenets of the Swedenborgians—Indirect effect of Swedenborg's writings on religious society in England—Church of Scotland—Secessions occasioned by the exercise of patronage—Instance of its evil in the case of St. Ninians—Deterioration of doctrine in the preaching of the clergy—Intelligence and soundness of the people—Design to abrogate subscription to the Confession of Faith—Dr. Robertson resigns the leadership of the church—Continued contentions on patronage—Measures of the moderates at the close of the period.



WITH the accession of George III. a new phase was to be exhibited in the political character of the Church of England. The Hanoverian dynasty was fixed upon the throne, and the cause of

Jacobitism was hopeless. There was no longer the chance of a reaction in favour of the Stuart family, which was considered all but extinct; and the zeal which it could formerly kindle, had already subsided into mere tea-table talk or traditional remembrance. It was natural that, with this depression, the high-church fervour of a former age should undergo a similar abatement, and accordingly, the clergy in general were content to accommodate themselves to the new royal succession, and the principles on which it was established. To contend for the supremacy of the church, to stickle about nonjuring principles, to draw distinctions between the king *de jure* and

the king *de facto*, and to pray for the restoration of an abdicated sovereignty that had forfeited its rights and foregone its claims, were obligations which neither duty, nor interest, nor even common sense any longer demanded. It was an absolute necessity, therefore, as well as a point of wisdom, that the high-church party should abandon their Jacobitical distinctions and proud hierarchical claims, which could no longer find countenance and support, and adapt themselves to the new state of things. And this they accordingly did, by exchanging Jacobitism for modern Toryism. They still, indeed, advocated the divine rights of royalty, but it was for the reigning king; and the supremacy of the church, but the church as now established, with a Hanoverian sovereign for its head. Thus the high and low church parties, although still distinctly separated, were at one in their common aim to preserve both church and state in their present settled condi-

attachment to a public cause can rarely be secured, or their animosity kept alive, unless their understandings are engaged by some appearances of truth and rectitude. . . .

"When we apply these remarks to the late contest, we can be at no loss to discover the source of the unparalleled animosity that inflamed it. Never before were so many opposing interests, passions, and principles, committed to such a decision. On one side an attachment to the ancient order of things, on the other a passionate desire of change; a wish in some to perpetuate, in others to destroy everything; every abuse ascribed in the eyes of the former, every foundation attempted to be destroyed by the latter; a jealousy of power shrinking from the slightest innovation, pretensions to freedom pushed to madness and anarchy; superstition in all its dotage, impiety in all its fury—whatever, in short, could be found most discordant in the principles or

violent in the passions of men, were the fearful ingredients which the hand of divine justice selected to mingle in the furnace of wrath. Can we any longer wonder at the desolations it made in the earth? Great as they are, they are no more than what might be expected from the peculiar nature of the warfare. When we take this into our consideration, we are no longer surprised to find that the variety of its battles burdens the memory, that the imagination is perfectly fatigued in travelling over its scenes of slaughter, and that falling, like the myrtle star in the Apocalypse, upon the streams and the rivers, it turned the third part of their waters into blood."—*Reflections on War*, a sermon preached 1st June, 1802. If this could be said of the first period of the war, how much more was it applicable, particularly in regard to variety of battles and scenes of slaughter, the second, from 1803 to 1815!

tion; and for this purpose, they opposed alike the encroachments of Popery on the one hand, and the aggressions of dissenterism on the other. Nor was the compliance and conformity of the high-churchmen without its reward. The Toryism which obtained the ascendancy in the earlier part of the reign of George III. found in this portion of the church the strongest support of its principles, and bestowed in return the largest share of its patronage upon high-church candidates and expectants. Thus, while numerically they had been the stronger of the two parties, they were now politically the stronger also.

The chief disturbance that was given to this peaceful state of things, arose from the question of the necessity of particular creeds and confessions, and the obligation of ministers to subscribe to them. This ground of debate, founded upon the requirement of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, was of large and varied extent, owing to the sense in which the subscribers understood these articles, and the various doctrines they might be pleased to build upon them. In this way, not only Calvinistic and Arminian, but even Unitarian sentiments had been preached by ministers of the church, who either had not found these opposed to the articles, or who had made a mental reservation in their favour while subscribing. In consequence of these divergencies it had often been asked, Why require subscription at all, when the articles are subscribed with so many different meanings? and debates had been held, and pamphlets written, to prove that such tests were useless, and ought to be abrogated. At last, the great contest was brought to an issue by the publication of a work in 1766, called "The Confessional; or a full and free inquiry into the right, utility, edification, and success of establishing systematical confessions of faith and doctrine in Protestant churches." Although published anonymously, it was well known to be the production of the Rev. Francis Blackburne, rector of Richmond, in Yorkshire, and archdeacon of Cleveland, in his day an eminent polemical author, while the vigorous style of "The Confessional," and the daring principles it advocated, excited general attention. The scope of the work was to plead for the extinction of such subscriptions altogether, from the inconveniences and inconsistencies with which they were attended; and thus to cast down the pale of every church, whether established or dissenting, and throw all into an uninclined common. It is evident that such a proposal would be as obnoxious to the smallest sect as to the National church itself, and that the outcry raised against it would be from every quarter alike. This, indeed, Blackburne seems to have felt; and as if dismayed at his own audacity, he limited his ostensible demand to

the omission of three out of the eight declarations demanded of a minister on his ordination. He was not to be required to declare, that he thought himself called to the ministry by Jesus Christ; that he would minister the word and sacraments "as this church and realm hath received the same," and that he would reverently obey his ordinary and other superiors in the church. Blackburne's proposals thus modified were acceptable to many of his brethren; he became the head of a party; and in 1772, a petition was sent from it to parliament with 250 signatures, of which 200 were those of clergymen, craving for relief in the matter of subscription, &c. The debate which it occasioned extended to the following session, but the motion was lost by a majority of 159 to 67. By this rejection, the heretical tendencies of several, both Arian and Socinian, who sought to identify themselves with the Established church, were kept in check, and their hopes disappointed.

Although thus so signally defeated on one field, however, these parties only shifted their ground to renew the trial upon another. It was now not as conscientious churchmen, but as aggrieved dissenters that the Arians and Socinians were to return to the charge. Among the old restrictions upon the dissenting ministers and teachers which the act of toleration had not removed, was subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, although in these such accommodation had been made to the dissent of the day, that Puritan scrupulosity could submit to them. But the old Presbyterian spirit of England had in a great measure faded into Arianism and Socinianism, and as such, continued to compose a large and influential portion of the dissenterism of England. This modified subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, indeed, was now seldom enforced; but it still continued unrepealed, and might at any time be used against any unfortunate dissenting minister who had made himself obnoxious to the ruling powers. Accordingly, two months after the failure of Blackburne's petition, a bill was brought into parliament for "the further relief of his majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church of England," while the demand seemed so reasonable, that the bill found many advocates among the firmest supporters of government. The second reading was carried in the commons, but on the bill being carried to the House of Lords, it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. It was shown, indeed, in the course of debate, that this movement was not the act of the dissenters as a body, but of a minority of them—that this minority consisted of those who were not recognized by the other dissenting communities as Protestants, or even as Christians—and that the bill "was nothing else

than one for the public preaching of Arianism, Socinianism, any schism, any heresy, that any fanatic or incendiary may advance." On the following session of 1773, the bill, with several amendments, was once more brought before parliament; but on this occasion the orthodox dissenters were on the alert to oppose it both by remonstrance and petitions, and foremost among these dissidents were the Wesleyan and Whitefieldian Methodists, now risen into consequence as an influential body, but not yet avowed dissenters from the Established church. Although the bill passed again through the commons, it was as formerly rejected by the lords. As it was a hard measure that the sound-believing portions of dissenters should suffer for the perversities of the heterodox, and the many be involved with the few, a separation and distinction was made in favour of the former six years afterwards, when a motion was made in parliament "to consider of granting further relief to Protestant dissenting ministers and schoolmasters." On this occasion, the university of Oxford interposed, and obtained that the following declaration should be given by every one who shared in the benefit of the relief: I, A. B., do solemnly declare that I am a Christian and a Protestant dissenter; and that I take the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and the New Testament, as they are generally received in Protestant countries, for the rule of my faith and practice." With this qualification, the dissenters were relieved from the subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles. Less than this, indeed, the government could scarcely have conceded, after the relief that had been granted to the Roman Catholics in the previous year (1778), by which the penalties and disabilities imposed upon them in 1699 for the "further preventing the growth of Popery" were removed. The terrible price exacted for this last concession has been already mentioned in our account of the anti-popery riot in Edinburgh in 1779, and the Lord George Gordon riot in London in 1780.

After having obtained the desired relief, by which their ministers and teachers were permitted to exercise their functions irrespective of the Thirty-nine Articles, the dissenters remained quiet for several years. But when this exemption had been for some time enjoyed, the pressure of their remaining burdens began to be more keenly felt, and none more so than the corporation and test acts of the reign of Charles II. By these statutes no person could be eligible to any municipal office, or could hold any office of profit or trust under the crown, without qualifying himself by taking the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the ritual of the Church of England. The dissenters might also reasonably hope

for relief from these restrictions, when they remembered that this benefit had been extended in 1779 to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Their appeal was accordingly brought into parliament in 1787, by a motion for the House of Commons to resolve itself into a committee for the consideration of the test and corporation acts, with a view to their removal. All that the dissenters desired in this, it was stated, was only the restoration of their civil rights, not an aggression upon the rights and revenues of the Established church. It was also argued against such a religious test, that the same law which required every person receiving a commission in the army or government office to take the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, compelled every clergyman to administer it to the applicant, let the character of the latter be as worthless as it might. The motion, however, was rejected by 176 against 98. In 1789, after the subject had been at rest for two years, it was again brought into parliament by Mr. Beaufoy, member for Yarmouth, the original mover, who pointed out with equal eloquence and truth the disabilities under which the dissenter laboured through these disqualifying statutes:—"No office under the crown, though your sovereign may invite you to his service—no commission in the army, though the enemy may be marching to the capital—no share in the management of any of the commercial companies in the kingdom, though your whole fortune may be vested in the stocks—shall be yours. From the direction of the Bank of England, from the direction of the India Company, from that of the Russia, the Turkey, the South Sea Companies you are entirely debarred; for if you should accept any share in the management of these companies, or any office under the crown, or any military employment, you are within the penalties of the statutes." The measure was again defeated, but on this occasion only by a majority of 122 against 102. For the third time the motion for the repeal of the test and corporation acts was brought forward in 1790, and on this occasion by Mr. Fox. But the alarm which the French revolution had occasioned, the menaces with which it had denounced both regal and ecclesiastical rule, and the sympathy of Fox and his party with the revolutionists, made the demand for repeal more hopeless than ever. Neither was the cause at all benefited by their statements as to the loyalty and harmlessness of dissenters, and its right to full political emancipation, when the proofs adduced consisted chiefly of extracts from the writings of Priestley and the Unitarians. On this occasion the motion was defeated by a majority of 189.

An era of religious liberty had now commenced which was characterized by the demand of vari-

¹ Speech of Dr Newton, Bishop of Bristol.

ous sects for emancipation from the several disabilities under which they were placed. This spirit, which the impulse of the French revolution had awakened, but which a better Christian feeling was directing in the right course, could see no longer the necessity of prohibitions that had been devised in an age of violence and danger, or the propriety of depriving whole communities of their political rights in consequence of their religious belief. Mere toleration was felt to be a stinted privilege, especially by those sects who were separated from the church by little more than a few external forms; and, until the close of the present period, the public religious movements were chiefly the demands of different bodies for a more perfect freedom than had hitherto been allowed them. Such was the bill to prevent the vexatious prosecution of the Quakers for their conscientious non-payment of tithes, which was lost; that for the abolition of the test and corporation acts in its application to Scotchmen in England, which was also lost; and the bill for the relief of the pastors, ministers, and lay persons of the Episcopal communion in Scotland, which passed with little discussion. Even the Unitarians were not behind among these classes of applicants, and a bill was moved for the removal of those old statutes of 1641, which denounced the holders of such doctrines with capital punishment, and which now, though reduced to a dead letter, were still enough, it was alleged, to keep up the popular odium with which the whole party was branded. It is certain, however, that this dislike the Unitarians themselves had greatly helped to strengthen by their violent attacks on church and state, and loud landations of the French revolution. The motion in their favour was brought forward by Mr. Fox; but the debate, characteristically enough, lapsed into a keen attack upon, and defence of the French revolution itself, under the smoke of which the unfortunate bill disappeared and was lost.

But of all such attempts at deliverance from penalties and restrictions on the score of religion, none were of greater importance, through their future bearings and effects, than those of the Roman Catholics. The Lord George Gordon riot had left behind it a feeling of national shame and a readiness to make reparation. The sufferings of the Popish clergy in France at the revolution, and the helpless plight of those who fled to our shores and besought our sympathy and protection, had awakened a favourable relenting towards the church for which they were considered as martyrs and confessors. It had never been the use and wont of this most politic of religious institutions to be blind to such opportunities or slow to use them, and the present crisis seemed favourable for its purpose. It went warily to

work, however, and in its own ambidexterous fashion. Knowing that the word "Papist" was an abomination, a large portion of the English Romanists assumed to themselves the name of "Protesting Roman Catholics," as if they were already half Protestants; and they advanced their claims under a disavowal of those particular doctrines with which they had been charged since the Reformation, and for which they had been the objects of constant watchfulness and dislike. They did not hold that princes excommunicated by the pope might be lawfully deposed and even murdered by their subjects. They did not hold that no faith was to be kept with heretics. They did not believe that political or moral obligations could be dissolved by priestly absolution. These doctrines, whether held by the Papists or not, they, as Protesting Roman Catholics, utterly disclaimed and abhorred. Being thus so well fitted for exemption and worthy to obtain it, a bill was brought into parliament on the 21st of February, 1791, "to relieve upon conditions and under restrictions, persons called Protesting Catholic Dissenters from certain penalties and disabilities to which Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion are by law subject." All that was claimed in their behalf for the present was, the same relief which had been granted in 1782 to the Papists of Ireland, but with the proviso that this should be understood only as the first instalment of something more to be demanded, and something better to follow. And their demand was granted upon their swearing the same abjuration oaths which were imposed upon their co-religionists of Ireland. Thus their previous disabilities were removed, with the exception of their non-admission to seats in parliament or high offices of state, the prevention of their schoolmasters from educating Protestant pupils, and their disability to establish schools in the privileged cities of Oxford or Cambridge. In return, they had only to renounce by oath the doctrines they had always professed to repudiate—that no faith should be kept with heretics; that excommunicated kings might be deposed and murdered; and that the pope or any other foreign power had any jurisdiction temporal or civil within the realm of Great Britain. On the following year (1793) the same immunities were granted to the Roman Catholics of Scotland as a necessary consequence.

So much having been obtained in the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities, the contest was allowed for a long season to go to rest, only that it might be renewed in fitting time, and with greater vigour. In the meantime, the growth and strength of Popery for such a final conflict, by the silent establishment of convents and monasteries, had been going onward for some years

unchecked. This, also, was one of the consequences of the flight of the French ecclesiastics to Britain at the revolution. Those refugees who had been monks or nuns, on reaching the land of safety, had resumed their former mode of life, so that four monasteries and seventeen nunneries already existed in England. In consequence of their poverty, they had also opened schools connected with their institutions, through which they were enabled to carry on the work of proselytism among the children of the neighbourhood; and parliament, by voting money for the relief of the destitute emigrants, might find that it was unwittingly supporting these conventual establishments, and promoting the increase of Popery in England. These circumstances were brought before parliament in May, 1800, by Sir Henry Mildmay, who moved two resolutions on the subject:—"1. That it is the opinion of this committee, that the temporary residence in this kingdom of certain monastic societies should be permitted, subject to the provisions of an act passed in the 31st of his present majesty; and that the admission of any new members into such societies should be prohibited; and that the names and numbers of the persons belonging thereto should be annually returned to the court of quarter-sessions of the county in which they reside. 2. That all persons undertaking the public education of youth in the Romish faith, should also return annually to the court a list containing the names and number of their pupils, together with the names and places of abode of their respective parents; and that a power be given to magistrates appointed by the quarter-sessions to inspect such institutions at pleasure." On the 5th of June, a bill founded upon these resolutions was brought into parliament, and the arguments with which it was encountered were in the exaggerated vein of that new spirit of religious liberality which had not yet found its proper measure; the old extreme dread of Popery had rebounded into its opposite of extreme confidence and toleration. Monks, it was alleged, might as well live in their institutions without labour, as country gentlemen upon their estates; and nuns might be as usefully occupied at the convent board, as aged spinsters at the card-table. If the established clergy were afraid of Popish conversions, let them prevent the evil by more zealous and effective preaching. It was attempted to be shown, also, that the numbers of these monastic establishments were much less than had been stated; that the reports of their conversions among Protestants were nothing but boastful assumptions on the one hand, or false alarms on the other; and that their schools were only for the benefit of their own people, and not for the purposes of proselytism. The bill, however,

passed through the House of Commons, and a first and second reading in the House of Lords, where it met with little opposition. But when the motion was made for committing it, the arguments of Bishop Horsley completely turned the scale, and procured its rejection without the house going into a division. He argued, that from the small number of the professed, and the scantiness of their funds; from the strictness of the laws already existing, and the authority of the crown to declare the forfeiture of all properties and estates bequeathed for the support of such establishments, there could be no danger—that they would be powerless for the present, and must at no distant period die out from lack of nourishment. Speaking of the nuns, he added in the same tone of fearless confidence and contemptuous pity: "My lords, if any ten or twenty, or a larger number of these ladies should choose to take a great house, where they may live together as they have been used to do all their lives, and lead their lives according to their old habits—getting up in the morning and retiring at night at stated hours, dining upon fish on some days of the week, upon eggs on others—I protest I can discover no crime, no harm, no danger in all this; and I cannot imagine why we should be anxious to prevent it." In this way, the monastic institutions were left to languish out their little day of existence and die of inanition. It was a new and fatal delusion of our statesmen, of which we are now reaping the fruits.

During these conflicts of the various sects not only for toleration but for something more, it is interesting to mark the indications that were given of a new and better perception of the importance of religion—the necessity of guarding its sanctions, and enforcing its public observances. A difference of opinion may be entertained as to the wisdom with which these undertakings were animated, but there can be none about their religious sincerity. The chief of these regarded Sabbath observance, now first introduced into parliament for a more improved legislation, and thenceforth to become a question of great public agitation. What may be called the evangelical party in religion—men who previously had no political recognition, but who now were numerous and influential enough to make their voices heard and be regarded—had long felt that the Sabbath was becoming less revered, and its obligations more openly and recklessly defied. They were alarmed to perceive in this, that the good old Puritan spirit had died out, and that the chief public distinction of the land as a Protestant country was following in its wake. The first appeal for parliamentary interposition was in March, 1794, when a Sunday bill was brought

into the House of Commons by Mr. Mainwaring; but it shared the general fate of the first of such attempts by a summary extinction. On the year following, another bill was brought before the house, proposing imprisonment in addition to the paltry fines that were still in force for Sabbath violation; but although supported by some of the ministers, it was also rejected. Undismayed by these defeats, the party, who would now be called the "Sabbatarians," made a third attempt in 1799, and on this occasion not upon generalities, but a particular and specific evil. In 1780, Sunday newspapers had been originated in London; the sale had been profitable and their number threatened to multiply, while to promote their circulation by a flimsy pretext, the leading article of these journals was generally of a religious character, while whole columns of secularities which followed, formed the staple and attraction of the broad-sheet. It was pointed out in the debate, that these sermons or sermonettes would serve as an apology to their readers for withholding their attendance on church, and that very soon the articles in question would be dropped from the Sunday papers as mere excrescences. The bill, which was introduced by Lord Belgrave, was "for suppressing the sale and circulation of newspapers on the Lord's-day;" and it proposed that the penalty for the sale of each copy, now amounting to 5s., should be raised to 40s.; that £20 should be the penalty of a whole day's issue, and that the mere fact of circulating such papers should be a breach of the peace, and punishable as such by the peace-officer, church-warden, or magistrate. The time was not yet ripe for such zealous legislation, and the bill was rejected at its second reading by a majority of forty to twenty-six. Enough, however, had been done to show that the general question had become too important to be suppressed; that in some one of its manifold forms it would again be subjected to the legislature; and that from the growing strength of its supporters it would be certain in the end to succeed.

In this rapid summary we have but touched upon the chief political events of the history of religion during the present period. But from their tenor it will be seen that a new spirit had been awoken and was already in active operation. The general apathy which had succeeded the revolution of 1689, and which had slumbered so peacefully under the two first Georges, was now interrupted by the reign of a religious king; and an era of revivalism, which had commenced in the arts and sciences over the whole empire of thought, had descended upon religion also, that the progress might be more universal and complete. That progress, indeed, was slow even throughout the latter part of the present

period; but it was only because it was a permanent influence, instead of a transient emotion, and that very slowness was the promise of a more perfect and lasting durability. The progress of this inner life would more fitly constitute the religious history of the age; but as it would demand an ample record of its own instead of a brief chapter, we have been obliged to confine our notice to a few salient points, by which that change is hinted rather than described. It is enough to allude to the general effects as they were manifested at the close of this period. The court profligacy which had been so rampant and unabashed since the reign of Charles II. had been rebuked, and was beginning to hide its head. A decent external behaviour, and in many cases a more thorough transformation, had begun to characterize our aristocracy, who had learned from the example of their sovereign that a decorous morality and an open religious profession are not incompatible either with high rank or courtly accomplishments. Statesmen were finding that the religious element was once more becoming a power in the government which it would be wise in them to study and necessary to respect. In the church, although distinguished for the present by no individuals of pre-eminent intellect, there was a marked improvement among the clergy, manifested by a more Christian strain of preaching, by closer attention to their professional duties, and by a more decorous, consistent conduct; so that fox-hunting, hard-drinking, and dissolute parsons could no longer hope to escape the condemnation of the public, or the punishment of their ecclesiastical courts. And though last not least, this happy change was manifesting itself in that sympathy for others which is the best evidence of genuine Christian principle, so that the broad foundations of those institutions were laid — missions, Bible societies, Sunday schools, and establishments for religious instruction and charitable relief—which were soon to become the most conspicuous characteristics of Britain in the nineteenth century. Mention has already been made of the influence of royal example in producing this beneficial change; but far beyond this, and of an earlier period, was the influence of a despised and persecuted sect which, like the ancient Christians, had conquered by endurance, and was rewarded by success. It will be seen at once that we refer to the Methodists, who had now risen into a very numerous and influential community. To them, therefore, and their congeners, it is necessary to advert for a more complete understanding of the religious progress of the present age.

We have seen already how unpromising was the general aspect of religion toward the close of the former period. The infidel spirit of France,

which had formed so important an element in effecting the revolution, had infused itself into the literature of England; and while its fruits were manifested among the higher classes by a general aversion to religion, and light flippancy of conversation upon its doctrines and restraints, they were evinced among the lower orders in loud denunciations of priest-craft, impatience of moral rule, and conspiracies for the overthrow both of throne and altar. The Puritan spirit, which in former periods had been so strong an embankment against this evil tide, seems already to have crumbled and melted away, while the church itself had substituted a cold and empty formalism for the zeal that had once inspired it with such earnest life and activity. It was well, in such a collapse, that reviving influences were at hand to impart a new life to the exhausted frame of the church, and the apathetic spirit of the community. And first of these was the despised Methodism of the eighteenth century, which had now become a great religious power, had stepped into the place of Puritanism itself, and was provoking by its new character and claims the inquiry as well as the opposition of many. It was impossible that the church could remain indifferent to a cause which, originating among its own members, and still professing to adhere to it, was yet so dissimilar in character and aspect to the communion of which it formed a part.

We briefly noted in a former chapter the commencement of Methodism under its two principal founders, George Whitefield and John Wesley, and the wonderful effects of their preaching. At the commencement of their career, no ordinary alarm was needed, and they raised it with such fearless earnestness that the general lethargy was shaken. As the number of their converts was speedily increased and their churches were multiplied, and as the spheres of their action were wide and apart, while their cause as yet was despised by those who were trained to the regular ministry, they were obliged to avail themselves of the aid of lay preachers; and this, which was at first a necessity, became afterwards a regular part of the institution of Methodism. However defective such teachers might be in learning and experience, it is certain that they were not found wanting in zeal and earnestness; and being themselves of the people, they were the better fitted to deal with the lower orders, of whom the ranks of Methodism were in the first instance chiefly composed. But it was impossible in the common course of events that such a cause should go on unchecked; it was an active aggressor against the established order, and therefore was met by resistance. At Bristol, a hostile mob assembled round the new places of worship opened by the

Methodists, and had to be dispersed by the magistracy. At St. Ives, Wesley himself, and a congregation which he had formed, were repeatedly assailed by crowds of rustics, who were stirred up by the rector, curate, and gentlemen of the district, so that many of the worshippers were wounded, and their preaching-house was razed to the ground. In London also and its neighbourhood, he and his followers were frequently pelted with showers of stones; and at one time the mob assailed, and almost succeeded in unroofing his chapel at the Foundry. Two Methodists, John Nelson and Thomas Beard, were sent into the army, at that time considered a sort of transportation, and for no other crime that could be alleged against them, but that they had been guilty of preaching. It is gratifying, however, to find that the magistrates of Middlesex were opposed to these mob outrages, and that when the persecuted Methodists of the rural districts were unable to obtain protection or redress from the country justices, they always found it on removing their cause to the Court of King's Bench. In Ireland, the hostility to Methodism was still more decided: one of the most eminent of its preachers, Charles Wesley, the brother of John, had a presentment lodged against him by the grand jury of Cork, as a person of ill fame, a vagabond, and a common disturber of his majesty's peace, with a petition that he might be transported; and the same charge, with a similar recommendation, was brought against several of his coadjutors. Encouraged by this countenance afforded by the magistrates, the mob broke loose, and scoured the streets both day and night, their leader proclaiming "Five pounds for a swaddler's head!"—for by this name the Methodists had begun to be distinguished in Ireland. These were but specimens of the hostility which the cause encountered not only in England and Ireland, but in Wales, in America, and the West Indies—in every place to which the enterprise of its first missionaries was directed. But their zeal was of that kind which rejoices in, as well as triumphs over, such difficulties, and Methodism derived new strength and increase from every storm that was raised to level it.

Of the two founders of Methodism, the first to find rest from his toils was George Whitefield, who died at Newbury, in New England, in September, 1770, at the age of fifty-six, after a life of constant action in Britain, alternated by seven voyages to America. Of a simple character and void of ambition, his great aim was to rouse the slothful, alarm the impenitent, and reform the godless, without seeking to form any distinctive sect; and when his purpose was accomplished, he left those whom he had awakened to adopt their own communion, whether it might be in the Es-

tablished church, or among the ranks of evangelical disenterism. The effects of his wonderful preaching were therefore to be found rather in the stimulus it afforded to the religious community at large, and the manner in which it permeated through church and chapel alike, than the number of his avowed followers; and nothing definite remained in this form at his death, but a few places of worship, which he had filled with large congregations. But to these were added the numerous chapels and college built by Lady Huntingdon; and the party thus formed was distinguished by the name of the Whitefield or Calvinistic Methodists, in distinction to the Arminian or Wesleyan. These titles will suffice to indicate their respective tenets, as well as the causes that kept them asunder notwithstanding their common aim. In their religious belief, those followers of Whitefield were identified with the old English Puritans, while the polity which they adopted was a blended system of Presbyterianism and Independency. Since the death of their founder, the Calvinistic Methodists have been chiefly found in our large towns, where they have chapels more numerous than those of any other denomination; but of late years they have been able to form congregations in the smaller towns and rural districts; and they have now two colleges or theological institutions for clerical education, one at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, and the other at Hackney, near London.

Of a very different character were the proceedings of the founder of the Wesleyans, who was born a religious legislator, who regarded himself from boyhood as one destined to some extraordinary work, and who, as soon as he had found followers, proceeded to secure them by rules and regulations that kept them apart, and distinguished them from every other community. His indefatigable career of travelling, preaching, and writing, was also continued unabated over a long extended life, so that before he died, his form of government was in complete operation, while his followers had gathered and grown into a numerous and influential community. At the time of his death, which was in March, 1791, when he had reached his eighty-eighth year, the number of members in connection with him in Europe, America, and the West India Islands, amounted to 80,000. All this, too, was nothing more than a promise of that remarkable increase of their community, which has continued to the present period. While Wesley lived, he exercised over them the authority of an irresponsible bishop, and assumed the complete control of those lay preachers whom he called to the office, and sent as missionaries over the whole kingdom, allowing them no greater scope than what he was pleased to measure out to them. "What, then, is my

power?" he asked:—"It is a power of admitting into, and excluding from the societies under my care, of choosing and removing leaders and stewards, and of receiving or not receiving helpers, and appointing them when, where, and how to help me." The same episcopal spirit is impressed upon all the governing portions of his complicated polity, for to the last he regarded himself as a minister of the Church of England, and his community as a portion of it, instead of a separate sect. But the results which ensued, although necessary consequences, were such as he had not contemplated. The Arminian stamp which he impressed upon its doctrines was not in accordance with the Thirty-nine Articles, and thus, Methodism must have been compelled, sooner or later, to acknowledge itself a dissent. The illiterate character, and, in some cases, the extravagant zeal of its preachers, excluded them from the clerical pale of the Establishment, and compelled them, in self-defence, to assume a clerical standing of their own. The Methodists were required by their founder to receive the sacred ordinance of the Last Supper either from the hands of the parish minister, or from those regularly ordained clergy who officiated in their chapels; but, since his death, they have avoided the parish churches, and received the communion in preference from their own ecclesiastics. In the same manner, when his death had deprived them of his all but pontifical authority, their form of government underwent a modification, and became what was considered a new species of Presbyterianism. By this change the conference became to Methodism what the general assembly is to the Church of Scotland; and their ministers assumed the power to admit members to their communion, and to the table of the Lord, by their own authority.

But the effects of Wesley's death were still more strikingly manifested in a secession which occurred soon after that event. In a former chapter allusion was made to the annual meetings of the conference, and to the authority which it exercised over the movements of the whole body. It was the supreme irresponsible power from whose dictates there was no appeal. But unlike the Scottish assembly, it was a self-elected oligarchy, consisting entirely of ministers, instead of a due admixture of lay representation; and its meetings were held and its decrees passed with closed doors, so that the people could have no voice in its proceedings. This was complained of as tyrannous and unscriptural, so that, at the conference held at Leeds in 1797, delegates appeared from many societies throughout the country, to complain of the evil, and demand redress. Their requests, which were nothing more than reasonable, and accordant with the feelings of

Englishmen, were, that the people should have a voice in the formation of their own laws, the choice of their own office-bearers, and the distribution of their own property—and these demands, as might have been expected, were refused. The remonstrants therefore seceded, and proceeded to form a party of their own upon more liberal principles. The result was a closer assimilation of their polity to that of Scottish Presbyterianism, in which the people were allowed to choose their officers, and appear by representatives at all their synodical meetings. Such was the first offshoot of Wesleyan Methodism, and they assumed to themselves the name of New Connection Methodists, and also of Kilhamites, from Mr. Alexander Kilham, their leader in the secession. Four other parties also have subsequently broken off on the same or similar objections, after the general cause had attained strength and numbers, and found time for internal debate and quarrel, but still adhering to the common leading principles of Wesleyanism, and therefore giving hopes of future reconciliation and re-union.

Connected with the origin of Methodism, was the introduction of the Moravians or United Brethren into England. With them Wesley became acquainted for the first time in 1735, and so much was he struck with their primitive manners and fervent piety, that in the then unsettled state of his mind he adopted their principles, and became one of the United Brethren. In this way, the incipient Methodism of England bade fair to be nothing else than a revived Moravianism adapted to its new country and people. But it was soon evident that a church of German growth was not suited to the English temperament, and that John Wesley and Count Zinzendorf could not co-operate in mutual peace and equality; and in spite of repeated attempts for a union between the two infant sects, they parted asunder, and each went upon its own way. It was in this manner, too, that the followers of Whitefield and Wesley had separated from each other as soon as they had sprung into existence. But even this contention, which was otherwise so much to be regretted, sufficed to animate the rival bodies with greater zeal, and incite them to double activity upon their common mission. A very short notice of this foreign church, which was now to be naturalized in Britain, is all that our limits will permit.

This sect of the Moravians originally consisted of three different classes or churches. The first of these claimed for itself a very early antiquity, going back nearly to the apostolic period, and considering itself as one of the witnesses of the true religion during the dark and middle ages, when as yet Protestantism had neither name nor distinction. The second class, who

after the Reformation became the followers of Luther, were identified with the Lutheran church. The third party were they who embraced the Calvinistic doctrines, and thus became connected with what was especially designated the Reformed church. As they were so much at one, however, in their common creed and character, as well as their Slavonic nationality, a union took place between the three parties, having for their connecting principle, "living faith, vital religion, love for the mutual communion of Christian brethren, and zeal which aims by united efforts to propagate the religion of Jesus." Upon these catholic principles an alliance was easy, of which, union, not incorporation, was the object, so that these classes still retained their old communion, whether Lutheran or Calvinistic. It was in this manner that they acquired the name of "*Unitas Fratrum*," or United Brethren. Their other title of Moravians, was derived from the migration of one of the parties to Moravia, where they established a settlement at Herrnhut, an estate of Count Zinzendorf. The count, who is generally supposed to have been the promoter and head of this union, was administrator of the Lutheran branch of this community. Among a people united by such terms of mutual forbearance, the principles of the three Christian communities, of which they were originally composed, are received with equal toleration. Thus, the ordination among them is by bishops or presbyters, according to the prevailing sentiment of the congregation, while both bishop and presbyter will receive from each other's hands the most solemn ordinances of religion without demur or controversy. But instead of possessing exclusively the government of the church, these bishops, as well as the pastors and deacons, are subordinate and subject to a college of elders, to whom the management of the church is intrusted. Over each of the three branches of the unity, is also appointed an administrator and honorary president, as its patron, to watch over its welfare and promote its interests. In this manner the Episcopalian and Presbyterian elements are combined in the polity of the United Brethren. But a third element, which formed the characteristic of the ante-Reformation Moravians, has also been admitted into the union, consisting of those forms which were supposed to be in accordance with primitive Christianity, and to have been handed down from the apostolic ages. The chief of these are the following:—They celebrate Easter-day at sunrise, and upon the burial-ground, when the minister begins with the sentence from Scripture, "The Lord is risen!" upon which the people reply, "He is risen indeed!" In imitation of the example of the Founder of our faith, they wash each other's feet once a year, each performing the office to

their own sex, previous to receiving the sacrament of the supper. At the sacrament, the minister officiates in a white surplice, and the communicants receive and eat the bread kneeling. Before its celebration, the minister exhorts the people to self-examination, and all the assembly kneeling down ask for absolution. A liturgy is used in public worship; and in baptism, three or five witnesses are present, who are frequently called god-fathers and god-mothers, and who lay their hands on the infant along with the minister, and pronounce with him the baptismal benediction. In their church courts, female elders are admitted, but they do not possess the right of voting. In great and doubtful questions before their synod, upon which they are unable to decide, they have recourse to the "lot," in imitation of the apostles on their selection of a brother in the room of Judas Iscariot. The Moravians are peculiarly strict in keeping the sexes apart, not only in every-day intercourse, but their meetings for public worship; they occupy different sides of the chapel, and are under the inspection of elders of their own sex. Marriage also, instead of being a private and personal affair, is made the business of the church; if no choice has previously been made, the elders assign partners for each other, but where a mutual affection has been formed, the consent of the elders is necessary for their union. The introduction of this remarkable church into England was chiefly owing to the visits of Count Zinzendorff, first in 1737, and afterwards in 1749, and to its connection with the rising cause of Methodism, although this friendly connection was afterwards exchanged for rivalry and contention. It was unfortunate for the Moravians of that period, that their religious language was so deeply tinged with pietism, and that their hymns and other productions, not excepting the writings of Zinzendorff himself, were filled with expressions in relation to divine love and holy ardour that were susceptible of the worst interpretations. Judged by this standard, the brethren were at first maligned in England as a sect of infamous sensualists, who combined the profligate principles of the old Familists of the commonwealth, with the licentious communist lives of the Anabaptists of Munster in the days of Luther. But a little acquaintanceship with these misjudged Moravians was sufficient to show, that their lives were as pure and primitive as their professions, and that their allegorical phraseology was rather an offence against the proprieties of taste than the principles of holiness and morality. Their cause took root in the British soil notwithstanding the outcry raised against it, and while they are not surpassed by any other sect in an upright consistent Christian rectitude of walk and conversation, they have taken the lead of others

in missionary enterprise, especially where it is connected with danger and self-denial. Of this, full proof has been especially afforded in their missions to the Indians of America, and to Greenland.

It would have been singular if, on the eve of a national religious revival, no distinguished heretic or mystagogue had appeared, to exaggerate the fervour of the coming change, and serve as a warning against excessive zeal and headlong innovation. And such a man was Baron Emanuel Swedenborg, a native of Stockholm, in Sweden, and born in 1689. His whole career was remarkable, and calculated to arrest inquiry. At the age of twenty he commenced public life by publishing a volume of Latin poetry; afterwards made a tour of several years through the principal countries of Europe; and finally betook himself to the study of physics and mathematics, his proficiency in which was attested by his numerous scientific works, that procured him an European reputation, the office of assessor in the metallic college of Stockholm, a patent of nobility, and membership in some of the principal scientific societies. But in spite of such pursuits, and the honours that crowned them, he threw all aside, and started upon a very different career, which he thus announced to the world:—"Whatever of worldly honours and advantage may appear to be in the things before mentioned, I hold them but as matters of low estimation, when compared to the honour of that holy office to which the Lord himself hath called me, who was graciously pleased to manifest himself to me, his unworthy servant, in a personal appearance, in the year 1743, to open in me a sight of the spiritual world, and to enable me to converse with spirits and angels; and this privilege has continued with me to this day. From that time I began to print and publish various unknown *arcana*, which have been either seen by me or revealed to me, concerning heaven and hell, the state of men after death, the true worship of God, the spiritual sense of the Scriptures, and many other important truths tending to salvation and true wisdom." In the revelations of these wonderful *arcana*, he announces that the spiritual world does not exist in space, but is immediately present, and present everywhere. "Of this," he says, "I was convinced, because I would there see Africans and Indians very near me, although they are so many miles distant here on earth; nay, that I could be made present with the inhabitants of other planets in our system, and also with the inhabitants of planets that are in other worlds and revolve about other suns. By virtue of such presence, not of place, I have conversed with apostles, departed popes, emperors, and kings; with the late reformers of the

church, Luther, Calvin, and Melancthon, and with others from distant countries." Being thus so well qualified to tell "the secrets of a world unknown," he proceeds to describe the spiritual existence, which, according to his account, is not only abundantly material, but sufficiently sensual even for the most unrefined. And there, he tells us, notwithstanding the want of space, "after death a man is so little changed, that he even does not know but he is living in the present world; that he eats and drinks, and even enjoys conjugal delight, as in this world; that the resemblance between the two worlds is so great, that in the spiritual world there are cities, with palaces and houses, and also writings and books, employments and merchandises; that there are gold, silver, and precious stones there." This is even upon a lower scale than the Paradise of Mahomet, or the Elysium of the Greeks, although the saving clause is added, that although in this spiritual world the same things exist as in the natural world, yet "in heaven such things are in an infinitely more perfect state."

The system of theology which was to be established by these revelations, if at all intelligible, can be best understood from Swedenborg's own words, as contained in his *True Christian Religion*:—"I was once raised up, as to my spirit," he writes, "into the angelic heaven, and introduced to a particular society therein; and immediately some of the wise ones of the society came to me and said, 'What news from earth?' I replied, 'This is new, that the Lord hath revealed *arcana*, which in point of real excellence exceed all the *arcana* heretofore revealed since the beginning of the church.' They asked, 'What *arcana*?' I answered, 'The following: 1. That in all and every part of the Word, there is a spiritual sense corresponding with the natural sense; and that the Word by that sense is the medium of conjunction between mankind and the Lord, and also of consociation with angels, and that the sanctity of the Word resideth in that sense. 2. That the CORRESPONDENCIES of which the spiritual sense of the Word consisteth, are discovered.' And the angels asked, 'Had the inhabitants of the earth no knowledge heretofore concerning correspondences?' I replied, 'None at all; and that the doctrine of correspondences had been hidden now for some thousands of years, viz., since the time of Job; that at that time, and in the ages before it, the science of correspondences was esteemed the chief of sciences, being the fountain of wisdom to man, because it was the fountain of knowledge concerning spiritual things, relating to heaven and the church; but that this science, by reason of its being perverted to idolatrous purposes, was so obliterated and destroyed by the divine providence of the Lord,

that no traces of it were left; that nevertheless at this time, it was again revealed by the Lord, in order to effect a conjunction of the members of the church with him, and their consociation with the angels.'"

To make known his new doctrine, and furnish the key to these correspondencies, the baron not only wrote many theological works, but visited as a missionary some of the principal cities of Europe, especially Amsterdam and London, and it was in the last of these that he died, A.D. 1772. That a man so distinguished by his scientific attainments, so upright in character, and indifferent to applause or influence, should have broached so wild a creed, and been so earnest in promoting it, would be perplexing, were we not informed, that about twenty years before he died, he was seized with a fever accompanied with delirium, and that it was after this period he became a religious clairvoyant and heresiarch. The result of his labours in England were, that a sect was established under the name of Swedenborgianism or the New Jerusalem church; that they have erected chapels in London, Bristol, Birmingham, and other parts of the British empire; and that not a few persons of talent and education, although they did not join the new cause, were yet so impressed by its eloquent mysticism and alluring revelations of the invisible world, as to form from them a modified system of their own, and become the propounders of new doctrines and interpretations. It was also alleged, that a numerous body of the clergy in England thought favourably of the opinions of Swedenborg, and privately adopted them, but without resigning their charges, under the idea that the baron had no intention to form a church, but had left every one to follow his own conscience. Besides England, Ireland, and Wales, numerous congregations of Swedenborgians were formed in France, Holland and Sweden, Russia, Poland and Turkey, the East and West Indies, and America.

The doctrines of the New Jerusalem church thus widely diffused, and subject to so many modifications, it would be difficult to particularize. But adopting for their standard the specimen exhibited by the English Swedenborgians, the following may be received as an outline:—Believing in one God, they hold, however, that he is no other than Jesus Christ; that he always existed in a human form; that in this divine person there is a real Trinity, consisting of his divinity, his humanity, and the operation of them both; but that this Trinity did not exist from eternity, but commenced at the incarnation. In this way they totally reject the principles of the Athanasian and Nicene creeds. Of the incarnation, they believe that Christ took upon himself a proper human or material body, but not a human soul; and

that he redeemed the world by subduing the hells or evil spirits, and regulating anew the heavens, so as to prepare the way for a new spiritual church; and that without such redemption no man could have been saved or angel retained in his integrity. Of the Scriptures, they believe that they are to be interpreted not only in a literal, but a spiritual sense, which extends over every part of the sacred writings except the Acts of the Apostles, and that this spiritual sense was unknown to the world until it was revealed to Emanuel Swedenborg. They hold that there are angels attending on men and residing in their affections; that temptations are a struggle between the good and the bad angels within a man, and that in this way God assists men under temptation, as of themselves they can do nothing. The doctrine of a divine influx from God forms a principal part of the Swedenborgian creed. According to it, there is a universal influx from God into the souls of men, and that this divine light on the spiritual world is like that of the sun in the natural world; that each man receives it according to his state, and that by the evil nature of the wicked these good influxes are changed into their opposites. Besides, we are subject to evil influences from the hells or evil spirits, as well as good ones from God and his angels, and all angels, whether good or bad, were originally men. At death the soul, instead of passing at once into heaven or hell, is sent to an intermediate state, called the world of spirits, where the good are purified from remaining evil, and the bad divested of what good they may retain; and on the third day after death man rises again in a substantial body, which was inclosed within his material body, and in this he lives as a man to eternity, whether in heaven or in hell. Such are the principal tenets of Swedenborgianism; and it will be seen at once that they are little fitted for the rough test of analysis or disputation: they are a sort of religious mesmerism that eludes both grasp and touch. Besides, they have settled all antagonistic controversies by the fiat of their master, whose knowledge was so supernatural and unerring. Arianism and Socinianism he stamped with utter reprobation. Calvinism fares no better, for he saw the Genevese reformer in the other world, still holding fast his opinions indeed, but doomed to expiate them in a sort of hell where there was little chance for repentance or change. As for Luther, Swedenborg found that he was admitted into heaven, but it was only in consequence of a posthumous conversion.

In England, and during the present period of our history, the cause of Swedenborgianism assumed an important aspect: its places of worship, which were called temples, were numerous, its liturgy was formed upon that of the English

church, and its ritual was performed by a splendidly attired priesthood, and with a pompous and captivating ceremonial. The religious works of Swedenborg, also, originally written in Latin, were translated into English, while a society formed in Manchester for their diffusion circulated not less than 16,000 copies in the course of a very few years. But this first blaze of success has not been durable—the New Jerusalem church has dwindled into an insignificant sect; and the chief effect of its principles is to be traced in their influence upon individual minds, their amalgamation with other systems of religious opinion, and the sects they have directly or indirectly germinated from the time of their first promulgation to the present hour.¹

The religious history of Scotland during this period continues to be distinguished by the one leading event which had formed its chief characteristic since the days of Queen Anne, or, to speak more correctly, since the period of James VI. This was the struggle against patronage in the presentation of church livings, which had ever been regarded by popular feeling as the great barrier to the church's liberty and independence. The struggle, as we have seen, had lately produced a secession from the church, which was growing into such strength and importance that it now could number 120 meeting-houses. But here the spirit of secession, instead of being stopped by conciliation, was only aggravated by renewed aggressions to a fresh act of vindication; and, in 1760, another departure occurred, by which a new body of dissent was formed similar to that of the Seceders. The event that occasioned it was the settlement of a minister in the parish of Kilconquhar by a decision of the General Assembly against the wishes and appeal of the parishioners. On this result, a number of them withdrew, and erected a new place of worship; their cause was adopted by three ministers, who formed themselves into a presbytery; and the new body, under the name of the Relief (meaning thereby a relief from the bondage of patronage), continued to grow in numbers and multiply their congregations as their predecessors of the Secession had done. As for the dominant party in the church, they too seemed relieved by these departures, if we might judge from their growing confidence and indifference to the popular will. The church courts were now effectually under their own control, and every murmur against them could be represented as the mere utterance of hostile discontent and dissenterism, instead of the voice of friendly warning or conscientious appeal.

¹ Bogue and Bennet's *History of the Dissenters; Short Account of the Honourable E. Swedenborg; Swedenborg's Universal Theology and True Christian Religion.*

One instance of these proceedings will more distinctly indicate their nature than any laboured disquisition. A minister of a small living had received a presentation to the larger and more lucrative parish of St. Ninians; but, while his call on the part of the parish was only signed by a few Episcopalians and non-resident heritors, 600 heads of families, sixty heritors, and all the elders except one were opposed to his admission. This was an opposition of unmistakeable significance, as well as strong enough to make itself heard; but, on the other hand, patronage would not yield a single jot of its supremacy. The consequence was, a tedious litigation of seven years before the church courts, during which long period the parish was without a minister. But, in spite of its persevering protests, the General Assembly in 1773 decided against it, and issued a peremptory command for the admission of the intruding minister; the presbytery that had joined the protests of the parish was to ordain him without delay; and, to punish its sympathy with the recusants, every member was to be present on the occasion. On the day appointed an immense crowd was assembled at St. Ninians, and the presbytery as culprits were compelled to go through the solemn work of induction. But when the usual questions should have been put to the intruder—when he was to be asked if the glory of God and the love of souls had really brought him here to undertake the work of the ministry over such a people, the moderator paused—he could not thus question him; but, instead of this, he endeavoured at such a solemn moment to warn him by a last appeal. Adverting to the long, confirmed, and all but universal rejection of the people, he thus addressed the eager expectant before the silent, awe-struck crowd:—"We are met here this day to admit you minister of St. Ninians. . . . If you should this day be admitted, you can have no pastoral relation to the souls of this parish; you will never be regarded as the shepherd to go before the sheep; they know you not, and they will never follow you. You will draw misery and contempt upon yourself; you will be despised, you will be hated, you will be insulted and maltreated. . . . What happiness can you propose to yourself in this mad, this desperate attempt of yours without the concurrence of the people, and without the least prospect of usefulness in this parish? Your admission into it can only be regarded as a sinecure, and you yourself as stipend-lifter of St. Ninians, for you can have no further relation to this parish. Now, sir, I conjure you by the mercies of God, give up this presentation; I conjure you, for the sake of the great number of souls of St. Ninians who are like sheep going astray without a shepherd to lead them, and who will never hear

you, will never submit to you—give it up; I conjure you by that peace of mind which you would wish in a dying hour, and that awful and impartial account which in a little you must give to God of your own soul and of the souls of this parish at the tribunal of the Lord Jesus Christ—give it up!" The astonished crowd turned their eyes upon the subject of this eloquent appeal, who briefly replied, "I forgive you, sir, for what you have now said—may God forgive you! Proceed to obey your superiors." Finding that all further remonstrance was hopeless, the other, omitting the usual forms, thus briefly concluded the induction:—"I, as moderator of the presbytery of Stirling, admit you, Mr. David Thomson, to be minister of the parish of St. Ninians, in the true sense and spirit of the late sentence of the General Assembly, and you are hereby admitted accordingly."

While such were the principles upon which the moderate party administered the government of the church, the spirit of their public teaching was undergoing a similar divergence from the stern Calvinistic standard to which they were pledged, as the representatives of the national faith. They, too, like their brethren of England, had caught the spirit both of the revived old systems of philosophy, and the scepticism of the new, and endeavoured to make theology conform to the one or the other, or to both, according to their individual predilections. On this account, their preaching at an earlier stage chiefly consisted of moral obligations, while the great Christian principle was left out. Human depravity and the necessity of redemption were overlooked as exploded doctrines, and faith was a word either wholly omitted, or invested with new significance. In this manner sermons were collapsed into ethical essays that might have been preached in any age or country, without the glory of martyrdom or even the stimulus of contradiction. But as the degeneracy went onward, this omission was too negative in its character to suit the aspiring spirit of the age; and accordingly, doctrines which the church had positively repudiated—Arminianism, Pelagianism, and finally Socinianism itself, were successively infused into the new theology. Thus had it been also with the English church, and the Presbyterianism of England. But happily for Scotland, the mass of the people were not dependent upon such instruction. Of them it might generally be said, that every man had not only a Bible, but was able to read it. They had their Confession of Faith, their Catechism, and their library of old theologians; and they had the remembrance of the struggles their country had sustained upon moor and mountain, in the establishment of the national church, and of their

kindred of the previous century who had suffered to the death for its sake. In all these advantages, their condition was different from that of the people of England, and therefore instead of implicitly following the spiritual guides who were imposed upon them, they were able to judge for themselves, and estimate the value of sound instruction. It was not wonderful, therefore, if at such a period especially, they were feverishly alive to their rights in the choice of a minister, and critical about the character of his preaching; nor could it well be otherwise than that the generality of the moderate clergy should be anything than acceptable to their flocks, that they should generally preach to listless auditors or empty pews, and that the bulk of the people should attach themselves to those ministers of the minority who adhered to the ancient standards of the reforming and covenanting periods.

As in all republican bodies, however free, there will be a recognized leader whom the majority consent to follow, and to whom a sort of monarchical or episcopal authority is voluntarily conceded, the General Assembly of the Scottish church was no exception to the common rule. The talents, literary celebrity, and moral worth of Principal Robertson, had naturally raised him to this enviable office; and under his administration, the law of patronage had been established, and the ascendancy of the high-church or moderate party secured. But such gratuitous obedience is the most difficult of coercion, and there are times when it will not only fall short of the necessary mark, but overleap the limits that have been assigned to it. And it was an excess rather than a short-coming in the zeal of his followers that constrained this Pericles of the Church of Scotland to resign his supremacy. It was daily becoming more irksome to the Arminian or half Socinian clergy to preach their dangerous theology with "bated breath," and be confronted at every turning with the Confession of Faith, and the watchful or rebuking eyes of their hearers; and the desire was now prevalent among many of the moderates to have the subscription to the Confession abolished. By accomplishing this, they might preach what doctrines they pleased without fear of censure or deprivation. This desire became too rampant for even the authority of Principal Robertson, and in 1780, he was fain to retire from the leadership, after having held it for twenty-two years. He contemplated it already as the chief question that was to be moved for years to come, the great controversy that was to agitate the succeeding generation; and in the very prime of his strength and influence he retired into private life, rather than incur the responsibility of such a trial. But the evil was happily averted at the outset, and by means

upon which he had not calculated. Several landed proprietors, on hearing of the proposed innovation, declared, that as soon as the signing of the Confession of Faith was abandoned, they would consider the connection between church and state at an end, and would therefore pay no more stipend. This check brought the innovators to a sudden pause, and there was no further word of non-subscription.

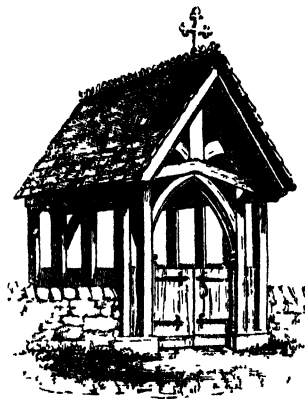
Dr. Robertson was succeeded in the management of the affairs of the Scottish church by the Rev. Dr. Hill, professor of theology in the university of St. Andrews. But although an able church leader, he did not possess the same commanding influence as his distinguished predecessor, which was partly owing to his residence in St. Andrews, instead of being able to watch the progress of events in the capital. The momentous question of patronage still continued to be agitated, and with increasing violence, while the growing strength of the evangelical party encouraged them to attempt a modification of the grievance. This was made in 1782, in consequence of overtures from several synods to the General Assembly on the subject. The call of the people, once thought as essential as the presentation of the patron himself in the appointment of a minister, had now dwindled into an empty, unregarded form; but it was hoped that its restoration to somewhat of its former importance, might act as a check upon the recklessness of patronage. The weight of these overtures was such that the moderate party were compelled to yield, although it was in seeming only, by the resolution, that "The moderation of a call in settling ministers is agreeable to the immemorial and constitutional usage of this church, and that it ought to be continued." Even this was much compared with the resolution of Dr. Hill, who moved that the overtures of the synod should be dismissed as unnecessary. But only two years afterwards (1784), this concession was rendered nugatory, by the rejection in the assembly of fresh overtures against patronage, which were tendered in the hope that the season of deliverance had arrived. On this occasion, Dr. Hill's motion was carried, that the overtures be "rejected, as inexpedient, ill-founded, and dangerous to the peace and welfare of the church." His success emboldened him to a further attempt. Since 1735-6, when petitions from the assembly for the removal of patronage had been found ineffectual, it had been the annual practice of the assembly to give its court of commission instructions to apply against the grievance, and petition for redress. These instructions, indeed, had latterly become an empty form, and the yearly appeal a dead letter; but still they remained as the remembrance of a violated right,

and a witness of the sense of the church that patronage was an evil, and ought to be abolished. It was now moved by Dr. Hill that the annual practice should be discontinued, and it was discontinued accordingly.

The further proceedings by which the Scottish church was distinguished during the remainder of this period, were characteristic of the party in the ascendancy, and the successes they had already gained. These particulars therefore may be briefly enumerated. Socinianism had made such progress, and become so bold among a portion of the clergy, that Dr. M'Gill, of Ayr, had the temerity to publish his *Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ*, a work which, but for its exceeding dullness, Dr. Priestley himself might have fathered. But the attempt was too loud and daring to pass unnoticed, and a prosecution against the author, on account of the decided Socinianism of the essay, was carried through the church courts. And yet it was not until after tedious litigation and discussion, that the condemnation of the work could be obtained. The missionary spirit which was kiudling in England had also extended to Scotland, and in 1796 the General Assembly was overtured by the synods of Fife and Moray, to "take into consideration by what means the Church of Scotland might most effectually contribute to the diffusion of the gospel over the world." With this was coupled the petition for an act recommending a general collection throughout the church, to aid the several societies for propagating the gospel among heathen nations. But in the debate that fol-

lowed, it was argued that savages must be civilized before they could be converted—that as for the Hindoos, they were already so virtuous, that the attempt to convert might only corrupt them—and that all our resources for missionary exertion would be better expended upon the ignorant and irreligious at home. By these arguments, now so trite, but which at that time had the charm of novelty, the growing missionary spirit of the church was thrown out to the protection of isolated sects and societies. Owing to the great increase of the population, especially in trading districts, proposals for several years had been made for the erection of auxiliary churches under the name of "chapels of ease," where parish churches were found insufficient to accommodate the people; but after four years of delay, the General Assembly in 1798 succeeded in quashing the design.

But amidst such a state of ecclesiastical rule, the spirit of the people was not subdued nor their intelligence suppressed, and these repeated violations of the national religious feeling were now drawing to a close. This was the more inevitable, on account of the reaction which had occurred in England, the common principles of which were certain to be available in Scotland also. From these causes a change had already begun in the Scottish church, the development of which was manifested in the earlier stage of the nineteenth century. Under the succeeding period, therefore, the narrative of this desirable transformation will properly occur, as the subject of a separate chapter.



CHAPTER XLII.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. (1760), TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1802).

British commerce at the commencement of the period—Colonial exports and imports—Effects of the American war on our commerce—State of commerce after the close of the war—Failures of country banks—Commercial recovery—Its increase—Improvements in the machinery of manufactures—Application of steam—James Watt—Progress of the steam-engine—Invention of the spinning-jenny and mule-jenny—Effects of improvements in manufactures at the close of this period—Statistics of exported manufactures—Defective means of internal conveyance—Improvements in road-making and postal conveyance—Canals—Brindley and the Duke of Bridgewater—Improvements in agriculture—Account of farm and cottage life—Costums of the period—Old fashions discarded—Growing simplicity in dress—Female costume—Its chief characteristics—Effects of the French revolution on female costume and fashions—Style of living during this period—Households of the aristocracy—Servants—Meals—Amusements of the aristocracy—Gambling—Assemblies—The *festino*—Closer approximation of the higher and middle classes in public amusements—Blue-stocking clubs—Political and social clubs—Moral improvement of the higher and middle classes—Influence of royal example in effecting it—Influence of the press—Moral warning given by the French revolution—Remains of former immorality—Duels of the period—Boxing and horse-racing—Betting—Aversion of the Scots to wagers—Lingering superstitions of the period—Superstitious practices—State of living among the middle classes—Condition and practices of the lowest orders—Highway robberies—Continuing insecurity of city life—Street robberies—Thief-catchers—London burglars—Pickpockets, &c.—Insecurity of fashionable assemblies—Crimps and press-gangs—Smugglers—Mob outrages and riots—Trades' riots—Public executions—Displays of mob justice—Efforts of Methodism to reform the lowest orders—Operation of Sunday-schools—Necessity for emigration—Emigration interrupted by the American war—New inlets sought for it—Voyages of Captain Cook—His exploration of New Holland—Establishment of New South Wales as a penal settlement—Progress of the colony—Travel joined to nautical exploration—James Bruce and Mungo Park—Their travels in Africa—Progress of the fine arts—Innovations in English architecture—Their unsuitableness to the climate—Painting—Sir Joshua Reynolds—Sir Benjamin West—West's innovations upon the classical style of painting—Establishment of the Royal Academy—Its chief members at the commencement—James Barry—Painters of scenery—Romney—Hamsay—Copley—George Morland—Sculpture—English sculptors of the period—Banks—Nollekens—Bacon—Their principal productions and styles—Application of the fine arts to domestic life—Josiah Wedgwood—His improvements in pottery—Pottery-painting—Engraving of the period—Principal engravers—Wood-engraving—The Bewicks—Music—Cathedral and oratorio music—The English opera—Musical associations—Musical festivals—Progress of science and literature—Samuel Johnson—Oliver Goldsmith—Periodicals of the old class—They are superseded by political journals—Eminent political writers—Edmund Burke—His career and writings—Adam Smith—His *Wealth of Nations*—Effects produced by it—Historians—David Hume—Dr. Robertson—Gibbon—Other historians of the period—Writers on morals, theology, and politics—Poetry—Gray—Glover—Akenside—Mason—Wilkie—Beattie—Falconer—Churchill—Darwin—Decay of the school of Pope and Dryden—Revival of the early songs and ballads—Poetical forgeries—Ireland and Chatterton—Macpherson's publication of *Ossian's Poems*—Their popularity—Introduction of a new school of poetry—William Cowper—His history—Character of his poetry—George Crabbe—Scottish poetry—Robert Burns—His poetry and its effects—Decay of dramatic poetry—Play-writers of the period.



COMMERCE, of which she was the great representative, had now become the chief history of Britain. To this her insular position and internal resources, her favourable harbours, her foreign conquests, and the intellectual energy and enterprise of her people had been tending for centuries; and all had indicated, even from an early period, how well fitted she was both by nature and circumstances to become—and that, too, upon a grand scale—the Carthage or Palmyra of a future day. That eminence, the great object of her mission, and culminating point of her career, she had now attained, and to the steps by which it was reached we have already briefly adverted. The history of British commerce from the accession of George III. to the end of this period presents so wide a

field, and such a variety of incident, that all which we can accomplish upon the subject within our present limits, may be comprised under a few general notices.

At the peace of 1763 Britain found herself the principal commercial gainer. Independently of the increase and activity which the war had generally inspired, manifested by the steady improvement of our foreign trade, which had gone on annually to the death of George II., it had largely added to our foreign possessions, the chief of which were Canada and Florida. The war that ensued with our American colonies—which, independently of other characteristics, might be called the greatest of our national mercantile blunders—then occurred; but even during the interval of complaint, remonstrance, and quarrel by which that unhappy war was preceded, extending over

a course of ten years, the trade between these colonies and the mother country was neither retarded nor diminished. This is shown by the following statistical facts:—

The value of the imports into Great Britain from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, was in 1763,	£1,460,141
And of exports to these provinces,	1,912,491
In 1774 the value of imports was,	£1,900,753
And of exports,	2,902,619

The commercial shock which occurred in consequence of the war that followed, and the separation of the colonies from the mother country, was fully compensated by the acquisition of an empire in the East, compared with which the conquests of Rome were of inferior account. Besides, it was soon felt, that even this separation itself, ominous though it looked at first, was ultimately beneficial to the mother country, by confining the commerce of the world almost exclusively to the British race, instead of breaking it down, and dividing it among hostile countries. The interchange also between Britain and America, instead of being one of oppression and conquest, was of peaceful character and common benefit, and therefore certain to be resumed when the causes of quarrel had ended. This case is well stated by Chalmers, in his *Historical View of the Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland*. "Had Great Britain," he says, "like Spain, received any public revenue from the transatlantic territories, she had doubtless lost this income by the independence of her colonies. If Great Britain has thereby lost sovereignty without jurisdiction, she has freed herself from the charges of protecting an extensive coast, without deducting anything from her naval strength, since the colony sailors were protected by positive statute from being forced into the public service. While this nation has saved the annual expense of great military and civil establishments, it can hardly be said to have lost any commercial profits. And, by excluding the citizens of the United States from their accustomed participation in the gainful business of ship-building, freights, and of fishery, Great Britain has in fact made considerable additions to her naval power. Thus, the means which were used to enfeeble this country have actually augmented its strength, whatever may have been the fate of the other belligerent parties."

While such was the result of an event in which the enemies of our country rejoiced as the death-blow of our commercial prosperity, the peace of 1783 gave our trade a fresh impulse, at which they might well have been astonished. Among the many proofs of this renewed spirit, and the energy it indicated, one significant fact is to be found in the increase of trade that had taken place between Britain and the revolted colonies

only a twelvemonth after peace had been proclaimed between them. Thus, our exports thither, which before the breaking out of the war were estimated at £3,064,843, were in 1784, £3,397,500. The general result was, that our entire foreign trade during ten years was almost doubled, as may be ascertained from the following statistical extracts taken from the tables of the period. Thus, in 1782 the account was—

In imports,	£10,341,628
In exports,	13,009,458

While in 1792 the account was as follows:—

In imports,	£19,659,358
In exports,	24,905,200

Still greater than this had been the increase of our shipping during the same period, as may be ascertained from the same sources. Thus, the vessels belonging to all the ports in Great Britain are summed up as follows:—

In 1782,	vessels,	7,936	tonnage,	615,281
In 1792,	„	12,776	„	1,348,884

In the years 1792 and 1793, such a mercantile interruption occurred as had not been hitherto experienced; and it was manifested by the number of bankruptcies, which had suddenly become more than doubled, and the consequent shock that mercantile confidence everywhere sustained. Many of these failures also were of the most disastrous kind, from the old standing of many of the establishments that had thus succumbed, and the immense sums for which they were responsible. This evil, the consequence of too much ardour emboldened by success, and not as yet sufficiently regulated by experience, was chiefly traced to the country banks, which had so greatly multiplied of late, that they were established in almost every market town throughout England. Their system of issuing notes, too, was in the highest degree insecure; many of them being not only without capital, but without credit beyond their own limited locality, while the paper which they issued, called optional notes, they reserved the right of paying at pleasure either in London or the country. The shock sustained by above three hundred of these banks, comprising more than two-thirds of the whole number, and the failure of more than a third hundred, with the distress which was thereby thrown over the whole community, occasioned the interposition of government; and to meet the emergency £5,000,000 in exchequer bills was advanced, divided into sums of not less than £4000 upon due security. This timely aid not only arrested the calamity, but restored commercial activity and success; the money advanced was repaid; and before 1793 had ended, the bankruptcies had diminished to their former average, and a fresh start in prosperity been secured. This is apparent from the official mercantile tables in 1800, which show the value of our

imports to have risen to £30,570,805, and our exports to £43,152,019. Even the war with France that commenced in 1793, costly and perilous though it was, instead of retarding, only advanced the mercantile prosperity of Britain, by making her manufactures more highly prized throughout the countries in which they were prohibited, as well as her shipping more necessary for general intercourse and conveyance.

While the national mercantile enterprise was thus finding such sources of wealth in foreign trade and fisheries, colonization and conquest, the variety and extent of our manufactures, the ingenuity with which they were improved, and the perfection to which they were carried, form if possible a still more remarkable feature in the history of Great Britain during the eighteenth century. But here also the subject is so ample as well as so complex, that only a few suggestive notices can be afforded.

Hitherto, the chief obstacle in the progress of manufactures, not in Britain alone, but in every country, had originated in the great consumption of human labour which it required, and to counteract this difficulty two expedients had been adopted. One consisted in the division of labour, by which a greater amount of dexterity and speed could be attained by extending a single produce among several workmen, and confining each to his own particular portion, even should the result be so trivial as the manufacture of a pin. Another was the combination of machinery, by which one pair of hands might be enabled to accomplish the work of two, and if this ratio could but be doubled, by a further complication of mechanical agency, invention was often satisfied, and sought no further. Thus matters had continued till the present period, and human force and application had reached, as was supposed, their uttermost in their power to create materials, or skill to use them. But a new and stupendous element of human action was to be introduced—and then appeared “the man whose genius discovered the means of multiplying our natural resources in a degree perhaps even beyond his own stupendous powers of calculation and combination, bringing the treasures of the abyss to the summit of the earth; giving the feeble arm of man the momentum of an Afrite; commanding manufactures to arise, as the rod of the prophet produced water in the desert; affording the means of dispensing with that time and tide which wait for no man, and of sailing without that wind which defied the commands and threats of Xerxes himself.” “It was by his inventions,” writes an eloquent critic when treating of the steam-engine, “that its action was so regulated as to make it capable of being applied to the

finest and most delicate manufactures, and its power so increased as to set weight and solidity at defiance. By his admirable contrivance, it has become a thing stupendous alike for its force and its flexibility—for the prodigious power which it can exert, and the ease, and precision, and ductility with which that power can be varied, distributed, and applied. The trunk of an elephant, that can pick up a pin or rend an oak, is as nothing to it. It can engrave a seal, and crush masses of obdurate metal before it—draw out without breaking a thread as fine as gossamer, and lift a ship of war like a bauble in the air. It can embroider muslin and forge anchors—cut steel into ribands, and impel loaded vessels against the fury of the winds and waves.”

The author of this miraculous change not only



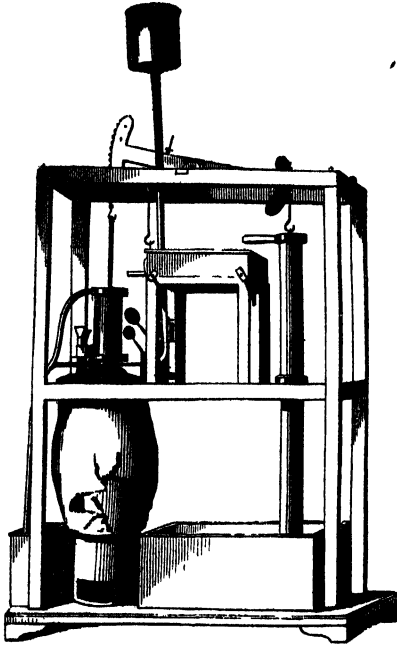
JAMES WATT From a print by Hall after Sir W. Beechey

in the history of manufactures but of modern civilization, and even of the world itself, was James Watt. The town of Greenock, in Scotland, was honoured by his birth on the 19th of January, 1736. Having settled in Glasgow as a mathematical instrument maker, there was sent to him, by Professor Anderson, in the winter of 1763, a model of Newcomen's steam-engine to be repaired, which he did according to the prescribed form; but having been occupied during the two preceding years in studying the power and application of steam, it occurred to him that Newcomen's engine, which was chiefly applied to the pumping of water from coal-mines, was susceptible of far greater power, as well as more extensive application. To condense the steam, and thus reduce it to more manageable action as well as to increase its power, was, he soon perceived,

¹ Sir Walter Scott, *Introduction to the Monastery*.

² Lord Jeffrey.

the great *désideratum*, and this he secured by a long course of attempts, the result of which was the separate condenser. To keep the cylinder of



MODEL OF NEWCOMEN'S ENGINE.—From the original in Glasgow University.

the engine always as hot as the steam to be admitted into it—and to cool down the condensed steam and the injection water used for condensation to a temperature not exceeding 190° , were the difficult problems for solution, and these he effectually solved, so that in his hands the rude Newcomen engine became a mighty agent obedient to the slightest touch. A series of experiments through a course of years enabled him to bring the steam-engine to such perfection, that considering the clumsy inefficient condition in which he originally found it, he may be considered its inventor rather than improver. From his reputation as an engineer, and the success of his experiments in the improvement of the steam-engine, he was invited in 1774, by Mr. Matthew Boulton, of the great Soho Foundry near Birmingham, to enter into partnership with him: Mr. Watt complied, and the steam-engines, to which they devoted the large capital and immense resources of the establishment, were gradually adopted wherever they could be made available for the purposes of manufacture. To the end of his long life, which was continued to 1819, the indefatigable mind of this truly great man was employed in those various scientific pursuits in which he was so fitted to excel, and which had one and all for their object the multiplication and improvement of the comforts of

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life and the advancement of society; and when he closed his eyes at last, it was not until they had beheld that universal amelioration of human labour and toil, and creation of new sources of enjoyment, which his marvellous discoveries had created.

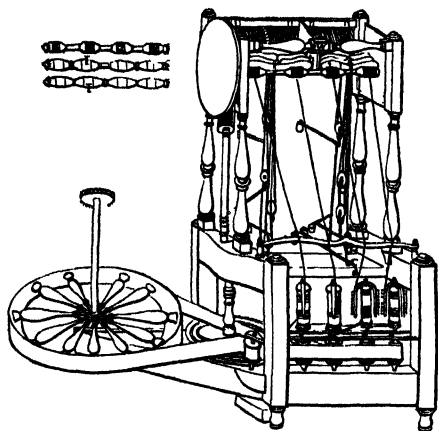
The great establishment of Soho, and the steam-engines which it produced, had a visible effect upon the metal manufactures of Sheffield and Birmingham: the same power of steam which set 1000 wheels in motion, supplied also the necessary fuel from the coal-mines of Shields and Newcastle, and the feeble agencies of horse-power and water-power were set aside as no longer necessary. Still, however, like all great innovations, by which an old order of things is to be set aside and a new world of thought or action established, the adoption of the steam-engine was a gradual, even a slow process. It was not used in the manufacture of cotton into thread until the year 1785, nor was a cotton mill erected for the application of steam machinery in Manchester until 1789. It is perhaps as well that the oak which is to brave the tempests of a thousand years, cannot take root in a single day. Next to Watt, though at a great distance, may be mentioned the names of Sir Richard Arkwright and Samuel Crompton, the former the inventor of the spinning-jenny, and the latter of the mule-jenny. Arkwright, who was born in 1732, had spent the best part of his life in expe-



SIR RICHARD ARKWRIGHT.—From a picture by Wright of Derby.

rimenting upon cotton, for its multiplication into threads at less expense of time and human labour. The problem which he had to solve is thus distinctly announced by Dr. Ure:—"To construct a machine in which one member should supply continuously and uniformly porous cords of parallel filaments in minute portions; a second member should attenuate these cords by drawing out their filaments alongside of each other by an imper-

ceptible gradation; a third member should at once twist and extend these attenuated threads unremittingly as they advance; and a fourth



ARKWRIGHT'S SPINNING JENNY.

should wind them regularly upon bobbins exactly in proportion as they are spun." Well might all this be deemed an impossibility; but he persevered in his inquiry, until the secret was discovered of spinning by rollers; and he erected the first spinning mill worked by water-power on the river Derwent, in 1771. In this way, he was the father of the cotton factories, that immense source of British wealth and prosperity. As for Samuel Crompton, his invention of the mule-jenny enabled him to combine rapidity of production with superior fineness, so that the thread of his machine originated our muslin manufactures, by which cloth of the lightest and most delicate texture, hitherto produced only in India, and accessible only to the rich, can be introduced through British industry into the humblest cottages of Europe.

While these inventions were going onward, their impulse was necessarily communicated to those arts with which they are closely connected; and thus with spinning, the processes of weaving, dyeing, and bleaching were cultivated with similar improvements; and although cotton had now become the great subject of general solicitude, our linen and woollen manufactures had not been neglected. The result of this new industrial era was distinctly manifested towards the end of the period. The population of Lancashire, which in 1700 amounted to only 166,200, had risen in 1801 to 672,565. In thirty years, the population of Manchester had more than doubled; while improved ideas of comfort had caused a great part of the old town to be pulled down, and its place to be supplied by stately commodious mansions. It was not only the manufacturing towns also that thus grew in wealth, population, and com-

fort, through the application of science to the hitherto humble occupations of weaving and spinning; not only new loom-shops started up in every direction, but the spare room of the cottage, the lumber room of the grange, and the old barn were converted into busy working places of looms and spindles. The villages also were swarming with strong, healthy, and well-fed children, the best indexes of the increasing abundance and comfort. The enthusiasm with which these particular circumstances are described by the tourists and political economists of the day, shows how great the change had been, and how much was hoped for the future prosperity of the country; while their tangible statements about the wages of these working-classes verify the correctness of their descriptions. We are informed, for instance, that in these districts, the circulation of money had increased five-fold, and that every family brought home weekly, 40, 60, 80, 100, or even 120 shillings of wages. Nor were these benefits confined merely to the different classes of manufacturing workmen, but diffused over the community at large. The statement of William Radcliffe upon this head, in his work entitled "Origin of the New System of Manufacture, commonly entitled Power-loom Weaving," is worthy of attention. His statement is to this effect:—"It may be easily conceived that this sudden increase of the circulating medium would, in a few years, not only show itself in affording all the necessaries and comforts of life these families might require, but also be felt by those who, abstractedly speaking, might be considered disinterested spectators. But in reality they were not so, for all felt it, and that in the most agreeable way, too; for this money in its peregrinations left something in the pockets of every stone-mason, carpenter, slater, plasterer, joiner, &c., as well as the corn-dealer, cheesemonger, butcher, and shopkeepers of every description. The farmers participated as much as any class, by the prices they obtained for their corn, butter, eggs, fowls, with every other article the soil or farm-yard could produce, all of which advanced at length to nearly three times the former price. Nor was the portion of this wealth inconsiderable that found its way into the coffers of the Cheshire squires who had estates in this district, the rents of their farms being doubled, and in many instances trebled."

It is impossible within our narrow limits even to advert to the improvements which were made in every other department of British manufacture. We must content ourselves, therefore, with stating their results from Macpherson's tables, contained in his *Annals of Commerce*. From these it appears that in 1800 the value of our exported manufactures amounted to about £40,000,000, and

those used in home consumption to £76,000,000, making a total of £116,000,000. The relative proportions of the different articles is also given in the following table, where the home consumption only is given, exclusive of the exports:—

Woollen goods, ...	about £11,000,000
Cotton do., ...	6,000,000
Flaxen and hempen do., ...	4,000,000
Silk do., ...	3,000,000
Leather do., ...	12,000,000
Glass do., ...	2,000,000
Porcelain and pottery do., ...	2,000,000
Paper do., ...	1,500,000
Hardware do., ...	6,000,000
Beer, ...	10,000,000
Spirits, ...	4,000,000
Soap, ...	1,500,000
Salt, ...	1,000,000
Candles, ...	2,000,000

During this rapid increase of our commerce, and improvement of our manufactures, by which Britain was converted into the *bourse*, warehouse, and workshop of the world, the means of conveyance to every country had increased with equal rapidity, and naval skill and enterprise had covered the ocean with our ships, and made every port accessible to their visits. But the means of internal communication by which town might trade with town, and the town with the country, still continued to be defective, until nearly the close of the eighteenth century. It is singular that amidst such wealth and civilization, so necessary an art as that of road-making should have been so little understood. But notwithstanding the numerous acts of parliament, of which no less than 452 were emitted between the years 1760 and 1764, for the improvement of the principal highways, they still continued narrow, darkened with trees, and intersected with ruts and miry swamps, through which the progress of a waggon was a work of difficulty and danger. One of these—the turnpike road from Preston to Wigan—is thus described by an angry tourist in 1770, and the picture seems to have been too generally realized over the whole kingdom:—"To look over a map, and perceive that it is a principal one, not only to some towns, but even whole counties, one would naturally conclude it to be at least decent; but let me most seriously caution all travellers, who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country, to avoid it as they would the devil; for a thousand to one but they break their necks or their limbs, by overthrows or breakings down. They will here meet with ruts, which I actually measured, four feet deep, and floating with mud only from a wet summer; what, therefore, must they be after a winter? The only mending it receives is the tumbling in some loose stones, which serve no other purpose but jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner. These are not merely opinions, but

facts; for I actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable memory." While such was the condition of some of the principal roads in England, the conveyance of letters over the country was equally wretched even so late as 1783. Such was the testimony given at that time by Mr. Palmer to Pitt. "The post at present," he says, "instead of being the swiftest, is almost the slowest conveyance in this country. . . . It is likewise very unsafe, as the frequent robberies of it testify; and to avoid a loss of this nature people generally cut bank-bills or bills at sight in two, and send the parts by different posts. . . . Indeed it is at present generally intrusted to some idle boy, without character, mounted on a worn-out hack, and who, so far from being able to defend himself, or escape from a robber, is much more likely to be in league with him." Evils so incompatible with a profitable traffic were sure to suggest a remedy; and we find, accordingly, that towards the close of this period road-making was undergoing a rapid improvement, and bridges were in course of construction over the country. In the same manner, postal conveyance was improved by Mr. Palmer, who was appointed comptroller-general of the post-office, and who in this capacity commenced a vigorous reform of the abuses which he had detected, both in safety and speed. The result was, that between 1784 and 1797, 380 towns that had previously possessed only three posts a week, and forty that had none at all, were supplied with daily posts, while the mails were conveyed upon many of the cross post-roads in one-third or even one-fourth of their previous time.

While the means of land conveyance had thus been so defective and so slow in their improvement, those of still water, or canal navigation, had been doing much to supply the deficiency. Here will readily occur to the reader the names of the Duke of Bridgewater, that most public-spirited and munificent of British nobles, and his original, inventive, ready-minded engineer, Brindley, who by his new and daring experiments in banking, tunnelling, and aqueduct-building, conducted his artificial rivers through rock and mountain, and over wide-stretching valleys, linking cities together by a close but silent band, and making the easy conveyance by water to be unchecked by the obstacles of wind and tide. In 1758, the duke having obtained an act of parliament for making the canal to which his name was given, employed Brindley in its construction, and what had been ridiculed as an impossibility when the original plan was submitted, was successfully finished and opened in 1761. The example thus given was followed with ardour: canals were constructed upon this great model both in Eng-

land and Sootland; and so greatly was this species of inland navigation preferred, that Brindley's principle, which he asserted before a committee of the House of Commons, that the chief use of rivers was to feed canals, seemed to have been generally adopted.

Although agricultural pursuits do not call forth so great a degree of enthusiasm and enterprise as those of commerce, and are not therefore susceptible of the same rapid improvement, yet the agriculture of England during this period of mercantile predominance enjoyed peculiar opportunities for its favourable development. The taste for farming, which George III. possessed beyond all his royal predecessors, passed, by a natural transition, to the nobility, and the improvement of their estates was soon found to be their only chance of competition with the wealthy merchant princes who had now become a very influential aristocracy. Independently of this, the increasing wealth and wants of the manufacturing classes, who were liberal customers of the farm, garden, and dairy, and the new facilities for supplying the agricultural market by the conveyances of canal navigation, made every additional acre that was taken into use, and every improvement in the means of agricultural production, a source of profit to which the dullest peasant could not remain insensible. Hence the reclamation of waste lands, the better modes of tillage, the introduction of new grains and seeds, and the improvement of the various breeds of cattle, which were pursued during the reign of George III., until agriculture as a science had been improved by a series of experiments, and established in the place of that dull use-and-wont system of farming which had prevailed in England for centuries. How necessary all this had become, and how much progress it had made by the close of this period, may be understood from the incidental notices of farm and cottage life, as it existed some twenty years earlier. The following reminiscences of his boyhood, given by Parkinson in his *Tour in America*, may suffice for the condition of a substantial English farmer's family in 1780:—"I was accustomed to eat what may be termed black bread, for which the small wheat called hinder-ends, or light wheat taken out of the best sent to market, is used and kept for family use; which being ground, was afterwards passed through a wide sieve, with the small bran searched out of the best wheat flour, and put amongst the bread meal; altogether making a sort of coarse or black bread; and the fine flour used for puddings, pies, &c. Yeast not being then in general use, a piece of dough was kept out of the last baking, and salted; which before the time of using it for the next batch, becoming sour, this sort of bread acquired the same

quality. Very fat bacon was the chief of our diet, garden stuff not being in such general use at this time, excepting the large Windsor beans in summer, and potatoes occasionally in the winter, with pease-puddings. I know no greater dainty to me than these beans and fat bacon, or pease-pudding, to the offal of pig's flesh in the winter, or some of the black bread and fat bacon." The taste of Parkinson, however, had advanced so greatly amidst the superior style of life that had been adopted by his brother farmers, that when he

went to America twenty years afterwards, nothing offended him so much as the vulgar diet of the colonists, notwithstanding its goodness and abundance. Will it be believed that he who had been reared upon the offal of pig's flesh, Windsor beans, and black bread, had now grown indignant at the grossness of an early American supper of tea and beef-steaks?

The variations in English costume during this period of rapid transition, by which the dresses of men and women subsided into the fashion in which the fathers of the present generation have rejoiced, were too numerous to be particularized. The modern spirit of utilitarianism bereaved the wearers of their gay trinketry piece by piece, while the necessity of active exertion among all classes contracted their flowing robes into more succinct envelopments. And first went the long elaborated wig, which, in spite of its manifest inconveniences, had held its place since the period of Charles II., and which occupies so conspicuous a figure in the plays and novels of the former periods. Its amplitude was gradually contracted, until it dwindled into a smart round bob or scratch-wig, little differing from the natural hair; and when this stage was reached, it



WIGS AND TIES,¹
1773-1780.

was finally discarded as no longer necessary. This

¹ 1, From Holmes' *Academy of Armoury*. 2, Macaroni Toupee, 1772. 3, Pigtail, 1780. 4, Pigtail, 1780.

important change, it appears, had commenced so early as 1763, for in that year we find the wig-makers petitioning his majesty to support their trade by his royal example. The living hair being thus restored to its natural and pristine ascen-

tunity for grave reflection or explanation. When both periwig and powder had disappeared, the smart three-cocked hat that had so blandly reposed on them looked sorely out of place, and by 1780 began to be superseded by a broad-brimmed

round one. The wide cuffs, long ample skirts, lace and embroidery of gentlemen's dresses in like manner were dispensed with, so that by the end of this period a beau, compared with his predecessors of the two former reigns, would have seemed a complete man, according to Plato's definition — a bird plumed. Changes so complete, and during a period so brief, could scarcely have been accomplished in the ordinary condition of society, and their main cause is therefore to be found in the French revolution, by which not only the ancient



COSTUMES, 1770—1793¹

dency, was in the first instance subjected to the most artificial modes of dressing, and made to look as much like a wig as possible, and for this purpose lard and flour were plentifully used; while the hair at one time was frizzled, and made to stand upright on the head like a fleece, and at another combed smartly back, or curled about the ears; and the whole was terminated by that indispensable appendage, a pig-tail. Indeed, the use of hair-powder was reckoned so essential to a respectable appearance, that not only the gentry and merchants, but even shopkeepers powdered their heads, as a proof that they were well to do in the world, and entitled to some consideration. But this general fashion, by which flour was so grossly alienated from its natural purposes, occasioned such a dearness in the price of bread, that the powder tax was imposed, and thus heads by the thousand were restored at once to their natural colour. The hair was then cut, trimmed, and arranged according to the fancy of the wearer or the fashion of the day, and that which prevailed at the end of this period was the head *à la Brutus*, which was derived from the French revolution. Last of all, the pig-tail dropped off as an unnatural excrescence. With the wig, the sword departed as a cumbrous distinction, and thus the sudden duels to which it was so often an incentive were obliged to give place to those formal appointments that afforded better oppor-

feudalism, but all the external distinctions of rank were mercilessly swept away. Britain, as well as the continental countries, caught the infection, and the consequence was that general simplicity of costume, as compared with former



LADIES' COSTUME, 1775.

"Two ladies in the newest dress, taken at Ranelagh," *Ladies' Magazine*, 1775.

periods, by which the different ranks were more closely assimilated. Henceforth, the chief distinctions between the peer and the peasant were not to consist so much in superiority of dress and ornament, as of demeanour, address,

¹ 1, 2, 3, From an engraving in the *Ladies' Magazine*, 1770. 4, Paris fashion, from a print, 1793 5, Fashionable riding-dress, August, 1786, from *Costumes in England*.

and education. This commencement, however, of the modern style of dress, which began with the present century, and the changes it underwent during the first twenty years until it finally settled into the fashion that now prevails, belongs to the next period of our history.

The same causes which operated upon male, were equally influential in female attire. This was

hair terminated behind in a queue of still greater longitude than that of the other sex. In all these cases hair-powder was plentifully used until 1793, when this practice was abandoned by Queen Charlotte and the princesses, and consequently by the court ladies, and all those grades who dressed by their example. The arrival of the great revolution, in which the whole nation of France

played at Greeks and Romans, while the ladies dressed like nymphs and goddesses, after it had swept away, in the first instance, the stiff costume of the age of Louis le Grand, tended to introduce a more simple and more natural attire; and as Paris still maintained its ascendancy as the great metropolis of fashion, the ladies of Britain followed the example, until the revolution in clothing was completed. Happily, however, they did not imitate that scanty and indecorous drapery which the ladies of France sometimes adopted from their love of the classical and antique; but



LADIES' HEAD DRESSES. 1782-1789¹

especially the case with that monstrosity the hoop, which even so early as the commencement of the present period began to be materially curtailed, until in course of time it had shrivelled into nothingness. Such we can easily learn from the pictures of the day, where ladies are represented with no greater amplitude of dress than might have been produced by the old fardingale, or even the more modern *bustle*. Seldom has the despotism of fashion been more strongly illustrated than by the fact, that ladies could endure so long not only such an uncouth ornament, but such an imprisonment within buckram and whalebone. Their gowns also underwent the same reform, so that by 1785 they had almost reached the standard of modern simplicity. The singularities of head-attire, however, were not to be abandoned so easily; and the forms in which the hair of ladies was worn, as well as the fashion of dressing it, were still as capricious as ever. Thus, at the beginning of this period, we find it lying flat on the forehead, and about twenty years after, it rises into that formidable commode, by which the wearers evidently intended to add a cubit to their stature. In 1785 this pyramid became a square tower, and in 1788 it was flounced and ringletted into the form of a cauliflower. Sometimes, too, a lady's

hair terminated behind in a queue of still greater longitude than that of the other sex. In all these cases hair-powder was plentifully used until 1793, when this practice was abandoned by Queen Charlotte and the princesses, and consequently by the court ladies, and all those grades who dressed by their example. The arrival of the great revolution, in which the whole nation of France

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In the mode of living now followed by the English aristocracy, there may be seen during the earlier part of this period, a blending of old fashions with those new usages which were soon to supersede them. The nobility, who could no longer rule as kings in their ancient domains over a compliant peasantry, regarded London as their home, and a court life their proper vocation. Their mansions, therefore, which were now for permanent residence, were either in the metropolis, which they tended to enrich and beautify, or in its immediate neighbourhood, while their trains of domestics still exhibited a lingering remembrance of the grandeur of ancient feudalism. Besides the usual menials, the household of a nobleman consisted of a steward, who managed the estates; a chaplain, who read prayers to the family, catechized the servants, and acted as librarian; and a private secretary, who was generally some young gentleman in training for politics and court advancement. After these came an array, consisting of butler, valet and housekeeper, lady's-maid and footman, coachman, groom, pos-

¹ 1, From Stewart's *Whole Art of Hairdressing*, 1782. 2, From a print dated 1789. 3, From the *Lady's Pocket book*, 1782. 4, From an etching by Dighton.

tilions, and porter; and after these, was a throng of servants of a still lower grade, whose region exclusively was the kitchen. As so numerous an establishment involved great expense, the upper servants of such a household were tacitly permitted to eke out their small wages by sundry perquisites of office, which, under the name of *vails*, soon constituted the best part of their revenue. In this way, the steward in granting leases exacted a percentage which, like Master Peter Pounce, in the tale of *Joseph Andrews*, enabled him in course of time to become as wealthy as his master. The butler, in paying the household accounts, made each tradesman pay toll to a fixed amount, which was generally given without grudging. The porter who opened the outer door, held it fast with one hand, while the other was ready for a fee; and according to the bribe, the door was opened wide to receive the applicant, or rudely thrown at his face. Even the Abigail of the establishment not only exacted tribute within her own particular sphere, for every payment that passed through her hands, but regarded the wardrobe of her mistress as her own unquestionable property, after it had undergone a certain amount of wearing. This practice, however, of exacting vails became so extortionate, that it was abolished in the earlier part of this period, but not till after a ten years' struggle. The dregs of the evil, as every traveller within our island knows, is still to be found in our hotels and inns. The hours of meals among the aristocracy at the commencement of this period, appear to have been the following: breakfast at ten or eleven o'clock, dinner at five, and supper at eleven. These late hours, however, were only for the highest in rank, and upon state occasions, otherwise the usual hour for breakfast was seven, and that for dinner three o'clock. The fashionable distinction, however, imparted by late hours, in which the aristocracy had exchanged seasons with the commons, was now in such progress, that towards the close of this period a three o'clock dinner had grown utterly vulgar. "Dr. Russell was in high spirits (writes Madame d'Arblay in her diary, describing a public breakfast in 1792), and laughed heartily at seeing the prodigious meal most of the company made of cold chicken, ham, fish, &c., and said he should like to see Mrs. Montague make the experiment of inviting all the same party to dinner, at three o'clock. 'Oh!' they would cry, 'three o'clock! What does she mean? Who can dine at three o'clock?—one has no appetite—one can't swallow a morsel—it's altogether impossible!' Yet let her invite the same people, and give them a dinner, while she calls it a breakfast, and see but how prettily they can find appetites."

In passing to the amusements of the aristocracy,

which were now chiefly of a festive and in-door character, card-playing and gambling come in for particular notice. At the beginning of this period loo was the favourite game, and afterwards pharaoh or faro. So great was still the rage for card-playing, that the most illustrious characters of the day—the Duke of Cumberland, the Princess Amelia, Horace Walpole, Charles Fox, and many almost equally distinguished—were keen gamblers, and both won and lost immense sums, as well as consumed much time. One of many such instances given by Fox, was a sitting of twenty-two hours at hazard, during which he lost at the rate of £500 per hour. At length the example of the king and queen, who disliked such extravagances and discountenanced their authors—the popular feeling, that cried out against such a waste of money while the poverty of the lower classes was on the increase—the stringent laws enacted against excessive gambling, and the prohibition of the practice in the private houses of the nobility—abated its seductiveness by driving it into haunts set apart for its proscribed indulgence. Towards the close of this period, too, the stigma had been deepened, by the vigorous exercise of the law against certain noble and high-titled offenders, who were tried and punished at the police office of Marlborough Street, for keeping faro tables in their houses, and playing for sums beyond the specified limit. On one occasion, also, Lord Kenyon, in his capacity of judge, declared that he would make such offenders, were they even the highest ladies in the land, exhibit themselves in the pillory. No such threat could have been safely uttered, even by a lord-chancellor, during the reign of Charles II., or any of the predecessors of George III.

Among the other in-door amusements of the period, may be mentioned masquerades, which continued to fade under the growing refinement, until at last they were found too childish for the progress of society, and were therefore allowed silently to die out. The same may be said of routs, drums, and hurricanes—those noisy festivals of the earlier part of the eighteenth century, where the greatest amount of fashionables were crammed, packed, and wedged into the smallest possible compass; and where the company, while they trode on each other's toes, were allowed to trample the rules of grave decorum under foot, and be outrageously free and merry. Private theatricals, which were in still better taste, were also of frequent occurrence, even although the unpopular Bute had won fame as an amateur actor before he became a premier, and had made his first step in court favour under the character of Lothario, in the "Fair Penitent." Balls, which are indispensable to every state of society

except the Puritan, still maintained the ascendancy, and were common to all classes; and in high life these were not only of a private, but also of a public character, which last were called subscription-balls. These were held in spacious buildings set apart for the purpose, and the most distinguished of such establishments was that of Mrs. Cornely, in Soho, until it was eclipsed by the superior reputation of Almack's. The select aristocratic character of these privileged places, and the jealousy with which every candidate for admission was scrutinized, as well as the fashionable distinction which such a passport entailed, were well understood at the commencement of this period, and still more completely at the close, when the toe of the clown was beginning to press too closely upon the kibe of the courtier. Even the price of these meetings was calculated to preserve their exclusiveness, so that we read of a subscription masquerade held at the Pantheon which cost the subscribers £5000. Another public luxury, still chiefly confined to people of rank and fashion, was the opera, where the music was of so refined a character, and the price of tickets so high, that the public turned away from it to places of more popular amusement.

A great fashionable festival by which this period was characterized, has been recorded by the writers of the day under the name of a *festino*—a meeting that seems to have been to the eighteenth century, what the tournament or triumph was to the fourteenth. It was usually given by some person of high rank, and upon a great public or court occasion, such as a royal birth-day, or the reception of an illustrious foreign visitor. The chief place for its display was a garden or lawn, which was brilliantly illuminated in the style of a Chinese feast of lanterns, while the principal amusements were banqueting, masquerading, music, dancing, and displays of fireworks and illuminated devices. These splendid meetings were duly chronicled in courtly descriptions, and one of many is thus briefly described by Walpole: "Not only the whole house but the garden was illuminated, and was quite a fairy scene. Arches and pyramids of lights alternately surrounded the inclosure; a diamond necklace of lamps edged the rails and descent, with a spiral obelisk of candles on each hand; and dispersed over the lawn were little bands of kettle-drums, clarionets, fifes &c., and the lovely queen came without a card."

In spite, however, of this jealous precaution, by which high rank endeavoured to guard itself within a hallowed inclosure, respectability continued step by step to approximate more closely to gentility and fashion, and those public amusements which at first were wholly aristocratic, were one after another becoming a common

ground. Such was the case both with the Pantheon and the opera, which, towards the close of this period, were beginning to be patent to mere dress and demeanour, irrespective of station and title; such were the fashionable clubs and Almack's, where literary distinction, or fashion, or accomplishments, constituted a nobility of their own; and such, for a considerable time, had been Ranelagh and Vauxhall, where the only passport to every class was a Sunday suit and a ticket. A still more common place of meeting for all ranks was the theatre, which still continued to be a neutral ground, its only distinctions being box, pit, and gallery, and the uncertain separation which their prices sought to accomplish. It is gratifying, however, to find, that the new moral era introduced by the accession of George III. speedily began to show itself in dramatic exhibition, the old plays being severely pruned, and even altered to suit the now recognized decencies of the stage; while new productions, however talented, had no chance of favour, if they violated the rules of morality. But as the popular spirit still sought a vent, theatre rows and O.P. riots, as they were latterly termed, were as frequent as they had ever been during the wildest seasons, and were conducted with the same arrogant and tumultuary spirit. The same tendency to improvement which had thus reformed the most popular of all our public amusements, had also created new ones which could scarcely have existed a century earlier. Of these, may be especially mentioned the exhibitions of the Royal Academy, by which a new love of the fine arts was gradually diffused among all classes—and the public lectures, by which the sciences hitherto secluded within halls and colleges were brought into popular notice, and exhibited in their most attractive forms. Another kind of meeting common to literary talent and moral respectability, independent of rank, were the blue-stocking clubs—the most delightful of all assemblages, at which people met not to feast, dance, play at cards, or talk scandal, but to converse at their ease, and upon subjects of general interest. At these meetings, Pennington tells us, in his *Life of Mrs. Carter*, "There was no formal circle to petrify an unfortunate stranger on his entrance; no rules of conversation to observe; no holding forth of one, to his own distress and the stupifying of his audience; no reading of his works by the author. The company naturally broke into little groups, perpetually varying and changing. Nor was it absolutely necessary even to talk sense. There was no bar to harmless mirth and gaiety; and, while perhaps Dr. Johnson in one corner held forth on the moral duties, in another, two or three young people might be talking of the fashions

and the opera; and in a third, Lord Orford (then Mr. Horace Walpole), might be amusing a little group with his lively wit and intelligent conversation." These delightful meetings, so indicative of a healthy reaction, and so full of promise for the future, originated about the middle of this period, in one of those accidents which was certain to occur during an age that was ripe for its production, and is thus described by Boswell: "About this time (1781), it was much the fashion for several ladies to have evening assemblies, where the fair sex might participate in conversation with literary and ingenious men, animated by a desire to please. Those societies were denominated *blue-stock*ing clubs, the origin of which being little known, it may be worth while to relate it. One of the most eminent members of those societies was Mr. Stillingfleet, whose dress was remarkably grave, and in particular it was observed that he wore blue stockings. Such was the excellence of his conversation, that his absence was felt as so great a loss that it used to be said, 'We can do nothing without the blue-stockings;' and then by degrees the title was established."

Besides these private meetings for conversation, discussion, and social enjoyment, there were others of a more public nature established for the same purpose. Such were the clubs, to which we have adverted on former occasions. At first they were merely political meetings, where the members assembled to remove evil counsellors from before the throne, and vindicate the rights of Magna Charta, while they drenched their patriotism with such strong libations, that they were prepared to sally out and enforce an universal subscription to their political creed by heavier demonstrations than those of logic. While these were for the higher classes, the lower orders had their mug-houses, where they were copiously supplied with ale and strong waters, that they might halloo the more vigorously against Popery and wooden shoes, and be ready to rise at the signal for a Monmouth or Shaftesbury insurrection. Matters, however, were amended upon the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, when more intellectual subjects as well as more peaceable modes of discussion were introduced; and, in turning to the descriptions of Smollett and his contemporaries, we find no worse evils resulting from these clubs than waste of time and the encouragement of idleness—a wit reciting his own verses to a knot of shallow admirers, or an impoverished adventurer haranguing upon the national bankruptcy without attending to his own. At first the higher ranks endeavoured to keep their own favourite establishments clear from vulgar access by the costliness of admission; and therefore to dine at Lockit's, Pontac's, or White's

Chocolate House, was the highest stamp of fashion. But wealth soon asserted its natural pre-eminence; and the untitled but rich *parvenu*, ambitious for such a distinction, soon contrived to unlock these sacred gates with his golden key. Thither, also, came the wits and poets from Willis's, the politicians from St. James's, the scholars from the Grecian, and rural squires, merchants, and actors from every quarter, until the lines of distinction drawn round the clubs of the West-end were erased in favour of respectable commoners. But lower down in the scale we find numerous clubs throughout the metropolis, where the choice spirits of the day could meet with less formality and for more boisterous enjoyments, of which the titles of a few will give an idea of the characters and pursuits of those who frequented them. These were the "Killers of Care," the "Silenians," the "Sons of Sound Sense" (*lucus a non lucendo*), the "Sons of Nimrod," the "Bucks," the "Bloods," the "Snitchers," the "Choice Spirits," the "Senators," the "Lumber-Troopers," &c. All this clubbing was the excitement of a new life, both intellectual and political, in which every one felt that he was somebody, and had something to say or do. But towards the close of the period this fermentation had subsided. By that time each class had better ascertained its own place and level; the rivalry of the two dynasties had utterly passed away, and a national war had succeeded, upon the merits of which all were generally agreed. Besides, the natural shyness of the English character and its love of domestic enjoyment were opposed to this life in coffee-houses, and the universal intercourse which it implied; and therefore, though clubs continued to multiply, it was rather as newspaper rooms than arenas for literary and political brawling.

Amidst all these changes, by which the higher and middle classes were brought into more friendly approximation, it is gratifying to remark the improvement in moral character that was gradually growing among them. The grossness of the period of James I. which burst into the full-blown profligacy of that of Charles II., had continued with but little abatement till the commencement of the present reign. And for this there had been too much countenance afforded by the example of each sovereign who succeeded Charles, so that a royal mistress had become an established court appendage. Such was the case with the rigidly conscientious James II., who sacrificed three kingdoms for a mass; such with the demure Presbyterian William III.; such with the first two Georges, elderly men though they were, and grave sticklers for every kind of decorum. All these sovereigns retained mistresses, whose disreputable position was overlooked on account of its rank, and whose court influence made their

society eagerly sought even by the highest in place and public estimation. The nobles had not been slow to follow the royal example; and thus the contagion descended to the classes more immediately beneath them, until society at large was more or less tainted with the leprosy. But the accession of George III. was the commencement of a new era in English court morality. His example discountenanced that nuptial infidelity and libertinism which had hitherto been reckoned the most tolerable of all trespasses; while the strictness which he introduced into court etiquette, as well as the bestowal of royal countenance and favour, made the courtiers aware that profligacy was as serious a disqualification for rising into political influence as want of talent or even of common honesty. No lady of doubtful character, however exalted, could intrude into the queen's drawing-room, or notorious *roué* gain the entrance of the back-stairs. Happily, too, the king was not of a character to alter his principles or even abate of their strictness, while his long reign gave him full opportunity for carrying out a reformation so greatly needed; and when it thus commenced at the fountain-head, the purification went onward through the subsidiary channels, until after a course of years the whole aspect of English society was regenerated. It is upon this incalculable benefit which the virtuous character of George III. conferred upon the nation that history will delight to dwell, long after his political errors have been forgot.

While such was the master-agency of this moral reformation that forms the most conspicuous era of our national record, other influences were at work by which the royal example was corroborated, and without which it could only have had a partial effect, or even been an utter failure. Learning was more widely diffused, and the taste which it imparted ameliorated the excesses of vice by bereaving them of their grossness. The press was taking its place as the fourth estate of the realm, and public defaulters were tried, condemned, and pilloried by a process as terrible as that of Westminster Hall itself. Even the pencil was lending its aid against the lighter crimes and follies of the great; and men who could fearlessly confront the chances of sword and pistol in Hyde Park or behind Montague House, learned to tremble at the caricature in a print-shop window. Another influence, as has been noticed in a previous chapter, though slow and silent, was that of Methodism, by which the old Puritan spirit of England, now sinking fast into decay, was revived into its former energy, and in a form better suited to the spirit of the people and the exigencies of the age. And at the close of all came the French revolution, that tremendous lesson of the nations, which England,

now ripened for its perusal, was wise enough to lay to heart. It spoke of the instability of thrones and the insecurity of rank, when the arrogance, the oppressiveness, and the prodigality of the higher classes have provoked the lower into rebellion. It showed how fearfully the atheism and sensuality which the mob have copied from their superiors may recoil upon the heads of those by whom the evil was fostered. It taught the leaders and instructors of the people how much it behoved them to establish their superiority upon intelligence, wisdom, and virtue, instead of popular caprice and public demoralization. To every class it announced its separate warning, of which the nineteenth century is reaping the fruits.

While this under-current was going on, by which the external aspect, as well as the course of society, was to be changed, there were still indications of a rudeness and barbarism manifested among the upper classes, which required a higher degree of refinement than that of the present period to eradicate. Of these specimens, the foremost was the duel, that relic of the judicial combat, which still prevailed as the arbiter of doubtful arguments in politics, or the nice distinctions of honour; and at the beginning of the reign of George III. these combats were as frequent as they appear to have been during the reigns of his predecessors. They were also every whit as ferocious—the combatants often using the sword in close conflict when the discharge of their pistols had been ineffectual. Among other such encounters, we read of one in 1777, in which the parties were an army captain, and the editor of a newspaper, by whom the captain had been libelled in his journal. We have already mentioned how the discontinuance of the use of swords tended to lessen the number of such meetings, by giving time for calm reflection; but still there were grave questions to be settled which reflection only tended to aggravate, as well as insults which could not be passed in silence or forgot, and the only remedy that occurred in such cases was a formal encounter with pistols, where deliberate hatred took the place of transient indignation. In this way, the duel continued to the end of this period, and still lingers among us. Another type of former barbarism was the love of gladiatorial spectacles; and as this could no longer be gratified with a sword-and-buckler exhibition, boxing was substituted in its room, and people of rank and station had their pet bruisers, upon whose encounters they watched as anxiously as if the fate of a kingdom were at issue. Nor must horse-racing be forgot, and the knaveries of which it was the fruitful source. The glories of Epsom and Newmarket had now risen to their full height, and such a horse as "Childers" could

make or mar the fortune of hundreds. It remains for philosophy to explain how so innocent an animal as a steed has produced such demoralization in society, from the days of Centaur Nessus, who jockeyed Hercules out of his life, to the horse-chaunter of yesterday, who passed off a spavined, blind, worn-out roarer, as a first-rate roadster, and sound in wind and limb.

These brief notices of boxing and horse-racing necessarily introduce the practice of betting, which constituted the chief attraction of such exhibitions. On these occasions the excitement rose so high, that wagers were staked to the amount of thousands, and all those trickeries were practised for winning which had disgraced the card-table. A well-bribed boxer, although the champion of the ring, and every way qualified to retain it, might be persuaded to go down at the twelfth round; a jockey, though mounted upon Pegasus himself, could contrive to be half a length short at the winning-post. In this way a cunning unscrupulous better might realize the fortune of a lifetime in a single hour. While the wealthy thus wagered by the pound, the mob under a similar inspiration wagered by the shilling, and the ardour was universal from the duke to the chimney-sweep. Of course, it was not merely to the race-course or the prize-fight that this epidemic of wager was confined; it pervaded almost every action of life, and included all manner of possible and impossible achievements, so that England soon grew a betting nation, to the unutterable wonderment of foreigners. A race of two fleas, or of two drops of rain upon a pane of glass, could keep a whole company upon the alert, with some hundreds of pounds upon the issue; the fate of a campaign or the result of a state negotiation was anticipated by heavy bets, when every other kind of forecast was unsatisfactory. A prime subject of wager during this period was the real sex of the Chevalier d'Eon, who had figured as court lady, beau, political diplomatist, and fencing-master by turns; and when the stakes were to be decided before a court of law, upon the death of this nondescript (who was a *bona fide* man after all), the proofs of his sex, which the winning party adduced, were enough to disgust both judge and jury. The records of the time are full of strange challenges in walking, riding, running, leaping, of which it is impossible to see the use. A lady, for instance, engages to ride 1000 miles in 1000 hours, and comes off the winner. A gentleman wagers that he will jump dressed into water seven feet deep, and there entirely undress himself without sinking. A challenge is given that an ass will walk 100 miles in twenty-four hours, a feat which the light-footed enduring animal actually performs in twenty-one. It is interesting, by the way, to

notice the strong national contrast exhibited on this point between England and Scotland. The Scot had either no money to throw away, or was too wise to do so, and therefore would not risk a single penny upon the chance turn of a wager. Besides, he was of too calculating and argumentative a disposition to venture himself beyond the limits of clear logical demonstration, all beyond that being in his eyes a *terra incognita*, or even chaos itself. Hence, while the impatient Englishman cut short the controversy with "What will you bet?" the Scot drew himself up with "How do you prove it?"

The diffusion of sound knowledge, and wisdom to apply it, had by no means become so prevalent as to banish the superstitions of earlier ages; and even in London freaks of this kind were still to be found during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Sheeted ghosts occasionally walked in churchyards, to the great disturbance of the neighbourhood, and dismay of constables who were not hardy enough to apprehend them. A wen was still supposed to be cured by rubbing it with the dead hand of a malefactor; and so late as 1767 a young woman was hoisted to the scaffold at a public execution, that she might have an excrescence removed by this healing friction. Ten years later, an Italian was tried, who under pretext of turning copper into gold, had domiciled himself in the house of a wealthy lady, and cozened her of £500. As might be expected, superstitions of this kind often sought confirmation from religion; and accordingly, an anxious holder of a lottery ticket endeavoured to insure a happy turn of the wheel, on the day before drawing, by sending to a church the following notification:—"The prayers of this congregation are desired for the success of a person engaged in a new undertaking." It is gratifying to notice, however, that in the metropolis such weaknesses were not only fast abating, but were chiefly confined to silly women and the uneducated. No literary man would now adventure to certify the Cock Lane ghost, or advocate the possibility of transmuting old saucepans and kettles into vessels of gold and silver. Matters, however, were not quite so favourable in country villages, and among the peasantry; and at the commencement of the present period the accusations of witchcraft were not only numerous, but often attended with serious consequences. In such cases the suspected person was tried by the old ordeals, by either being stripped to the shift, and weighed against the church Bible, in which case, if she proved the heavier of the two, she was acquitted; or had her thumbs and great toes tied with a cart-rope across her middle, in which hampered state she was thrown into a pool of water, where, if she sunk, she was proclaimed

innocent. Here too, however, such rude trials could not, as in former times, be conducted with impunity; and on more than one occasion these irregular judges were imprisoned, and even hanged as guilty of murder. A more harmless kind of inquest, in 1767, was to discover the body of a child that had been drowned. In this case, a twopenny loaf with a quantity of quicksilver inclosed in it was allowed to float down the river, and after a voyage of half a mile, followed by the anxious crowd, it suddenly tacked about toward the shore, and sank at the very spot where the body lay entangled among the mud. In like manner, lost or stolen property was still sought after by the old-established forms of divination.

Of the modes of life among the upper classes of this period we have already given a full account. Of those who are called the middle classes, now brought into contact with the higher, and closely influenced by their example, enough of their daily habits and common fashions may be inferred from those of their models whom they imitated. These middle classes at the present period were comprised by "the poorer gentry, lawyers, medical men, inferior clergy, literary men, merchants, artists, manufacturers, notaries, shopkeepers." Beneath these now very numerous and influential classes came the common people, who in like manner were striving by industry, intelligence, and style of living, to elevate, or at least assimilate themselves to the condition of the rank beyond them, and who constituted the strength and sinews, as well as the bulk of the British nation. Into their way of daily life and wonted habits it is at present unnecessary to enter, more especially as, with some necessary abatement, it was the same as that into which the generation of our own day was born, and with which their early recollections are familiar. But still lower than these, and separated from them, were the classes who might be called the outcasts of regular society—men who lived none knew where, and shifted for their living none could tell how, but who were felt to be always at hand, and whose progress could be traced like a pestilence. It is by the predominance or absence of these that we can generally estimate the condition of that society of which they form the refuse; even as from the character of a disease, we can form an estimate of the soundness or unhealthiness of that constitution in which it has originated.

In turning to this part of the subject we cannot fail to be struck with the insecurity both of town and country, both of street and highway, that still continued to prevail—the growing wealth of society, and the insufficiency of law to protect it. Riches had accumulated into an unwieldy heap, but as yet there was not a strong box sufficient

to shelter it. Highway robberies were therefore perpetrated as boldly and as frequently as ever, and continued until the close of the eighteenth century, so that the aged of the present day can still remember what their own eyes have witnessed, or their fathers have told them, of the perils of an ordinary journey. In those days a case of pistols was a more usual concomitant of a travelling chaise than a box of sandwiches at present; and it was well if the traveller encountered no more than one stoppage, or a solitary robber by the way. Sometimes these brigands were in formidable troops, so that the officers of justice were afraid to molest them; and of these, as well as the atrocities they committed, especially where they met with a spirited resistance, the notices of the period are odiously full. In 1767 nine young apprentices, the eldest not eighteen years old, formed themselves into a gang, and robbed on the highway—an association that could scarcely have been formed unless the examples had been both numerous and tempting. Often, however, a desperado, confident in his own prowess and resources, and unwilling to have a sharer in the plunder, pursued his vocation alone; and such men, when successful, were often elevated by popular fame into the heroes and Robin Hoods of the day. Such was the Flying Highwayman at the beginning of this reign, who conducted his exploits upon three horses—a gray, a sorrel, and a black, so that it was difficult to identify him, and was such a fleet rider that he had leaped over Colebrook turnpike a dozen times within a fortnight, and distanced all pursuit. Another notorious character of this kind was Dumas, a young man so bold and intrepid, and withal so elegant and handsome, that when he was apprehended and executed at Oxford in 1761, even the ladies whom he had robbed on the highway shed tears over his fate. This was not all; for having expressed his horror at the thought of being anatomized, a formidable band of barge-men carried off the body after execution, by main force, and gave it decent burial, after having opened it, and filled it with quicklime. So little was mercantile security as yet understood, that the mail was frequently intrusted to the conveyance of young lads in light cars or on horseback, and the robbery of such insecure guardians of public property was an event of weekly, and sometimes of daily occurrence. Will it be believed also, that this careless mode of conveyance was continued to the close of the period, notwithstanding the consequences that attended it?

While such was the insecurity of the country, that of the towns, and especially of the metropolis, was still more conspicuous. So late as 1763 the numerous roads near London were guarded by no greater force than a patrol of eighty mounted

and armed policemen; and as these *gens d'armes* were necessarily scattered over a wide extent, they might be overpowered or eluded at every turning. But this police establishment, ineffectual though it was, did not equal the helplessness of those who held the guardianship of the capital itself, so that the storming of watch-houses, and liberation of culprits, was still a frequent event; while what would now be reckoned a paltry street row, often required the interposition of the military in aid of the officers of justice. Even the toll-house keepers in London were so liable to be robbed, that they had to be furnished with arms, and enjoined to keep no money in their houses after eight o'clock at night. The boldness with which street robberies still continued to be committed was evinced so late as 1777, when the Neapolitan ambassador was robbed in his coach in Grosvenor Square by four footpads armed with pistols. And still, amidst the inefficiency of the police, and the continuing inexperience of justice, the only remedy that occurred was first to catch the offender, and then to make him sure, while the modes of accomplishing both objects were miserable confessions of helplessness. A tempting price was set upon the head of the culprit, and thus every man in want of money might relieve himself by the office of a thief-catcher. "I keep a shop in Wych Street, and sometimes catch a thief," was the reply of a witness on a trial when questioned as to his means of living, and not a few of such small shopkeepers and bankrupt tradesmen could at this time be found in London. When the rogue was caught, the next expedient was to secure him, and this was done by hanging him out of hand, so that his execution generally followed a day or two after his sentence, to abridge the chances of his escape and expense of his maintenance. The only merciful alternatives, when he was not thought fully ripe for the gallows, was to transport him to the antipodes, or send him off as a soldier to the army, by which, in either case, society would be fully rid of his presence.

As street robbery gradually became more difficult and unsafe, burglary became more frequent, and the art of breaking into lock-fast places was so greatly perfected, that dexterous entrances into houses, as well as escapes from jails, form much of the London romance of this period. The training, also, for this desperate occupation commenced so early, that we read of a gang of Westminster housebreakers, in 1787, who kept the whole neighbourhood in alarm, while the oldest member of this gang was only twenty-one years of age, and the youngest thirteen. When house-breaking in turn became doubly hazardous from the increasing vigilance of justice, and the renewed precautions with which houses were guard-

ed from within, pocket-picking and the various arts of quiet and cunning filching succeeded; and in this case, the old modes of cozening and coney-catching, that had been so rife in the time of Elizabeth and James I., were revived and brought into full exercise, with sundry modern improvements. Among the exploits of this nature, one of them gives us a strange idea of the mercantile insecurity of the post-office, even so late as near the close of this period. A gentleman dropping a letter into the usual aperture, and not hearing the sound of its falling into the box, proceeded to investigate the cause. He soon found that a false case had been introduced into the aperture, which was hung by a string, with a small imperceptible hook or fastening of watch-spring on the outside, and that when this case was sufficiently filled, the rogues, who were on the alert, could easily fish it up, and carry it off, with all its contents of political or domestic secrets, bank bills, and money remittances. Such, too, was the audacity combined with finesse which was often manifested, that even the home of royalty was no shelter from the light-fingered gentry, who were prowling everywhere in quest of booty. In this way, an attempt was made, in 1792, to rob the Prince of Wales himself, and that, too, in the very drawing-room of St. James's. For this purpose, the gang had procured admission with the passport of court-dress coats; in the throng, the clutch and tug of an unseen hand was laid upon the sacred person of the heir apparent; and on examining, he found that the ornamental guard or bow of his sword had been torn asunder, and all its constellation of rich diamonds within a thread of being carried off.

But the insecurity of London life and property that still continued to linger, was not wholly owing either to the violent brigandage or fraudulent abstractions which were carried on upon so large a scale; and other dishonest crafts were practised with equal boldness, cunning, and success. Military service in the East Indies, both from its peculiar danger and the remoteness of the scene, was so unattractive, that few willing recruits could be found for it, and the conquerors of a hundred realms had to be procured from other sources. One of these, as we have already mentioned, was the jails, where condemned criminals had the alternative of hanging or enlisting. But another fruitful supply for our Indian armies was furnished by crimps, who lay in wait in every street for the unwary, cajoled them with fair promises and professions into lock-up houses from which they could not escape, and there plied them with strong liquors until they were shipped off to the tender in a state of utter obliviousness. Even if the victim escaped, he

was arrested upon a false charge of debt, and hurried off upon his voyage before the case could be brought to trial. In this way, many a young lout from the country, while gazing upon the wonders of London, awoke next morning a soldier without knowing how. In a more violent and summary manner still, but with the full sanction of law, the navy was also manned; and while every sea-port of our island was exposed to the invasions of press-gangs, their drag-net was most active among the shoals of the London population, where they were certain at any time of a full draught; and thus Wapping, Tower Hill, and the districts of London nearest the Thames, were often swept by strong bands of sailors, armed with pistol and cutlass, which they were prompt enough to use upon the least resistance. When Roderic Random, on walking home one evening, was beset by one of these bands, and hailed with "Yo ho, brother, you must go along with me," and cut down without ceremony for his refusal, and carried off bleeding and insensible to their ship, where he was stowed away in the hold, along with a crowd of similar unfortunates, who next morning were set to "haul taut, and belay"—in such a picture Smollett described nothing more than one of those usual incidents with which the whole of the present period was familiar. Besides these several peace-breakers which we have enumerated, there were formidable bands of smugglers both in town and country, whose outlaw life and adventurous occupation often fitted them for worse atrocities than that of mere traffic in contraband liquors. Of their boldness we have a specimen in 1778, in which year it is recorded, that a gang of these, thirty-two in number, forced their passage across Surrey bridge, a little after midnight, against twenty-two dismounted grenadiers who were drawn up to apprehend them. Of their merciless cruelty a fearful specimen was sometimes given in their treatment of accomplices who had betrayed them, one of these punishments consisting in lashing the offender to death with horse-whips. Even the Mohock spirit had not yet fully died out in London, although it was now confined to the lowest classes; and of this a proof was given so late as 1792. On that occasion, a gang of twelve men assembled on Saffron Hill, armed with swords and bludgeons, who, in mere wanton barbarity, proceeded to run a muck through the neighbourhood, slashing and knocking down all they met, until one man was killed, and several desperately wounded by their savage frolic.

From regularly organized brigandage and associations for every kind of theft, by which public peace was outraged and domestic comfort interrupted, the transition to mob outrage and

popular ebullitions is a natural step. This is the more necessary, also, from the illustrations they afford of the character and condition of society at large. And here we find, during the present period, and over its whole extent, a series of mobbings, in which the old barbarism of the country still flashed out with a violence which happily has now greatly abated, if not wholly passed away. Of these, the Lord George Gordon and Birmingham riots have already been mentioned in the civil department of our history. The one was a religious, and the other a political outburst; but the paltriness with which they terminated in plundering, drinking, fire-raising, and shouting, instead of a great national convulsion—as would have been the case in France—shows how entirely these were mere mob riots, with which principle had little to do. There was no *ça ira*, no exhibition of human heads on pikes, no hanging at lamp-irons. The same may be said of the Wilkes riots, which at one time looked so portentous. Of a more mercantile, and therefore of a more national character, and pursued with greater energy, were the outbursts of the Spitalfields weavers, who fought it out with the military, and still returned to the charge after repeated defeats. Mercantile risings called *strikes* were also becoming characteristics of this period; but as they were the outbreakings of a single trade, and in a particular locality, they generally passed off in comparatively harmless explosions. One of these, which occurred in 1770, may give an idea of the manner in which they were conducted. A journeyman hat-maker having been charged with working over-hours without exacting remuneration for extra time, his brethren of the craft resolved to punish him for this flagrant breach of their privileges. They therefore mounted him upon an ass, and paraded him through Southwark, where hatters were chiefly employed, a standard-bearer going before him with a label denoting his offence hoisted upon a pole, and a train of boys attending with rough music of pans and shovels. Thus the ovation marched through the borough, taking care to halt at each hat shop by the way, and compel its workmen to strike for an increase of wages. The numerous executions of the period were also calculated to excite the riotous propensities of the spectators; and according to the character or crime of the culprit, their feelings were expressed in cheers or execrations. Some of these wild outbursts of popular justice unmistakably indicated the fierce spirit that still struggled in the bosom of an English mob, and that, with a little management, might have burst out with formidable consequences. When that execrable murderer, Mrs. Brownrigg, was conducted to the place of execution, those of the crowd who were

nearest the ordinary's coach cried out, that "they hoped he would pray for her damnation, for such a fiend ought not to be saved!" Sometimes, not contented with mere outcries, they proceeded to action, either by rescuing the body of the criminal from dissection, or holding an inquest over it at the door of the accuser, in which case, an outbreak similar to that over the corpse of Cæsar in the forum was certain to follow. One of these is thus recorded in the *Annual Register* for 1763:—"As soon as the execution of several criminals, condemned at last sessions at the Old Bailey, was over at Tyburn, the body of Cornelius Saunders, executed for stealing about £50 out of the house of Mrs. Whyte in Lambeth Street, Spitalfields, was carried and laid before her door; where, great numbers of people assembling, they at last grew so outrageous, that a guard of soldiers was sent for to stop their proceedings; notwithstanding which they forced open the door, fetched out all the salmon-tubs, most of the household furniture, piled them on a heap and set fire to them, and, to prevent the guards from extinguishing the flames, pelted them off with stones, and would not disperse till the whole was consumed." This love of justice, which jumped so hastily to a conclusion, and from conclusion to action, combined with that love of power by which the brute strength of all mobs is so prone to be swayed, was also continually manifested in the streets of London, when either a rogue was to be rescued from the clutch of the constables, or a pickpocket to be pumped or ducked. Often, however, such indulgences only whetted the appetite for worse excesses, as was shown in the following instance during the same year (1763):—"A crowd had assembled to witness an exhibition of fireworks; but in the pressure, a railing gave way, the foremost were pressed headlong into a well, and in the crush of this sudden disaster, six persons were killed and fourteen or fifteen dreadfully mangled. During the consternation occasioned by the accident a sailor had his pocket picked by a Jew, who, after undergoing the usual discipline of ducking, hopped out of the water, pretending to have his leg broke, and was carried off by some of his brethren. But the sailors discovering the trick, and considering it as a cheat, pursued him to Duke's Place, where, at first, they were beaten off by the inhabitants; but presently returning with a fresh reinforcement, they attacked the place, entered three houses, threw everything they met with out of the window, broke the glasses, tore the beds, and ripped up the wainscot, leaving the houses in the most ruinous condition. With the furniture three children, sick of the small-pox, were thrown out of the window, but happily received no damage.

Such was the condition of the lowest of the lower orders in England. It was the barbarism of the earliest ages not refined and elevated by its virtues, but, on the contrary, debased and sunk deeper down by its vices—so utterly left behind in the general progress, that their retrieval seemed impossible, or not worth attempting. Philanthropy would not venture among such dangerous outcasts, and even the church had left them to their own devices. But this non-intervention could not have been continued with impunity, and in our large cities, these festering masses were certain to become the sources of a dangerous moral fever and pestilence, that would have spread beyond their own circle to the classes that had despised and rejected them. Even among these pariahs of the community, however, the devoted missionaries of Methodism were at work; and the agencies which had been established by the admirable organization of Wesley and his successors, had broken through the hitherto impregnable fence, and commenced the work of reformation. For these zealous apostles no locality was too obscure, no ignorance too complete, no guilt too atrocious to deter them from the attempt; and their example, as well as their success, roused the emulation of other dissenting bodies, and finally of the church also. And of all these modes of religious and moral teaching which were brought to bear upon the ignorant and vicious towards the close of this century, none seem to have been so efficacious as Sunday schools, by which the young, who had none to counsel or restrain them, were arrested at the outset, and brought within the influence of the only teaching that could reclaim them, and make them fit members of a Christian and civilized community. Of these institutions, the following short notice, so early as 1791, is given by Madame d'Arblay:—"The name of Mrs. Trimmer led us to the Sunday schools and schools of industry. They are both in a very flourishing state at Bath, and Lady Spencer has taken one school under her own immediate patronage. On Sunday she sent me a message upstairs to say she would take me to the Sunday school if I felt well enough to desire it. . . . It was a most interesting sight: such a number of poor innocent children all put in a way of right, most taken immediately from every kind of wrong, lifting up their little hands to heaven, and joining in those prayers for mercy and grace, which, even if they understood not, must at least impress them with a general idea of religion—a dread of evil, and a love of good." The other cities, and especially London, could exhibit the same attractive picture, where persons distinguished by intelligence and rank did not deem themselves too elevated to devote themselves to the instruction

of the outcast and the poor. It was one of the most striking attestations of the fact, that a great moral reformation had commenced, in the benefits of which every class were to be partakers.

From the account which we have given of the state of society at this period, the necessity of emigration will be easily inferred. Notwithstanding the growing wealth and prosperity of the country, there was a large portion of the lowest classes, whose numbers continued to multiply with the increasing wealth, and whose doom seemed to be that of hopeless, incurable poverty. There were many whose sluggish industry needed the stimulus of change, and who could not commence a better career except in a new country. There were many, too, whom the mere love of enterprise, and impatience of the established state of things, were enough to drive into new regions, either as soldiers, merchants, or colonists. In this way, India and America had borne off large draughts of our population annually, by whom the former was conquered and the latter colonized. The valuable acquisition of Canada was of importance, especially to the Highlanders of Scotland, who, in the destitution of their own bleak mountains, and the establishment of sheep-farming by their landlords, had no remedy but emigration, and who found in the transatlantic province a country and climate to which they were best adapted. The great stream of British emigration continued, in this manner, to flow westward previous to the commencement of the American war of independence, by which it was materially interrupted until the return of peace, when, like a volume of gathered waters whose barrier has been withdrawn, it rushed with double violence into its old channel. Of the nature and amount of this renewed emigration, an estimate may be formed by that from the Highlands alone. In the year 1802 not less than eight vessels, carrying 3300 Highland emigrants, sailed from Scotland to America; but of these only one vessel went to the territory of the United States, the rest being bound for the Canadas. The new republic, indeed, by the erection of a government of its own, the rancours which the late war had created, and various other causes both social and political, had ceased to present such inducements to emigration from the mother country as before; but even already new outlets had been preparing to regions as rich as those of America, and for the creation of new colonies which might in time become as great and as powerful. In a happy hour, whether anticipating such an event or not, the British government had turned its attention to other fields of occupation; and in Cook, the celebrated navigator, they found the person best fitted to discover and explore them.

James Cook, a man of humble origin (his father being day-labourer to a farmer), with no better prospects than the life of a peasant, and no better education than that of a village day-school, had been removed at the age of seventeen to a popu-



CAPTAIN COOK — From the picture by N. Davice

lous village near Whitby, as apprentice to a shop-keeper; but at the sight of the sea, his latent enthusiasm was awakened into full life, and the choice of his future career confirmed: he would be a sailor, and that, too, not for warlike fame or gain, but that he might discover new lands, and be the Columbus of his own day. With this view, he studied both the practice and the science of navigation, until his proficiency raised him to the rank of captain, and introduced him to the notice of government, by whom, after various appointments, he was commissioned to explore the Pacific Ocean, and extend the discoveries which had already been made in that quarter. On the 26th of August, 1768, he set sail from Plymouth, in the *Endeavour*, a small ship of 370 tons that had been armed and fitted for the occasion; and during the course of a long three years' voyage, he explored successively Tahiti, the adjacent group called the Society Islands, New Zealand, and New Holland, now better known as Australia. Such being the success of this first voyage, he was sent out upon a second in 1772; and upon this occasion, he minutely and accurately surveyed those islands which were afterwards to be comprised under our great Australasian empire. Among these discoveries was the fact he established, that New Holland was not part of a southern continent, as had been hitherto imagined, but an island. He also signalized this voyage by a careful exploration of the New Hebrides, hitherto imperfectly known; and discovered New Caledonia. In 1776 he was appointed to make a third voyage,

to settle an important question still in doubt, namely, whether there existed, or could be established, an easy and safe communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans by a high northern latitude; and of this, his researches established the fact, that it was utterly impracticable. In this voyage, he also discovered the group of islands called Hawaii, in the Pacific Ocean; but in one of these called Karakakooa, he unfortunately lost his life in a quarrel with the natives. But he had done all, or nearly all that could be effected, in the exploration of the many islands of the Pacific, and little remained for his countrymen but to enter and take peaceful possession.

And this was soon done, although in a somewhat unusual fashion. New Holland, although by far the most important of all these islands, had hitherto been disregarded both by the Dutch, who discovered it in the seventeenth century, and the Spaniards, who subsequently became acquainted with it, owing to the unfavourable appearance of the greater part of its coast. But after this vast island had been better understood by the examinations of Dampier, and especially of Captain Cook, the British government resolved to convert it into a penal or convict settlement. For many years, Britain had been accustomed to transport to the American plantations that part of her felons whose crimes were not worthy of death, but too great to be expiated by imprisonment; but the revolt of the colonies, and their separation from the mother country, made these, as a place for transportation, no longer available. The coast of Africa was then thought of as a substitute, but this plan was abandoned in favour of the eastern shore of New South Wales, as being a more eligible place of punishment and durance for our convicts. Thither accordingly, in 1787, a fleet of eleven sail, protected by a frigate and armed tender, and having on board 565 male and 192 female convicts, 200 soldiers, and several of their wives and children, were sent from Portsmouth, with Captain Arthur Philip of the royal navy as governor of the new colony; and after a voyage of eight months, they arrived at Botany Bay, the place of their destination. This place of settlement, however, was soon abandoned for the splendid inlet of Port Jackson, on the shore of which a rude encampment of huts was erected, afterwards distinguished as Sydney, the capital of the colony. But most unpromising was the struggle which it had to endure for years, in consequence of the sterility of the soil, the profligacy of the convicts, and their quarrels with the natives, which were attended with frequent bloodshed. But notwithstanding these obstacles, and a three years' famine, in which the whole population was

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nearly starved, and the arrival of fresh convict ships, that only doubled the prevalent iniquity and misrule, this strange nondescript community grew into regular form and order, and thrrove amazingly, so that at the commencement of 1800 the population amounted to 6000 souls, having 7677 acres under cultivation, and possessing a live stock of 203 horses and mares, 1044 cattle, 1024 sheep, 2182 goats, and 4017 hogs.

While the present period produced such a navigator as Cook, by whose enterprise the range of nautical discovery was enlarged, and new homes opened for British emigration and colonies, it was also distinguished by the discoveries of two adventurous travellers, Bruce and Park, whose researches were directed into a different sphere. This was the interior of Africa, that region of mystery and terror, over which a veil of darkness still hung, but which was sufficient on that account to invite the bold intelligent spirits of our country, whom the stir of the latter part of the eighteenth century had inspired with a new life. James Bruce of Kinnaird, descended from a heroic race of which Scotland is justly proud, independently of his great personal and intellectual advantages, which fitted him for the life of a traveller, possessed that restlessness of disposition and daring love of adventure, which was enough to impel him into strange regions as yet unknown to civilized men. Already he had travelled much in Europe, Asia, and Africa: but this was not enough; he was anxious to explore Abyssinia, the half-mythic kingdom of Prester John, about which so many fables had for centuries been rife in Europe, and to trace to its hidden source the commencement of the Nile, "which had baffled the genius, industry, and inquiry of both ancients and moderns for the course of near three thousand years."¹ He accordingly repaired to Egypt in 1768, and after nearly a year of travelling, crossed the border of Abyssinia, and was welcomed by the sovereign, who, to insure the stranger's safety, invested him with a court appointment similar to that of a British lord of the bed-chamber. This opportunity brought him into close acquaintanceship both with the country and people; and amidst his erratic movements and hair's-breadth escapes, Bruce never lost sight of the purpose of his journey, but was careful to mark everything worthy of notice in Abyssinia. He was thus also enabled to penetrate the wild upper regions of the country, and see with his own eyes the source of the Nile, that prime object of his ambition, which he approached with the devout awe and reverence of a pilgrim. Having accomplished his purpose, it was time to return to Europe and announce his discoveries; but for thirteen months his journey

¹ Bruce's Travels.

was delayed by the civil wars of the country, in which, as an Abyssinian noble and officer, he was obliged to take a part. His return was by land through the great deserts of Nubia into Egypt, and in this route his life was constantly endangered, not only by the barbarous chieftains of Nubia, but the withering simooms and moving sand-pillars of the desert, so that eleven months elapsed, after his departure from the Abyssinian capital, before he reached the cataracts of the Nile.

On his arrival in England he announced the incidents of his journey and the wonders he had seen; but these were so different from every preconceived European opinion, and so peculiar to the wild countries and tribes which he had visited, that he was forthwith set down as a traveller of the school of Fernand Mendez Pinto, and a braggadocio to boot—one who had seen marvels that never existed, and performed exploits that had never been achieved—and by these evil surmises, with which his labours were ungenerously requited, his life was embittered to the close. But a more matured knowledge—the fruit of succeeding explorations to which he opened the way—has confirmed the statements of Bruce, and his name is now respected as one of the most veracious as well as intelligent and intrepid travellers which Britain has produced. As yet little practical use has been made of his discoveries, except to settle a British resident for mercantile purposes at the court of Abyssinia; but through this hold, when the opportunity arrives, an advance may be effected into Central Africa, and the benefits of civilization imparted to those wild races which have hitherto been inaccessible to Europe.

The other African traveller we have mentioned, —Mungo Park—was born at Fowlshields, in Selkirkshire, in 1771. It is worthy of notice, that the sphere of exploration which these two selected—by far the most difficult, dangerous, and fatal that has ever yet been tried in the history of travel—has mainly fallen to the Scots, as if it had been a natural inheritance. May we not trace in this their choice, the promptings of that love of wandering which carries them everywhere, combined with that courage which nothing can daunt, and that perseverance which knows not how to yield? Intended for the church, but preferring the profession of a surgeon, the early studies of Park qualified him for that life of African travel, into which his whole powers and acquirements were afterwards thrown. At an early age, his botanical and ichthyological discoveries made in the island of Sumatra, while surgeon on board the *Worcester* East Indiaman, recommended him to the "Association for the Promotion of Discovery through the Interior of

Africa," by whom, in 1793, he was sent out on an expedition, to explore the course of the Niger from its rise to its termination; and procure information about the great central city of Timbuctoo, at that time only known in Europe by name. Upon this route so unknown and so full of danger, he set out from a British factory established at Pisania, in the kingdom of Yam, with only five negro attendants and a negro boy, a horse for himself, two asses for his servants, and only two days' provisions; while the whole equipments for the expedition, that would extend to an indefinite period, were such as would scarcely have sufficed for an ordinary week's journey. Thus slightly furnished, he plunged into an enterprise in which a whole army might have been lost; and through dangers in which his life was daily imperilled, and in which he was successively robbed of all he possessed except a pocket-compass, he reached the Niger at the capital of Bambarra, and prosecuted the course of the river until, through sheer destitution, he was compelled to pause and retrace his steps. After his return to Britain, he settled at Peebles as a surgeon; but his thoughts were still of the Niger, and his constant wish was to renew the half-accomplished enterprise, notwithstanding the dangers and frightful sufferings he had endured in his first attempt. His ambition was gratified; and in the beginning of 1806 he left Britain for Pisania, from which he once more commenced his inland route, confident of success, and furnished with every means that might insure it. Through perils almost equal to those he had formerly experienced, he again reached the Niger at the capital of Bambarra, and launched upon the river in a small schooner which he had constructed—after which he never returned. It was certain that he had perished—but where or how? Years elapsed before it was ascertained that he had been drowned in the Niger, near the village of Boussa, in attempting to escape from an ambush of the natives which the king of the country had sent to murder him. Thus was Mungo Park cut short in his adventurous career in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

In directing our attention to the progress of the fine arts during this period of promise, we begin with architecture. The increase of wealth which had been going onward, occasioning the multiplication of public buildings, and the improvement of private mansions, was certain to produce a change in the national architecture, either for good or evil. This was the case so early as the reign of George II., when a new school arose, under the patronage and direction of the Earl of Burlington, the chief characteristic of which was, a dislike of the stately, massive, comfortable erections of Inigo Jones, Wren, and

Vanbrugh, and desire to supersede these qualities which had now become the chief distinctions of British architecture, by the lighter graces of the Italian school. It was a rash disregard of the necessities of our climate; and their choice was not amended by their feeble imitations of Palladio. Many doors in contracted spaces, chimneys between windows, and windows between chimneys—vestibules that were shelters for damps, and pillars where there was little or nothing to support—these, however pleasing to the eye from without, were but little adapted to the comforts of those within, who were exposed to every change of temperature. Such was the architectural school that predominated at the accession of George III., and which was continued until 1771. But while this was the case with the mansions of the nobility, where the principal floor was raised on a basement nearly one-third of the building in height, and where this elevation, giving an exposed front to the weather, was ascended by some twenty steps, unless the visitor had the humility to enter by a door that was placed under them—a more comfortable style was introduced into our villa architecture, chiefly owing to Sir Robert Taylor, who combined in these buildings the graces of the Italian school, with adaptations which were necessary for such a climate as that of England. Of the public buildings of this period, the chief were Blackfriars' Bridge, commenced in 1760, and completed in eight years, a noble monument of the classical taste and skill of its architect, Robert Mylne; the extension of the Bank of England, by Taylor, the father of English villas; and Somerset House, the work of Sir William Chambers, which was commenced in 1776. Already, also, the chief improvements in London, by the opening of streets and improvement of public ways, which were continued throughout this period, were for the most part devised and suggested by John Gwynn in 1766, in his publication of *London and Westminster Improved*.

From architecture we pass to painting, which, at the commencement of the present period, was assuming in Britain a distinct national characteristic. The homely but strong example of Hogarth had not been without effect: it showed that there were native incidents and objects worth delineating, as well as native talent capable of the task. This new feeling was confirmed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, a great artist wholly English, who was born at Plympton in 1723, studied the art in his own country, and after a three years' visit to Rome, where he matured the graces of his own originality by the examples of the great masters, he returned to England in 1752, and startled the critics by his independence of established example and the Sir Godfrey

Kneller school. He commenced his career by the painting of portraits, which were real living men and women in their natural bearing and appropriate costume, instead of gods and antique



SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.—After a picture by himself

heroes, wood-nymphs and shepherdesses; while the intrinsic merits of his delineations—their sunny, idealized brightness, combined with substantial earthly truthfulness and reality, bore down the opposition which at first surrounded him, and compelled an universal acquiescence and admiration. Neither did they forget, nor did he too forget, that he was an Englishman—

"When they talk'd of their Raffaeles, Corregios, and stuff,
He shifted his trumpet and only took snuff."

His portraits were acknowledged to possess the simplicity of Titian, the vigour of Rembrandt, and the elegance and delicacy of Vandyke, while they were essentially of native character as well as native growth. And of the highest importance was the power they exercised, and the spirit they impressed upon the character of the age. "The influence of Reynolds," as Allan Cunningham has justly observed, "on the taste and elegance of the island was great, and will be lasting. The grace and ease of his compositions were a lesson for the living to study, while the simplicity of his dresses admonished the giddy and the gay against the hideousness of fashion. His works diffused a love of elegance, and united with poetry in softening the asperities of nature, in extending our views, and in connecting us with the spirits of the time. His cold stateliness of character, and his honourable pride of art, gave dignity to his profession; the rich and the far-descended were pleased to be painted by a gentleman as well as a genius." "In portrait-painting," says Burke, the friend of the great artist, "Reynolds

¹ Goldsmith. Sir Joshua was deaf, and used an ear trumpet.

does not appear to be raised on that platform, but to descend upon it from a higher sphere."

Next in reputation to Sir Joshua Reynolds as a painter (although that reputation, while he lived, was overrated), was Sir Benjamin West, whose origin gave little promise of an acquisition to the fine arts; for he was born in America, where labour and industry in the common business of life were as yet the qualities of chief account—and of Quaker parents, a community in whose eyes the delineation of anything in heaven, or on earth, or in the waters under the earth, was an abomination, and downright idolatry. But his natural talent exhibited in boyhood was too strong to be suppressed, as well as too remarkable to be overlooked; and he was suffered to follow his own bent, and repair to Italy, the great school of painting, whence, after three years had been spent in successful application, he repaired to England, and there became the rival of Reynolds, and favourite of George III. But it was to historical, not portrait-painting, that West was devoted, and thus the two great rivals had each his own field, which he could occupy without interference. The subjects of West's principal paintings, and even their character, is generally understood from the engravings of them, which have been multiplied without end: but one quality in which his later works are conspicuous is worthy of particular notice. It is their daring fidelity in period, costume, and character, by which they represent the event as it really existed, instead of being a mere allegory of the classical school. He was required to produce a great historical painting on that heroic national subject, the death of General Wolfe, while the heart of the whole community was still throbbing with sorrow at the price which had been paid for the conquest of Canada. In this attempt of the artist even Reynolds advised the classic rule to be adopted, in which the combatants would have to be arrayed in the armour of Homer's heroes, or stripped naked like Roman gladiators—even Barry thus executed a painting of the same subject, and delineated a conflict that would have better suited the Straits of Thermopylæ than the Heights of Abraham. But discarding steel armour, javelins, and Roman togas, and the usual accompaniments of fleeing gods and goddesses—allurements to which his earlier taste had not been insensible—West represented a fight as it had actually happened a few years previously between Englishmen and Frenchmen, dressed in the veritable regimentals of the period, and armed with muskets and bayonets. How startling the innovation was in a painting, where even a modern button would have been an unpardonable blemish, can be surmised—the whole empire of art cried out against a hero dying in coat, breeches, and boots,

with a red Indian, instead of Mars or Victory, looking on. But common sense and truth were mighty, and they prevailed: the same revolution was effected in the historical, which Reynolds had accomplished in portrait painting; and for public characters, as well as great events, fidelity was recognized as the first great requisite, to which ideality was kept in humble subserviency.

But besides the effect of their productions upon the taste of the nation, the influence of Reynolds and West as innovators was chiefly shown in the foundation of the Royal Academy, which took place in 1768. A few years previously, the Society of Artists had attempted to establish an institution of the kind by an annual exhibition of paintings; but professional jealousy and disagreement had defeated their purpose, and the exhibition was discontinued, until the pre-eminence of Reynolds and the court influence of West revived it with every promise of success. Its great aim was the encouragement of native talent, and the creation of a British school of painters; and most fitly was Reynolds elected as its first president, who was also honoured by its royal patron, George III., with knighthood. In the first formation of such a society, the claims of mere mediocrity of talent to the honour of membership could scarcely be overlooked; and thus, many of the names which crowd the original list have scarcely been commemorated sufficiently by intrinsic merit to demand particular attention. A considerable number of the members who were of better account were foreigners, among whom may be specified Francesco Bartolozzi, well known by his excellence as an engraver; Giovanni Baptista Cipriani, the Florentine, whose rich imagination and refined taste were worthy of the city of which he was a native; and Angelica Kauffman, whose sex, romantic misfortunes, and excellence in design and colouring, procured for her a celebrity which the succeeding generation refused to confirm. But those of greatest merit, independent of the two principal founders of the society, were Englishmen; and of these, the first place is due to James Barry, who perhaps would have obtained an emigence equal to the highest, if, like them, he had dared to vindicate truth and nature against established rule and precedent. But his taste was that of the tragic writers who regard common life and everyday reality unworthy of their notice; while his standard, to which he adhered with the devoted enthusiasm of a martyr, was the classical—the gods of Olympus and the heroes of antiquity, which, in the eyes of the eighteenth century, were nothing but names and shadows. In this way his Jupiter and Juno, which would have been worshipped in an Athenian temple, was egregiously out of place on the walls of the

Academy of Somerset House, while his *Venus rising out of the Sea* was but a beautiful woman bathing, and who, it was felt, would have looked better upon *terra firma*. As well might Barry have preached the doctrines of the old Greek and Roman mythology, in the hope to win converts to it among the villages of Kent, or the streets and alleys of London.

In noticing the other academicians of the period, Gainsborough and Wilson, in landscape-painting, deserve a conspicuous place. Both were also portrait-painters of no ordinary excellence, especially the former, and it is in this department that he is now best known and appreciated. The school in which Gainsborough studied was the woods of his native Suffolkshire, of which he caught the inspiration so early, that he became a painter when only twelve years old, and his beloved themes for life were the sylvan scenes, the cottages, and the peasantry of England, which he portrayed with the same force, truth, and imaginativeness which Burns and Bloomfield manifested in poetry. Of Richard Wilson, the aim was of a still loftier kind; for while he devoted his whole powers to the representation of scenery, his six years of study in Italy enabled him to clothe forest and hill, tree and temple, with the bright inspiration of an Italian sky and sunshine. In contrast to this was John Opie, whom Peter Pindar found in a saw-pit, whose genius he detected under the coarse jacket of an artisan, and whom he encouraged by his approval and instructions to become an artist. Opie became a painter both in portrait and history, and although he could never surmount the effects of his early humble life and mechanical calling, he had the good sense to avoid the poetical and ideal for the realities of truth and nature, and was rewarded with the reputation of being inferior to few of his contemporaries, at least in truth, force, and originality.

The establishment of the Royal Academy, and the distinction of its two first presidents, Reynolds and West, were certain to evoke a whole host of artists either as their imitators or rivals, a brief enumeration of whom would overflow our limits. From these we must therefore content ourselves with a selection of the most distinguished. In front of them was George Romney, a native of Westmoreland, who studied at Rome, and on returning to London in 1775, became the most formidable of all the competitors of Sir Joshua Reynolds, whom for a time he almost eclipsed. But exquisite though his productions are, his patience and application were not equal to the ardour and originality of his genius; and hence so many of his pieces were either unfinished, or completed so hastily as to detract from their unquestionable merits. Another eminent

artist of the period was Allan Ramsay, eldest son of the Scottish poet of that name, who, after studying in Italy, became so highly distinguished in England by his portraits, that in 1767 he was appointed portrait-painter to the king and queen. He, too, was so popular in his day, that he for a time obscured the renown of Reynolds, and obtained the high distinction of being called the "Scottish Vandyke." But his was a divided affection, in which the love of art was counter-balanced by attachment to literary and political studies; and his professional career was prematurely stopped by an injury in his right arm, which obliged him to abandon painting. Nor in this list of British artists must the name of John Singleton Copley be omitted, although like West he was an American, having been born at Boston (Massachusetts) in 1737, and who settled in England in 1775. His subjects were illustrative of British history, and of these, the best known are the Death of the Earl of Chatham, and the Death of Major Pearson. Paul Sandby is also worthy of notice, not merely as an eminent artist, but the founder of the water-colour school of painting—a new department of the art, which had hitherto been unknown or despised. Other artists of equal distinction succeeded before the close of the present period, whose names, however, may be deferred to the next. For the present, we may close the list with George Morland, that irregular, eccentric genius, who was too impatient to study in any school, and too careless to attain the very highest excellence, which he might have won in his own department. His darling subjects were the humblest objects of rural life; but even these he could invest with interest and artistic beauty, so that at the magic touch of his pencil, the pig-sty became a palace, and the thatched hovel a home for Jove. His gipsy's ass is a creature that has supped up the east wind; his pigs are so sleek and glossy, so intelligent and happy, that ladies might fondle them instead of lap-dogs; even his dunghills have a pouncet-box richness, that gives them a sweet savour in the nostrils of the daintiest criticism. Such were the wondrous talents of Morland—or such at least they were considered till within these few years—who, after a reckless life of dissuatory application, died in 1804, at the premature age of forty, through the effects of dissipation and intemperance.

While the present period was thus so successful in the production of a native school of painting, the same may be said of the sculpture of England, which hitherto, such as it was, had been under the direction of foreign artists. The impulse, indeed, that had been given to the sister art, was certain to act upon sculpture also. The earliest in this department, who was wholly an

Englishman, was Joseph Wilton, one of the founders of the Royal Academy, who, after studying at Paris and Rome, returned to England in 1755, and was first brought into notice by obtaining the appointment of state-coach carver to the king, in which capacity he ornamented the glittering four-wheeled pageantry in which royalty is conveyed to parliament. But, unfortunately, his bias was classical and French, and the public monuments which he executed were a strange jumble, in which men who had lived in the eighteenth century were clothed in Roman costume, or brightened with saintly halos, and surrounded by seraphs, cherubs, and celestial clouds and glories. Another academician was William Tyler, a less daring, but also inferior artist, whose chief production is the monument of General Lawrence in Westminster Abbey. These sculptors, however, were nothing more than the commencement of an era, the first promise of an excellence which their successors were destined to attain. They were succeeded by Banks, Nollekens, and Bacon, who were the precursors of artists more eminent still, but whose merits are worthy of more than a passing notice.

Thomas Banks, born in 1735, indicated such early excellence as a sculptor, that his productions attracted the notice of the Royal Academy as soon as it was formed; and under its patronage and at its expense he was sent to Italy, where he studied the productions of the Greek masters, until he was wholly pervaded both with their excellences and defects. The first of these he manifested in the statue of Achilles and the Falling Giant, in which the ancient heroic forms were revived with a fidelity and power worthy of the days of Phidias; the second, by such a servile adherence to the rules of the antique, that, rather than delineate modern heroism in its own costume, he stripped its heroes to the skin, and gave them Wisdom, Valour, Genius, or Victory for their assistants or attendants. Such was still the bondage which pervaded this department of art, and from which it was not wholly emancipated even so late as when Wyatt dared to represent the pig-tail of George III. in the well-known equestrian statue. But Banks, with all his superior excellence, had neither sufficient courage nor invention to break through the conventional rule; while his own age had not sufficient taste to appreciate his productions, which would have raised him to high renown in the country and the days of Pericles. It was not, therefore, until he had departed from the world that his worth was appreciated at its full value. As for Joseph Nollekens, who was born in 1737, and whose long life was extended to 1823, he was so unrivalled in portrait-sculpture that his busts rivalled the portraits of Sir Joshua Reynolds in artistic genius,

gracefulness, and fidelity. It was in the last quality, however, that he excelled, and for which he was at all times ready to sacrifice the temptations of idealism. The same quality exists in his



BANKS' STATUE OF THE FALLING GIANT.

monuments, where he represented real personages as they veritably appeared, and mythic characters as he found them, while he imparted to them such a grace and beauty as his predecessors had been unable to attain. His chief defect, indeed, was that want of poetical power, through the possession of which he might have broke through established rule, and imparted a higher charm to the truthful and real which he was so well fitted to delineate. Lower in the scale of excellence than Banks and Nollekens, although of distinguished merit as a sculptor, was John Bacon, who, by the unaided power of his own genius, forced his way to excellence and distinction. His productions in early youth were images for a pottery, and consisted of shepherds and shepherdesses in porcelain; but he advanced step by step in the study of sculpture, until he obtained for his attempts a premium from the Society of Arts, and subsequently the prize of the first gold medal from the Royal Academy. On entering into public and professional life, he was employed to execute a bust of the king; its merits, and the royal patronage which rewarded it, brought him into notice and full occupation; and having thus learned wherein his excellence lay, he persevered in the track which conducted him to fame and fortune. This pursuit of the profitable, instead of a self-denying devotedness to posthumous fame, continued with him to the end; and contented

with the limits which he had marked to his aspirations, all his works were not only well executed, but crowned with approbation and success. On this account, his busts, and especially his full-length statues, in which the living man was to be copied, are superior to his monuments, in which allegorical personages, according to the prevalent taste, had to be mixed with human actors. His chief work of the latter kind is the monument of the Earl of Chatham in Guildhall.¹ Flaxman, by far the greatest sculptor of them all, was already at work in his studio; but a particular notice of him more properly belongs to the succeeding period.

It was not merely, however, to the studio of the artist that the cultivation of the fine arts was confined, nor to marble, stone, and canvas that their productions were limited. The imaginative spirit that was growing to such maturity, and spreading abroad its wings for still higher flights, could also condescend to visit the mechanical work-rooms of the potteries, and sit down at their furnace hearths. It indeed was right and reasonable, as well as a matter to be expected, that amidst this growing improvement, the arts should vouchsafe to throw their charm over the comforts of domestic life, as had been their office of old in Greece and Etruria, where men drank out of something better than unshapely vessels of mere vulgar clay. In England, accordingly, finer kinds of earth and better modes of glazing had already been introduced into our stoneware manufactories, although neither in form nor colour their productions had as yet been improved. This result was reserved for Josiah Wedgwood, who, in 1763, produced a new kind of cream-coloured ware of superior texture and durability. From the royal patronage which it obtained, it was distinguished by the name of the queen's ware; and so great was its superiority to that of the Continent, that England was no longer dependent upon France and Holland, as she had hitherto been, for the better kind of her earthenware and porcelain. These countries, indeed, and even Europe at large, soon became customers for this new manufacture of Wedgwood, which they termed English ware. While Wedgwood thus improved the mere material, he introduced still more important improvements into its forms and colouring by a careful study of the antique, through which he converted homely jugs and pitchers into classical Etruscan urns, and Greek poetical amphoræ. Nor was this all, for he moulded the refined attempered clay into the medallion, cameo, and statuesque ornaments of these vessels, and finally discovered the long lost art of painting upon them, as if their surfaces had been of paper or canvas,

so that there was not a vessel of ancient workmanship, however exquisite, whose exact likeness he could not produce. To this pottery-painting nothing but pottery-engraving was needed, to bring such improved ware within the means of the common people; and this was accomplished about the same period by Mr. Carter, an engraver in Liverpool, who invented the art of stamping with engraved copperplates upon the pottery. This process, from its colour, was called black printing; and the first tea-service with this improvement is said to have been made in 1767. In a few years afterwards, blue printing succeeded, by which the black was superseded.

With regard to engraving, which holds the same relation to the fine arts that printing does to literature, it was impossible that such popular painters as Reynolds, West, and their successors should arise, without creating a demand for copies of their productions; and line-engravers accordingly were created in abundance by the want that called them into exercise. Among these, especially, was Willam Woollet, the engraver of landscape and historical painting, and Sir Robert Strange, a native of Orkney, who attained the highest style of his art, in his engravings of the productions of the great Italian masters. Besides these, was John Browne, the pupil and assistant of Woollet, and William Byrne, the engraver of subjects of antiquarianism and topography. There were also Thomas Major, engraver to George III., whose chief productions were engravings from the works of the Dutch and Flemish painters; and Joseph Strutt, the illustrator of English antiquarianism. A whole host succeeded, whose names and whose excellences in their different styles of engraving would occupy too much space to particularize. But it was soon found not enough to produce large faithful transcripts of the paintings of eminent artists; books had also to be illustrated with numerous engravings, and the facilities of the art multiplied to produce impressions by the thousand; and hence, while engravers were obliged to assume the independence of artists, their productions have been multiplied during our own day by the substitution of steel for copper engraving, to meet the growing demand for splendid books and an illustrated literature. The same spirit not only multiplied the resources of the old, but recalled to life the long neglected style of engraving on wood, which had commenced almost as early as printing, but which contented itself with coarse productions and the fantastic ornaments of title-pages. But it did not keep pace with the improvement of printing; on the contrary, it continued to degenerate, until its productions were found to disfigure rather than to ornament a well-printed book; so that the practice

¹ See an engraving of the figure in Bacon's monument of Chatham in Westminster Abbey, vol. iii. p. 501.

of engraving on wood had been for some time abandoned, when Bewick came forward not only to restore it, but also to raise it to a high place among the fine arts. Thomas Bewick was born at Chersey Burn, near Newcastle, in 1753; and, before he emerged to artistic distinction, is said to have worked, when a boy, occasionally in a coal-pit. Being apprenticed to an engraver in Newcastle, he acquired the manual rudiments of his future occupation by engraving door-plates and occasionally pictures for books, until at last he was employed to cut diagrams on wood for Hutton's *Treatise on Mensuration*. The success with which he executed this commission, encouraged him to devote his attention to wood-engraving, and a premium from the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, for his woodcut illustration of the fable of the Huntsman and Old Hound decided his future choice. Having taught the art to his younger brother John, the two became in Newcastle the restorers of a revived style of engraving, whose excellence arrested general attention, and produced a host of imitators. This effect was chiefly owing to the publication of the *Natural History of Quadrupeds*, in which the masterly illustrations of Thomas Bewick exhibited the highest delicacy of manual excellence, combined with independent artistic genius. His publication, of even superior attraction, on *British Birds*, a work too popular to require description, was the crowning production of Thomas Bewick; and at the close of this period, engraving on wood may be said to have rivalled the best productions on steel and copper, and to have established itself as an important requisite in the illustrated literature of the nineteenth century.

The intellectual spirit of the age that pervaded every department of art and science alike, and the musical predilections of George III., which he inherited from his German descent, were not likely to suffer music to be neglected amidst the general stir and revival. Much, indeed, had been done in the two preceding reigns for the improvement of the national taste in this department; and sacred music in particular, at the accession of the third George, was considered to have reached its highest style of excellence. This was especially the case in the cathedral music, although the composers of anthems which the present period produced did not fall short of their predecessors. Among these may be mentioned the names of Kent, Nares, and Hayes, Dupuis, Arnold, and the Earl of Mornington. In the oratorio, that species of sacred drama which Handel had naturalized in Britain, and where the powers and resources of music were manifested in their highest state of development, that great master was still alone and without a follower; but the excellence of his

sublime productions in this department seemed enough of itself, and the public would as soon have thought of craving for another Milton or another Shakspeare, as for another Handel. In the music of the opera, that of Italy had fallen into abeyance for the time; but this was the less to be regretted, as the English opera had risen in its room, and afforded full scope for native musical composers, the chief of whom were Arne, Linley, Dibdin, Arnold, Shield, and Storace. But independently of the cathedral and the theatre, there were musical associations established for the improvement of the art, and its naturalization in an English home. Such was the Catch Club, an association of English noblemen and gentlemen established in 1761, by which the public taste was improved, and the glee, a species of song-music entirely native, was modelled anew, if not wholly invented. Another was the Concert of Ancient Music, which had for its aim the preservation of the works of the old masters, and the ancient national melodies, which were in danger of being lost amidst the ardour of modern progress. This last society originated that splendid series of fine concerts, under the name of the "commemoration of Handel," which met in the months of May and June, 1784, in the nave of Westminster Abbey, under the royal patronage and presence, and where the productions of Handel exclusively were given by 513 performers. These great meetings, which were national assemblages of all the rank, influence, and musical taste of Britain, and by which an impulse to the cultivation of sacred music was diffused throughout every part of England, were continued for several years, and with a chorus that at last nearly doubled its original numbers, until the frightful discords of the French revolution called its patrons away to more urgent and very different occupations. But their example was not lost in the provinces, as was shown by the second triennial musical festival of Birmingham in 1784, and still more by that of 1802. These were followed by concerts provincial, civic, and social, under every kind of patronage and for every grade of rank, which, commencing towards the close of the present period, were more fully manifested in the following. Music having thus grown into importance, soon found its historians; and in 1776, the *General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, by Sir John Hawkins, was published in five quarto volumes. This was succeeded in 1789 by the more popular though inferior work, *A General History of Music*, by Charles Burney, Mus. Doc., F.R.S., in four volumes quarto. Fifty years earlier such works would not have been published, or at all events would not have found readers, but they were now received with welcome, and studied with wide-spread attention.

In the researches of science the present period did not yield to its predecessors; but instead of dealing in theories and abstractions, these investigations aimed at the practical, and had reference to the business of everyday life. On this account, if they possessed more real utility, they had less show and learned pretension than many investigations of far inferior importance. Thus, the voyages of Captain Cook, which were fitted out by government, were made not for the gratification of mere scientific curiosity, but the discovery of islands to be colonized, and astronomical observations of the transit of Venus in the Pacific for the improvement of navigation. In these successful enterprises, the name of Sir Joseph Banks will always be connected with



SIR JOSEPH BANKS, P R S.—From a print by Schiavonetti, after the picture by T. Phillips, R. A.

that of Captain Cook, as the companion of the great navigator's first voyage, and practical improver of some of his best discoveries. He was born in London in 1743, and devoted himself to the natural sciences, especially that of botany, which he pursued with such ardour and success, that his wish to join Cook's expedition was granted by government with hearty cordiality. He prevailed upon Dr. Solander, a distinguished pupil of Linneus, to accompany him, and thus few of the useful productions of the South Sea Islands were likely to elude their search; he also engaged a staff of draughtsmen and painters to delineate such objects as could not be easily transported. The result was, that after the three years' voyage, Sir Joseph Banks brought home a splendid collection of specimens from Tahiti, New Zealand, and Australia, the use of which he was anxious to impart to society and the world at large. In this way, while he planted in these

islands the seeds of Europe, he brought with him their own in return; and some of the most beautiful plants which adorn our gardens and shrubberies—the sugar-cane of Tahiti, which was transplanted into some of our colonies—the breadfruit tree, which was introduced into the tropical regions of America—and the *Phormium tenax*, or flax of New Zealand, were among the substantial benefits discovered and diffused over the habitable globe by his scientific zeal and large-hearted philanthropy. Being disappointed in his hopes of accompanying Captain Cook on his second voyage, Sir Joseph equipped a vessel at his own expense, and, accompanied by several skilful naturalists, made a voyage to Iceland in 1772, where for two months he explored that region of living volcanoes and eternal snows, and returned with valuable specimens of its productions. The rest of the life of Sir Joseph Banks was spent at home in scientific investigations, which, with his previous communications, occupy a large space in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of London*; and of this important institute he was elected president in 1778, while he had the title of baronet conferred on him in 1781.

An important discovery of this period in the science of medicine, by which not only health and beauty have been preserved, but thousands and myriads of lives annually saved, has immortalized the name of Dr. Jenner, which, but for this, might have passed away with those silent benefactors of their species who demand little notice while they live, and leave no permanent record by which to be remembered. After the small pox had continued to be the felliest destroyer of life in Europe from the time of the Crusades, at which it had been introduced, till the eighteenth century, the practice of inoculation was introduced from Turkey into England in 1721, chiefly through the exertions of the celebrated lady Mary Wortley Montagu. But the popular and religious outcry raised against such a mode of cure, its severe nature and alleged uncertainty, and the tedious expensive process it required, made it unwelcome to the rich and inaccessible to the poor, so that multitudes preferred the risk of the disease itself, to the painful certainties of inoculation. Accordingly, even where the practice was adopted, it only tended to spread the contagion over the many who neglected it, as was shown by a report presented on the subject to a committee of the House of Commons. From this it appeared, that while for fifty-five years before the introduction of inoculation, the proportion of deaths from small-pox was as 72 in 1000, it had risen during the thirty years afterwards, so that the deaths were as 95 in 1000. While the great Asiatic remedy was thus becoming an European failure, the thoughtful mind

of Dr. Edward Jenner received the intimation of a simple local rumour as the groundwork of a glorious and most important discovery. He found that in Gloucestershire, where he resided, a popular belief existed, that workers in the dairy who were infected with matter from the sores on the udder of the cow, were ever after secured



DR. EDWARD JENNER.—From a print by Sculven, after a coloured plate by J. R. Smith.

from the contagion of small-pox. And what connection could there be between the disease and a cow's udder? It looked like the detection of a thief by the revolution of the sieve and shears, or the counteraction of a witch's malevolence by nailing a horse-shoe on the door. But Jenner pondered upon the report, and then tested it by actual experiment. On the 14th of May, 1796, he took matter from the sore on the hand of a dairymaid who had caught the infection from the udders of her master's cows, and applied it in two gentle incisions to the arm of a boy. The usual slight effects of ordinary vaccination followed during nine days, but on the tenth the boy was well again. Having thus tried the gentleness and safety of the application, Dr. Jenner next proceeded to make proof of its efficacy as a remedy: he on the 1st of July inoculated the boy with small-pox matter, but no disease followed; he repeated the experiment some months afterwards, and the same result was obtained. Many similar trials were subsequently made on other persons, but in every case the effect was the same, showing that the matter of cow-pox effectually guarded from the infection of small-pox, and was itself a very easy and harmless form of the disease, giving no more trouble than a common sore. These important results obtained by Jenner were hailed with triumph, but mixed also with doubt: such a blessing was thought too

great to be obtained from a cause apparently so insignificant and even ridiculous; but the trials made by others only verified the conclusion, and showed that the healing principle was more widely diffused than was at first supposed, being also found in the heels of horses, when affected with the tumour known under the name of *grease*. Thus vaccination (so called from *vacca*, a cow), was fully established, and generally used in England, and was soon after adopted in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, Turkey, the British colonies, and the United States of America. When we remember that in England there were 35,000 deaths annually from small-pox alone, before the practice of vaccinating was introduced, and that the mortality was equally great in other countries of Europe, we can then estimate the value of the discovery which we owe to the experiments of Dr. Jenner.

In passing from the fine arts and science to literature, the subject during this period becomes of such amplitude, and of so diversified a nature, that to each department nothing more than a brief notice can be afforded. In a record of the authorship of this prolific period, the first place is due to those ethical writers, who were inspired by the improving spirit of the age, and who placed themselves in the front rank of its progress and direction. And here, the highest place is due to Samuel Johnson, who, in himself, was a sort of living impersonation of that progress. He was born in 1709, and died in 1784. His first public attempt in authorship was as a poet; and in his "London," and the "Vanity of Human Wishes," he showed that he only needed a less universal mind to become one of the most eminent of British poets. But his wondrous powers needed a wider field of action, and the failure of his tragedy of "Irene" seems to have disinclined him to any further attempt in the poetical department. During the rest of his long life of authorship, he produced the *Rambler* and *Idler*, which established his reputation as one of our best moral essayists; his *Rasselas*, a tale whose popular acceptance is still unimpaired; his edition of Shakspeare, in which he showed his acuteness as an annotator; his *Lives of the Poets*, that still continues to be a masterpiece of biographical writing; and his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, where we have the literary Cyclops amusing himself and his hearers with gay flourishes upon his pandean reeds. But all his literary labours were light, compared with his *Dictionary of the English Language*, in which he singly accomplished a task which had usually been the undertaking of a whole academy, and fixed the standard of our national tongue. These which we have enumerated were his principal works; but besides, his indefatigable pen was

employed in translations, political pamphlets, and journals, upon all of which his characteristic power was impressed, and his masterly hand recognized. Even in himself, also, Samuel Johnson



SAMUEL JOHNSON — From a print by Heath, after Reynolds

was a concentration of the noblest and best qualities of the English character, with a few of its defects—a warmth and benevolence of heart, whose occasional overflows were alarmingly volcanic; a firmness of resolve that could harden into dogged obstinacy; and an independence of soul which not only dispensed with aid, but sometimes rejected it with a surly growl or angry defiance. In intellect, his massiveness was clothed with an equally massive style; the armour of Achilles, in which none but himself could move with freedom; but all this was combined with such buoyant wit and facility, and such a graceful flow of imagination, that his conversational powers were as rich, influential, and remarkable as his writings. Happily, too, the best of these winged words and choice apothegms were not allowed to evanesce as soon as they had escaped, but were caught up by his devout worshipper, Boswell, and inscribed in a book, which book, on account of these intrinsic merits alone, is one of the most interesting in the English language. Such was Johnson, who ruled without a rival as the literary dictator of the day, and whose influence has more or less continued to pervade the literature of England to the present hour.

Closely connected with this great name, occurs that of Oliver Goldsmith, whose literary career was similar to that of Samuel Johnson, although his character in many points was a striking contrast. He was born in Ireland in 1728, but

passed the greater part of his life in London, after he had been educated at the universities of Dublin and Edinburgh, and made the tour of the Continent on foot. At his arrival in London in 1758, he attempted to establish himself in practice as a physician, but found his Irish *brogue* such an impediment to his progress, that he betook himself to his pen; and his first production was the *Chinese Letters*, in which the quaint sarcasm and simple, easy, graceful style, were in such striking contrast to his appearance and conversation, as to make critics wonder how such a work could have issued from so unpromising a source. But the production which first brought him into public notice was his *Traveller*, published in 1765, and of which Johnson declared, that there had not been so fine a poem written since the days of Pope. The reputation of the *Traveller* introduced to the press the *Vicar of Wakefield*, a work that had been previously written, but for which he could not find a publisher; and this moral tale, so admirable a sketch of domestic life, and so full of nature, beauty, and quiet humour, soon took the place which it still maintains, as the most finished specimen of this style of novel-writing that has ever been produced. Encouraged by this success, he became a prose writer, and produced a *History of England* in a series of letters, a *History of England* in four volumes, a *History of Rome*, and a *History of Greece*; he also wrote an *Inquiry into the present state of Polite Learning in Europe*, and his *History of the Earth and Animated Nature*. Although these works contained nothing either new or profound, being written by literary contract, and upon the spur of necessity, yet such was the gracefulness and beauty of their composition, that they became universal favourites. He then attempted dramatic writing, for which he showed talents of a high order; but his first comedy, the “Good-natured Man,” had little success. His next production was the poem of the “Deserted Village,” a succession of beautiful and striking pictures, which few poets have equalled; and two years afterwards (1772), he produced his comedy of “She stoops to Conquer,” which was brought out at Covent Garden with complete success. These, irrespective of his incidental writings, were the works of Oliver Goldsmith, who, with his singular felicity of style, was perfectly helpless in conversation, so that, while Johnson, in full company, rolled the tide of his eloquence along with a power and copiousness which none could resist, Oliver either sat silent, or talked imbecility and nonsense, so that he was characterized as

“—our Noll,

Who wrote like an angel, and talked like poor Poll”

Time, however, did full justice to Goldsmith; his merits did not rest upon mere conventional

excellences; and when the magnificent style of Johnson had ceased to be the standard of excellence, the more simple and natural, but equally eloquent and forcible strain of "Goldie," as the giant was wont to call him, became the model of all who aspired to write classical English, and as such has continued to the present day.

In the meantime, the series of weekly papers on morals, politics, literature, and criticism, which commenced with Steele and Addison, had been continued; and the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian* were followed by others that were eager to rush into such an influential tide of public opinion. These works, too, were generally formed of articles written by the most distinguished writers of the time, and from their facilities of circulation they had a powerful, though silent and unnoticed influence upon the character of the reading public. The chief of these were, the *Freethinker*, conducted by Ambrose Philips; the *Museum*, which had the best wits of the day for its contributors; the *Advertiser*, edited by Dr. Hawkesworth; the *World*, the *Connoisseur*; and Johnson's *Rambler* and *Idler*, chiefly written by himself. These had also closed with the reign of George II., and were the precursors of the era that succeeded, and for the improvement of which they had so ably prepared the way. Something more pungent and better fitted to the questions of the day was required than grave, ethical discussions, and critical dissertations; and to supply this want, political journalism commenced with the era of George III. The people were now alive to their rights and ready to maintain them, and this spirit called forth instructors who, right or wrong, were prompt to explain the public grievances, and point out the mode of redress. Such was the origin of *The Briton*, set up by government in 1762, and conducted by Smollett; and such the *North Briton*, its antagonist, under the management of Wilkes, established a few days after. And what reader of English history, however ignorant of the merits of this now forgotten work, can fail to remember No. 45, and the portentous results which this insignificant broadsheet produced? And then succeeded, after a short interval, the *Letters of Junius*, a series far more powerful than the preceding, in which their mysterious and still undiscovered author pointed the way to modern political journalism, and taught its disputants not only how to sharpen, but also to envenom the weapons of their warfare. The newspapers of the day were not slow to catch the prevalent spirit; and their tone, as well as the feelings of their readers, is happily illustrated in the *Vicar of Wakefield*, by the butler who, for the nonce, is playing the character of a country gentleman, in the absence of his master: "I read

all the politics that come out—the *Daily*, the *Public*, the *Ledger*, the *Chronicle*, the *London Evening*, the *Whitehall Evening*, the seventeen magazines and the two reviews; and though they hate each other, I love them all. Liberty, sir, liberty is the Briton's boast, and by all my coal-mines in Cornwall, I reverence its guardians."

But prolific though journalism had now become, something more was needed for the political instruction of society than the rival feuds and fierce declamations of letters, magazines, and newspapers. It was necessary to define and explain those principles for which they were contending, instead of continuing a useless warfare against persons, names, and shadows; and be able to maintain the controversy with substantial arguments, instead of vague assertions. To remedy the existing defect of the age, and supply political theorizing both with soul and substance, the writings of Edmund Burke opportunely made their appearance. This eloquent orator, able statesman, and profound philosopher, was born in Dublin in 1730, and arrived in London in 1750. The greatness of his powers, his reflective character, and capacity for intellectual acquirement, were signalized at the early age of twenty-six, when he wrote his "Vindication of Natural Society, or a View of the Miseries and Evils arising to mankind from every Species of Artificial Society," &c., a work in which his profound and accurate perceptions of the principles of right government are clearly and eloquently unfolded. A few months afterwards, he published his "Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful," a work which he is said to have written at the age of nineteen, but in which immaturity of intellect is nowhere perceptible. The success of these and subsequent writings turned his ambition to political life and its distinctions; and after several appointments, he obtained a seat in parliament in 1765, and became the life and soul of the Rockingham administration during the brief period of its existence. His subsequent public and political career was a brilliant one, the chief points of which have been detailed in a different portion of this history; but throughout his close connection with the great parliamentary debates of the period, until his retirement from public life, and his death in 1797, his eloquent pen was constantly employed in inculcating the principles, and enforcing the duties of a sound and healthy legislation. This was the more necessary, when we take into account the outburst of the French revolution, by which British society was shaken to its foundations, and menaced with a similar change; and the dangerous theories of liberty, which found their influential advocates, not only in every department of the press, but in the

senate, and even among the aristocracy. The titles of his principal writings indicate the subjects of which they treat, and are as follows:—"An Account of the European Settlements in America," 2 vols. 8vo, 1757; "Observations on a Late State of the Nation," being a reply to a pamphlet entitled "The Present State of the Nation," understood to have been written by Mr. George Grenville, or his secretary, in 1769; "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents," 1770; "Reflections on the Revolution in France," 1790; "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," 1792; "Letter to a Noble Lord on his Pension," 1796; "Letters on a Regicide Peace," 1796-7; "Observations on the Conduct of the Minority," 1797. Besides these, he revised for the press his principal speeches delivered in parliament upon the great leading topics of the American colonies, the economical reform bill, the India bill, the Warren Hastings' impeachment, &c., between the years 1774 and 1789. To this enumeration must be added his superintendence of the *Annual Register*, from its commencement in 1758 to the close of his own life, and his contributions to its pages. The steadfast purpose of his career, and to which he adhered to the end, was distinctly announced in the following passage of his *Vindication of Natural Society*, the earliest of his publications:—"The editor is satisfied that a mind which has no restraint from a sense of its own weakness, of its subordinate rank in the creation, and of the extreme danger of letting the imagination loose upon some subjects, may very plausibly attack everything the most excellent and venerable; that it would not be difficult to criticize the creation itself; and that if we were to examine the divine fabrics by our ideas of reason and fitness, and to use the same method of attack by which some men have assaulted revealed religion, we might, with as good colour, and with the same success, make the wisdom and power of God in his creation appear to many no better than foolishness."

While one great mind had thus been prepared at the fitting crisis, to advocate the principles on which the stability of the British constitution is founded and its laws administered, and raising an effectual appeal against those anarchical doctrines by which they would have been subverted, another was in training to illustrate those principles on which the commercial prosperity of the nation is based, and by which its wealth and power might be augmented and perpetuated. This was the task of Adam Smith, the author of the *Wealth of Nations*. Born in Scotland in 1723, educated in Scotland and afterwards in England, and appointed successively to two chairs in the university of Glasgow, the one of logic, the

other of ethics, he had ample opportunity for the development of those theories by which senates and statesmen were to be directed in what constitutes the true prosperity of kingdoms. It was in



ADAM SMITH.—From a model by Tassie

his lectures as professor that the first sketch of these was unfolded; and they were afterwards matured by a year's residence in Paris, at a time when political economy was the great question of the day. His first work, which he published in 1759, was his "Theory of Moral Sentiments; or, an essay towards an analysis of the principles by which men naturally judge concerning the conduct and character, first of their neighbour, and afterwards of themselves;" but able though this production was, and sufficient to establish his name among the highest of ethical writers, it was not yet the vocation upon which his affections had long been set, and by which his name was to descend to posterity. This great object of his life was achieved in 1776, after years of solitary meditation and study in the obscure town of Kirkcaldy, when he produced the *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. How necessary such a work was, will be evident to any one who thinks of the vague theories and random experiments by which mercantile policy had hitherto been characterized. The mere symbols or representatives of abundance, the shadows of wealth, had been mistaken for the substance; and nations and communities were supposed to possess all things, if they had enough of gold and silver. The facts, therefore, which Adam Smith sought to establish were, that money's worth, and not money itself, is the real wealth of a nation—that the only source of wealth is labour—and that labour is productive when it is devoted to manufactures and commerce, as well as to agriculture. He illustrated the superior advantages

derived from the division of labour; and the expediency of every nation to devote itself to its own means and produce, as well as every individual to his own sphere and capacity; and showed, that what is prudence in the conduct of any private family, can scarcely be folly in that of a great kingdom. Along with these principles, hitherto so much lost sight of in the agricultural and commercial pursuits of nations, he advocated unlimited freedom of trade; and proved that all restrictions, either upon the internal or external commerce of a country, are absurd in principle and pernicious in their consequences. The *Wealth of Nations* descended upon the political world like a new revelation; it became the textbook of the British senate, and was soon translated into all the languages of Europe. Before his death, also, which occurred in 1790, Adam Smith had the happiness to witness the success of those principles of commercial freedom which he had so ably advocated, for already they were beginning to influence our national counsels, and be recognized in other countries, as the true sources of national prosperity.

The present age, which was so prolific of distinguished men in every department of intellect, also abounded in historians; and of these, David Hume, as the historian of England, merits priority of notice. He was born in Edinburgh, so early as 1711, and in 1739 had published his remarkable work, the *Treatise on Human Nature*, which ten years after was reproduced in a new form, under the title of *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*. It was a most ingenious and plausible, but cold and misanthropical system of philosophy, which promised neither comfort for this world nor happiness beyond it, and the sceptical spirit of which was happily too late for British society, already under the reaction of a better religious spirit. In 1742 he published his *Essays, Moral and Philosophical*, which, by the more general interest of their subjects, and superior gracefulness of style, were better suited to the public taste, so that their reception consoled him for the fate of his other work, which, in his own words, "fell dead-born from the press, without reaching such distinction as even to excite a murmur among the zealots." In 1751 Hume published his *Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*; and in 1752 his *Political Discourses*. Occupying now a very high place both as metaphysician and political economist, David Hume came forth to the world in the character of an historian, by the publication, in 1752, of the first volume of the *History of England*, comprising the period from the accession of James I. to the death of Charles I.; this was followed by the second volume in 1756, containing the continuation of events onward to

the Revolution; and the third in 1759, which was occupied with the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns. Of the fate of this new work, about the success of which he was very sanguine at the outset, he



DAVID HUME — From a print by A. Smith, after the picture by Allan Ramsay.

gives the following account:—"I thought that I was the only historian that had at once neglected present power, interest, and authority, and the cry of popular prejudices; and as the subject was suited to every capacity, I expected proportional applause. But miserable was my disappointment; I was assailed by one cry of reproach, disapprobation, and even detestation; English, Scottish, and Irish, Whig and Tory, churchman and sectary, freethinker and religionist, patriot and courtier, united in their rage against the man who had presumed to shed a generous tear for the fate of Charles I. and the Earl of Strafford; and after the first ebullitions of their fury were over, what was still more mortifying, the book seemed to sink into oblivion." All this outcry of every party was nothing more than what might have been expected from the anti-Jacobitical spirit of the age, and from the cold unsympathizing style with which he had treated the events of a period in which religion formed the prevailing element. Of the fate of the second volume he says, "This performance happened to give less displeasure to the Whigs, and was better received. It not only rose itself, but helped to buoy up its unfortunate brother." In 1761, Hume published the two remaining volumes of his history, containing the whole narrative of events previous to the accession of the Tudors, which were received, he says, "with tolerable, and but tolerable success." This indifference of the reading public gradually abated; the intrinsic merits of the work at last compelled the general suffrage; and

for a time Hume's *History of England* became the established standard, until a wider range of historical research and more liberal state of political feeling had made his chief statements more than questionable, as well as every apology for ultra-Toryism no longer worthy of a hearing.

While Hume was employed in writing a history of England, another, a distinguished countryman of his own, was performing the same service for Scotland. This was William Robertson, D.D., one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and principal of the university of that city, whom we have already noticed as an able and influential leader of the Scottish church in its General Assembly. His first great aim was a *History of Scotland, during the reigns of Mary and James VI.*, and this work he prosecuted for years in the retired and unobtrusive situation of a country clergyman, until it was published in 1759. The elegance of style and lucidness of arrangement by which it was distinguished, soon threw into the shade those antiquated and fragmentary national histories upon which Scotland had hitherto depended; and Dr. Robertson enjoyed his success not only in substantial profit, but also in preferment to the highest offices for which a Scottish presbyter could be eligible. Encouraged by this success, he threw himself with full ardour into the literary field he had chosen; and after careful thought, selected for his next attempt a *History of the Reign of Charles V.*, which he finished in 1769, and published in three volumes quarto. The success of this work was even greater than that of his Scottish history, and his fame as an historian was spread over France as well as England, by an excellent translation of his *Charles V.* into the French tongue. He would now have attempted a history of England, to which he was urged not only by the requests of his literary friends, but the wishes of his sovereign; but this design, from causes which have not been explained, Dr. Robertson afterwards abandoned. This failure of intention, however, was compensated by his *History of America*, which was published in 1777, and by which the celebrity he had already acquired was fully supported, if not increased. His last work was an *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India, and the Progress of Trade with that Country prior to the Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope*, which was published in 1791, the year previous to his death.

With the names of Hume and Robertson that of Gibbon will occur, to complete the triumvirate of distinguished historians which the present age produced. Edward Gibbon was born at Putney in Surrey, A.D. 1737. Born and educated a Protestant, he went over to the Church of Rome, and after remaining for some time in that com-

munion, he resiled into his former Protestantism. The worth of these conversions and reconversions can be tested by his works, which are impregnated throughout with hostility to the Christian faith at large. His extensive reading and profound classical scholarship were aided by his study of war, both ancient and modern, into which he entered with avidity, in consequence of holding the commission of major in a militia regiment. His taste, learning, and talents having eminently fitted him for the work of an historian, nothing but the choice of a congenial subject was needed—and this was supplied by accident. Being at Rome on the 15th of October, 1764, it was while he was musing among the ruins of the Capitol, and while the bare-footed friars were singing vespers in the temple of Jupiter, that he suddenly conceived the idea of writing the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Although he did not commence the work until ten years afterwards, the project had never been lost sight of, and the whole of the *Decline and Fall* was completed and published by the middle of 1788. The appearance of the first portion of the work, which was in a quarto volume, excited universal attention, not only by its remarkable eloquence and learning, but its unfair and insidious account of the rise and progress of Christianity; and keen exposures of its misrepresentations were written by able writers of different churches, who were at one on this occasion in defence of their common faith. Gibbon's great historical work, which will always continue to form a portion of popular reading, is now well understood both in its merits and defects. With scholarship of no ordinary kind, he imparted to ages of darkness, and to actors and events that had been forgot, the beauty of sunshine, and the animation of moving vitality. But even this eloquence becomes cloying from its richness, and fatiguing from its high-toned continuity, so that the reader would fain enjoy the changes of descent and rest, if his author would but vouchsafe him the indulgence. And what shall we say of Gibbon's covert and most disingenuous attacks upon Christianity? It is enough to state that these have been too fully exposed to be dangerous, and that even in a dispassionate literary estimate of the *Decline and Fall*, they are in bad taste, and constitute the chief blemishes of the work. It will be agreed on all hands, and by every class of readers, that had he hated Christianity less virulently, he would have been a better historian.

The present period was eminently an age of historical writing in Britain, while the range it commanded was all but universal both in town and country. The names of its authors, however, are so numerous, that we can only afford room for a few who come nearest the excellence of the

three we have already mentioned, and who, but for them, would have occupied a conspicuous place in the historical literature of our country. The first in point of time was Lord Lyttleton, who, in 1764-7, produced the *History of the Life of Henry II.*, a work not only of great accuracy, on account of the minute and extensive research of the author into the best old authorities, but the interest which he imparted to the record of a period hitherto disregarded, but during which the English constitution was successfully struggling into existence. A still higher service was rendered to his own country by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, who, in 1776-9, wrote the *Annals of Scotland*, from the accession of Malcolm Canmore, to the accession of the house of Stuart, a work in which his antiquarian research and critical sagacity threw light upon many important particulars in Scottish history which had hitherto been misunderstood or obscured. Another historian, whose works are still popular, was Dr. Robert Watson, who, in 1777, wrote the *History of the Reign of Philip II. of Spain*, as a sequel to Robertson's *Charles V.*, and subsequently the first four books of the reign of Philip III., as a continuation of his previous history, but which he did not live to complete. To these may be added Leland and Warner, who wrote histories of Ireland; Dr. Adam Ferguson, author of an *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, and the *History of the Progress and the Termination of the Roman Republic*; and Holwell and Orme, who wrote histories of the foundation and progress of the British empire in India. A laborious, accurate, and judicious writer of this period, also, was Dr. Robert Henry, author of the *History of Great Britain*, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the death of Henry VIII., in five volumes quarto, a sixth being also published after his death. The plan of this writer in treating his subject was both bold and original. Conceiving that the great object of history was to give an account of the people as well as of the kingdom, and of intellectual and moral progress as well as military and political changes, he divided each period of his work into seven chapters or segments, to each of which a separate subject was assigned. Thus, independently of the civil and military transactions of each epoch, there was a chapter devoted exclusively to its ecclesiastical history; a third to its peculiar forms of government, laws, and administration of justice; a fourth to the progress of learning; a fifth to that of arts and manufacture; a sixth to the history of commerce; and a seventh to the manners and customs by which the period was characterized. This plan, although it comprised a complete history of the people as well as the nation, and a distinct view of their successive steps of progress in every de-

partment of moral, social, and intellectual life, was found so cumbrous of management and so prolix in its details, that with the exception of Dr. Rankin's *History of France*—a work that was born unnoticed, and died without a sign—no attempt was made to imitate it until the appearance of the *Pictorial History of England*. This mode of writing history, when deprived of its cumbrousness, will perhaps be ultimately recognized and adopted as the best; and the obligations which we owe to Henry for the discovery, although so long unfelt, will at last be freely and gratefully acknowledged.

Towards the close of this period many other writers appeared, not only in the department of history, but also of theology, ethics, and politics, a few of whom we can only mention, and that, too, merely by name. Among the most distinguished of those who wrote on the doctrines or evidences of Christianity, were Bishops Watson, Horsley, and Porteous; Doctors Campbell, Macknight, and Blair; and, greater than them all, Dr. Paley, whose *Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy*, *Horæ Paulinæ*, *View of the Evidence of Christianity*, and *Natural Theology* became standard works in their several departments. In politics was the noted Thomas Paine, whose ignorance was counterbalanced by immense assumption, and a clear, vigorous English style, and whose writings were popular incentives to mischief during the revolutionary period—and Mary Wolstonecraft, as keen an advocate for the rights of women, as Paine for the rights of man. There was also Godwin, her husband, who in 1793 produced his *Inquiry concerning Political Justice, and its Influence on General Virtue and Happiness*, and who afterwards threw the whole force of his genius into philosophical novel-writing, by which he found he could more successfully disseminate his opinions than by formal disquisitions and essays. Last of all, may be mentioned the formidable name of Malthus, who appeared on the field at the close of this period like a comet in the horizon of political literature—

“With fear of change

Perplexing monarchs;”

and whose theories of superabundant populations, compared with the means of subsistence, have continued to agitate the hearts of provident statesmen without pause or mitigation to the present hour.

In passing to the poetry of this period, we find abundance of that mechanical sing-song which the imitators of Pope had introduced, and which was all the more prolific, as it could be written without the aid of poetical inspiration. It was nothing more, indeed, than versification, which any one could produce who had a tolerable ear, and could count syllables upon his fingers, let

the muse be as obstinate as she might. In this manner Dean Swift's well-known receipt for the manufacture of an epic was no caricature, but a sober reality, descriptive of not a few heroic poems that had been, and were still, inflicted on the public without diffidence or compunction. But even before this period commenced, such works as Thomson's *Seasons* and Young's *Night Thoughts* indicated the coming of a better age, and the poetry of Johnson and Goldsmith confirmed the promise. The present, indeed, was a transition period, wherein the struggle was going on through which the poetical era of Anne was to be superseded by that of the nineteenth century—a great intellectual revolution that had directed the mind into new and more important paths, and which was certain to revert with double vigour to the mere elegances of life, after its substantialities had been secured. And yet, the present age was not without its fair number of genuine poets, whose productions still survive, and whose names are worthy of notice, although the prevailing bias was more in favour of practical science and didactic philosophy. With these preliminary and general remarks, we proceed to individual notices of the chief poetical productions of this practical, reasoning, and inquiring era of British history.

As belonging both to the past and present period, because they lived in both, and have not been previously mentioned, we begin with Gray and Glover, poets of different character and excellence, though each was distinguished in his separate walk. Thomas Gray was born in 1716, and died in 1781. Seldom has an English poet been so learned, or one whose learning made him so fastidious; and on this last account, his poetry is so scanty, as to be contained in a few pages. And yet, each production is in itself an unrivalled gem, the richness of which may well compensate for its smallness. The chief of these are his *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*, and the "Bard;" and never was there such an anxious selection of words and delicate fingering of syllables, combined with such true poetical fervour, as was manifested in these wonderful poems. This character also extends to Gray's other productions, not even excepting his "Ode on the Death of a Cat," and the "Long Story"—poems in which he tried to lay aside his wonted solemnity and pomp for a light, hilarious style, and succeeded beyond expectation. After having shown how well he was fitted to occupy one of the highest places in poetry, if he would but boldly advance and occupy it, Gray, in 1768, was appointed to the professorship of history in the university of Cambridge. But notwithstanding his great scholarship and extensive knowledge, which fully qualified him for the office, the same fastidiousness which made his

poetical productions so few, still continued to haunt him; and he died three years after his appointment, of mere fretfulness at his continual resolution to write a course of lectures, coupled with his inability to commence the task. Of Richard Glover, a brief mention will suffice. He was born in London in 1712; and while cultivating his poetical powers, which he had begun to manifest in early boyhood, he pursued the occupation of a Hamburg merchant, in which he rose to wealth and influence. His chief production was the epic poem of "Leonidas," founded on the Persian invasion of Greece and the fall of the hero of Thermopylæ; and as he had been a champion of popular liberty, and supporter of the Whig party, the latter could do no less than laud his poem, which they extolled as equal to Homer's *Iliad*. This almost insane cry was continued for some years, and in the heyday of his fame, Glover wrote the tragedy of "Boadicea," which was favourably received in Drury Lane Theatre; and "Medea," a dramatic poem adapted from the tragedies of the same name by Euripides and Seneca, and modelled in the same form, with the ancient chorus. But works that were praised so far beyond their due, and for mere party purposes, were as disproportionably underrated by the generation that succeeded; and notwithstanding its intrinsic merits, which make it still worth a perusal, there are scarcely perhaps three persons in the present day who have read Glover's "Leonidas." Another poet of the last and present period, and whose merits are too great to be overlooked, was Mark Akenside, who was born in 1721, and educated at the universities of Edinburgh and Leyden, where he acquired an amount of classical learning that was rare among the poets of the day. At the early age of twenty-three he wrote his chief poem, the "Pleasures of Imagination," which Pope, who saw it in manuscript, declared to be the production of no everyday writer; and which Samuel Johnson lauded as "an example of great felicity of genius, and uncommon amplitude of acquisitions; of a young mind stored with images, and much exercised in combining and comparing them." Profound metaphysical abstractions and philosophical disquisitions have seldom been illustrated with such poetical imagery, or expressed in such sounding, magnificent language, as in the "Pleasures of Imagination;" and hence the work, which at first enjoyed a boundless popularity, was not thrown aside, when the romantic school of poetry arose, but continued to be prized by those whose estimation was of best account, until the more attractive writings of Wordsworth superseded it. Besides this poem, Akenside produced a collection of lyrics; but these, with the exception of a "Hymn to the Naiads," are cold and uninteresting.

Of the other poets, the predecessors of the modern school, who were living in the earlier part of this period, and who gained a poetical reputation that endured during their day, a few names are worthy of being particularized. Of these was William Mason, a clergyman, who was born in 1725, and died in 1797. He was the friend of Gray, whom he devoutly imitated, and whose poetical defects he exaggerated, without being able to rise to his fire and fervour. Accordingly, though he had great merits of his own, as may be seen in his dramatic poems of "Caractacus" and "Elfrida," which were formed upon the Greek model, his reputation was soon absorbed in the superior merits of the author of the "Bard," whom he so implicitly followed. Another poet was William Wilkie, professor of natural philosophy in the university of St. Andrews, and author of the "Epigoniad," an epic poem, in which he selected the siege of Thebes for his subject, and the predecessors of the Homeric heroes for his actors. Nothing could exceed the extravagant commendations with which this poem was received: it was thought equal even to the *Iliad*, of which it was scarcely a faint, dying echo. But throughout the whole work, there is nothing that rises above mere common-place rhyme, except the single episode descriptive of the death of Hercules. A greatly superior poet to either Mason or Wilkie, was James Beattie, professor of philosophy in the university of Aberdeen, who in 1770 wrote the highly popular "Essay on Truth," in refutation of the scepticism of David Hume, and in the following year completed his reputation, by publishing the poem of the "Minstrel." It was by this last production, so elevated by moral feeling, and beautified by poetical imagery and stately melodious versification, rather than his philosophical prose works, that he secured a permanent distinction. Nor must William Falconer, the bard of the ocean, be overlooked in these notices. He was born in Edinburgh in 1730, the son of parents in humble life, and after a scanty, desultory education, betook himself to the life of a sailor, and was shipwrecked off Cape Colonna, where the whole crew, except himself and two sailors, perished. Born a poet, and having such experience of storm and wreck as few poets have enjoyed, Falconer conceived the happy thought of adopting his disaster for his theme; and in 1762 he published the "Shipwreck," a work which none but a sailor could have produced. And never were the manœuvres of a ship, or the rough phraseology of the sea, more strikingly depicted, or more harmoniously expressed, nor the miseries of a shipwreck more pathetically brought before the comprehensions of ordinary landsmen, than in this poem, which took the public by surprise, and became an uni-

versal favourite. Encouraged by his success, Falconer attempted a few short poetical pieces, chiefly on political subjects; but ashore, his genius had a sailor's awkwardness, and could find no sea-room or chart amidst these land hurricanes, so that, beyond his "Tempest," not a stanza that he has produced is worthy of notice. The sea that had cradled and nursed him, and whose varieties he had so well described, was finally his grave; for in 1769 he embarked as purser on board the *Aurora* East Indiaman, which perished with all her crew on her voyage to the East Indies.

In contrast to Falconer was Charles Churchill, a poet to whom satire was absolute sustenance, and political commotion the breath of life. Although educated for the church, in which in due time he obtained a living, his restless, eccentric disposition unfitted him for clerical decencies and restraints, so that when he found he could subsist independent of its emoluments, he abandoned the profession. He commenced the career of poet at the age of thirty; and in the short course of four years, and amidst a life of reckless dissipation, he produced an amount of poetry remarkable both for quantity and talent. The chief of these were the "Rosciad," the first of his published works, in 1761, a desperate attack on the principal theatrical managers and actors of the period; the "Apology," a reply to the critics who assailed him; "Night," an excuse for his nocturnal adventures, which were by no means worthy of justification; the "Prophecy of Famine," a fierce and stinging invective against the Scots; the "Author," a satire on pedants and pedagogues; and the "Candidate." He also assisted Wilkes, and contributed several papers to the *North Briton*. Besides being regarded as the very Dryden of modern poetry, he was extravagantly lauded as the scourge of tyrants, and generous champion of liberty. This judgment, however, a succeeding generation refused to confirm. His poetry is vigorous, but rough and unmusical, and its chief pungency is derived from personal and political hatred, to which he gave unlimited scope. His themes, also, being of a local and temporary character, secured present popularity at the expense of permanence, and no one now, who reads his pages, can be moved by his abuse either of particular men and their measures, or of whole communities. In this way, for instance, his satire of Scottish poverty is utterly pointless, because no longer applicable. Such was the result of talents which, if carefully cultivated and wisely applied, might have raised him to a distinguished place among the best poets of our country, but which served no better purpose than to aid in breaking the thralldom of the old school of poetry, and pointing to that new and better path into which our literature was about to enter.

The last distinguished poet of the artificial school, in whom the reign of Pope may be said to have expired, was Dr. Erasmus Darwin. He was born at Elton, near Newark, in 1731, educated at Cambridge and Edinburgh, and settled as physician at Lichfield, in which town he is stated to have been of great service to the poor. Although he must long have cultivated his poetical talent, he did not manifest it to the world till he had attained the ripe age of fifty, when he published the first part of the "Botanic Garden," in 1781, and the other two parts at intervals, ten years afterwards. This singular poem, by its length, its learning, and the careful elaboration of its poetry, fully justifies the lateness of its appearance, and the long period required for its completion. Instead of easy, spontaneous writing, it resembles engraving upon steel, where every line, every touch seems the result of careful, laborious application; and when finished, it is seen to be a cold, hard, glittering and metallic engraving, instead of a ductile painting upon canvas, or light graceful sketch upon paper. And yet, the "Botanic Garden," although so artificial in its construction, is by no means devoid of poetical beauty: its Rosicrucian machinery of gnomes, sylphs, and nymphs is full of ethereal brightness; many of its individual portions display a high degree of imagination and power of poetical delineation, while every line is polished, stately, and dignified. But still, it is the coldest of poems, and whatever beauty it may possess is counterbalanced by its total want of vitality. This, and the scientific character of the work, has, in spite of its merits, consigned it to oblivion, and the "Botanic Garden" is only known in the present day by a few detached extracts.

A perception had for some time been evidently growing upon the public mind, that the artificial school of poetry established by Pope had become effete, and that an important change was necessary both in its form and spirit, to suit the new character of the age. But what was to be the nature of that change? The experiment had yet to be made, and until this could be effected, the lovers of poetry were fain to escape from the monotonous sing-song of the day, to the rude and rugged ballads of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which were now eagerly sought in all directions, and finally collected by Percy in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. But this supply was soon exhausted, and after every scrap of the olden balladism had been worn out, the cry and craving for more could not be satisfied. In this dilemma it occurred to some, that all the works of the ancient higher poets of England had not yet been given to the world—that a careful research might still bring to light some choice treasures of this nature which our ancestors had

overlooked. This craving and hope suggested the mode of supply: if the desired materials could not be found, they might at least be created. Upon this idea Ireland proceeded, when he audaciously forged a play, and certain verses, which he palmed upon the world as the early productions of Shakspeare. Daring though the attempt was to mimic the greatest of poets, there was a general willingness to be deceived; and there were not a few in the literary world who, for a time, mistook these wretched counters for veritable coin. Such was also the attempt of Chatterton, although upon a more modest scale, who pretended that he had discovered the long lost poems of Rowley, a poet of the fifteenth century, and gave, as such, a mass of smoke-dried MSS. which he had fumigated for the purpose, and filled with better poetry, perhaps, than Rowley himself, if such a person existed, could have written. But dexterously though either fraud was executed, and enthusiastically though each was welcomed by those who would enjoy the luxury of being cheated, the imposture could not sustain the sifting analysis to which it was subjected; and that detection followed which branded Ireland as a literary felon, and drove poor Chatterton into suicide.

But a more dexterous, as well as more fortunate reviver of the long lost poetry of the past, was James Macpherson, the translator of *Ossian's Poems*. Born a highlander, in the county of Inverness (A.D. 1738), and educated at the colleges of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, he indicated at the age of twenty his ambition for literary distinction, by publishing his poem of the "Highlander," in six cantos, which proved a failure. This, instead of deterring him from any further attempt, only changed his mode of procedure; and after an interval of two years he published a work, entitled "Fragments of Ancient Poetry, collected in the Highlands of Scotland, and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language." The whole literary world was astonished and delighted at the publication: it was a new mine of rich poetry that had hitherto been undiscovered, as well as a new and important chapter added to the history of Europe. It showed that the Celts of Scotland at an early period had been the most primitive and natural, as well as the most imaginative and heroic of ancient tribes, whose valour was superior, and whose refinement was at least equal to that of the Homeric ages. And what though critics might cavil about the authenticity of these "Fragments?" They were oral, not written communications: they were in a language inaccessible to criticism, and about a people still unexplored by historical research. Every Celt, also, felt himself bound to maintain their genuineness, when they so greatly aggrandized his ancestors

and country. Thus, granting that they were merely forgeries and nothing more, the fraud was of all but impossible detection. So felt Macpherson—and he laughed at his detractors. A subscription was raised to equip him for a mission to the Highlands, that he might gather more of these valuable remains; and, as might be expected, he was successful. The result was, that in 1762 he published “Fingal: an ancient Epic Poem, in six books; together with several other Poems, composed by Ossian, the son of Fingal; translated from the Gaelic.” The enthusiasm that had been awakened by his former translations was now raised to absolute delirium; “Fingal” was translated into almost every language of Europe; and amidst the universal praise, the objections of the sceptical were scarcely heard. Here it would have been wise to stop short; but such success was too much for even the utmost of worldly wisdom; and accordingly, in the following year (1763), Macpherson repeated his attempts, by publishing “Temora, in eight books, with other Poems, by Ossian.” But already the world had begun to pause; a suspicion was gathering and gaining ground among the learned that they had been deceived by a mere mirage or *fata morgana*; and this was heightened by the conduct of Macpherson, who drew himself up with an air of offended virtue, and refused all further explanation. The controversy that succeeded upon the authenticity of these poems of Ossian can scarcely yet be said to be fully settled; and the most commonly received opinion is, that only their groundwork and foundation was genuine, while the superstructure was wholly the work of Macpherson.

An herculean task in intellect was now to be effected. The old school of poetry was to be swept away, and a new established. But by what daring innovator was the change to be commenced? Both boldness and genius, and these in the highest degree, were demanded for the task; and they were found in a quarter which the strictest search would have overlooked. A recluse of feminine gentleness, who trembled at the sight of society, and during his whole life had sought to shun it—whose every nerve tingled at the slightest touch of emotion, and whose brain was the morbid abode of unreal fears that would not be quieted, and a gloom that could not be dispersed—was the man by whom the onset was to be made, and the new unknown path explored.

William Cowper, for whom this high destiny was reserved, was born at Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, A.D. 1731. At the age of six he lost his mother, whom he ever after remembered with the most intense affection, and whose decease, in the well-known poem on “Receiving his Mother’s Picture,” he has bewailed in such deep tender-

ness as few parental departures have called forth. This deprivation, and the rough tyranny of his schoolfellows at Westminster, so deeply preyed upon his delicate, susceptible mind, as to confirm the nervous timidity by which he was ever afterwards haunted. He served an apprenticeship to the profession of the law, and completed his course in the Inner Temple; but the buoyant intellectual society with whom he associated was more in accordance with his taste than dry statutes and chamber counsellors. At the age of thirty-four his nervous timidity was still so predominant as to unfit him for general business; but the interest of his friends procured for him the appointment of clerk of the journals to the House of Lords, in the hope that his personal appearance in the house would not be required. But there had been some opposition to his appointment; it was necessary for him to be present, to have it confirmed; and the idea of such an ordeal, combined with his preparations to meet it, brought his latent disease to the crisis, so that when the period arrived, he was reduced to helpless insanity. His disease took the form of religious horror, under which he regarded himself as eternally lost; and even when this night of terrible darkness had passed away, it was succeeded by a melancholy gloom that remained with him during life, and unfitted him not only for business, but the ordinary intercourse of society. But kind friends were at hand, who tended and comforted him to the close of his sorrowful existence, and it was under their encouragement that he was induced to betake himself to poetry, as the best solace of his malady. It was his natural tendency, and at the late age of fifty he became a poet. And well was it for his fame, as well as for English poetry at large, that the commencement had been so long deferred: for nearly twenty years Cowper had read in his retirement no poetical works; and when he commenced to write, it was with the unbiassed mind of one in whose remembrance the old models had faded away, and who must commence anew, and upon his own inspiration. In 1782 he published a volume containing the poems entitled “Table Talk,” the “Progress of Error,” “Truth,” “Expostulation,” “Hope,” “Charity,” “Conversation,” and “Retirement.” Their independent strength and sturdiness of character, as well as startling originality, so different from the old-established rule, took the world by surprise, and criticism was afraid to pronounce its verdict, notwithstanding the obvious merits of this new strain of poetry. His next production was the “Task,” a poem of still higher excellence, and by which his reputation was established, not only as one of the most original, but also one of the greatest of English poets. It was written at the suggestion

of his affectionate friend, Lady Austen, and published in 1784. About the same time, also, he wrote the story of "John Gilpin;" and how this most humorous of poems should have been the production of one in whom such deep melancholy was a confirmed, incurable disease, would have been incomprehensible, did we not know that an extreme can beget its opposite as if by a law of nature, and that the clearest, merriest laugh, amidst a joyous circle, can often issue from the heart that is breaking. It was not, therefore, a thing unreasonable that this one outburst of merriment on the part of Cowper, amidst the whole course of a long life of sadness, should have been so transcendent and so contagious, or that it should have been immediately succeeded by shame, and the fear that he had been guilty of an act of sinful levity. In 1791 Cowper published his translation of Homer; but the very fidelity with which it was executed, made it contrast unfavourably with the modernized Homer of Pope, to which the English taste had been previously conformed. The poetical writings of Cowper are numerous; and the manly, vigorous, healthy spirit by which they are pervaded throughout, independent of their other high qualities, gives no indication of the sick, despairing mood in which they were written, or the sufferings of which they were the solace. And seldom have the lessons of virtue and religion been inculcated with such uncompromising fidelity, so that Cowper was a poetical reformer in the best sense of the term. He died in 1800; but a host of able followers and successors were at hand to complete the revolution which he had commenced. Of these George Crabbe had begun in the track of Cowper himself, so early as 1783 Wordsworth had published his "Lyrical Ballads" two years before Cowper's death, and Coleridge had contributed to the series. The "Pleasures of Hope" was published in 1799. Scott, Hogg, Southey, and Moore were already grown to manhood, and had either precluded to the public ear, or were ready to enter into the field. All gave assurance that the early part of the nineteenth century was to be signalized by a new era of English poetry, in which, whatever might otherwise be its merits, the old pedantry and mannerism were to be discarded, and the empire of truth and nature restored.

Of Scottish poetry it is now necessary to speak. Scotland, indeed, had contributed her share of poets, as the examples of James Thomson, Robert Blair, Armstrong, Wilkie, Falconer, Beattie, and Logan abundantly testify. But instead of cultivating their own native Doric, and aiming at the character of national as well as original poets, they wrote in the language and spirit of England, with whose poets therefore they were identified. Thus the dialect of Scotland, neglected as unintellectual,

was already despised as barbarous and plebeian; and in the course of a generation or two it would probably have disappeared even from among the uneducated of the land, to whose tender mercies it had been consigned. But this fate, which Englishmen and Scots alike would now be ready to deprecate, was averted by the patriotism of a peasant bard—the Wallace of his despised and down-trodden native tongue—the one poet of a nation in whom its characteristic spirit finds its full utterance, and whose lays are of greater in-



ROBERT BURNS — After the portrait by SKIVING

fluence than laws and legislators. Thus Robert Burns, the contemporary of Cowper, was more than the Cowper of Scotland.

The leading events in the life of this great Scottish poet are so generally known as scarcely to require a passing allusion. He was born January 25, 1759, and in a clay-built cottage in the parish of Alloway, Ayrshire. His father was a small farmer, who all his life had struggled with adversity; and the poet was born to poverty and toil, rendered tenfold more bitter by that oppression which helpless poverty is so frequently compelled to endure. But this only invigorated the strong spirit which it could not crush, and confirmed the peasant boy in that bold independence and hatred of tyranny which afterwards pervaded his verses with a blazing and consuming flame. Born also a poet, and compelled as by a resistless destiny to yield to the impulse, the only question was the form of language in which it should be expressed. With the exception of the poems of Ramsay and Ferguson, and the modernized version of Blind Harry's "Wallace," there was no poetry written in the Scottish dialect of the eighteenth century; and had Burns followed the example of the Scottish poets of his time, he would have contented himself with the cultivated

language of the south, and taken a place, perhaps, among the half-forgotten hundreds who constitute the third or fourth rate poets of England. But fortunately for his country and his own fame, his emotions were too impetuous, and his heart too young, to wait until they could be expressed in a style that was not wholly native to their origin; and therefore, while he commenced, as all young poets do, with love, it was love in earnest, and in the words with which he would have sued and won in prose—Scottish words of impassioned vehemence, attuned and arranged by poetical inspiration. The choice did not wait for deliberation: it was made at once, and confirmed for ever. And who would wish that "Tam o' Shanter," or "Hallowe'en," had rather been written in English? But though he commenced to write verses so early as his sixteenth year, the taste and ambition of Burns were of too high a character to be satisfied with juvenile proficiency, or eager to manifest it. On the contrary, he studied every book within his reach, making all which he perused subservient to his chosen vocation; and thus, when he was about to enter it, he was as well read in general literature as the ordinary gentlemen of the day, and better acquainted with the rules of "critic-craft," especially in their application to poetry. Even when he had written those wonderful productions which perpetuate his name, it was accident that urged their publication. Still pursued by his adverse fortune, and having no hope of bettering his circumstances at home, he resolved, like his countrymen, to renew the trial abroad, instead of yielding to defeat and despair, and had selected the West Indies as his field of enterprise. To raise funds for the payment of his passage, he published a collection of his poems in the obscure town of Kilmarnock. The money was raised, and he was bidding a mournful farewell to Scotland, when his departure was suddenly arrested. A stray copy of his works, that were circulating among the Ayrshire peasantry like fire across the heath, had found its way to the blind old poet, Dr. Blacklock; and alarmed at the thought that such a genius should be lost to Scotland and the world, the worthy doctor entreated Burns to forego his purpose, and come to Edinburgh, where his worth would be appreciated, and a better path opened up for him. Burns consented, and the whole course of his career was altered: instead of becoming a West India slave-driver or sugar-planter, should he have the good fortune to escape the yellow fever, he was now to take his place as the ornament of his country, and the first poet of the age. His further history until the close, a short interval of ten years, sufficed for the matchless poetry he produced, and the world-wide fame he has acquired. The fire that burned

within him was too intense to be lasting; but while it burned, the work of a whole lifetime was accomplished. And as long as Scottish lips can sing, and a Scottish heart be alive to national feeling—nay, as long as the name of Scotland itself survives as an historical remembrance—his name will be hallowed with that of Wallace, and Bruce, and Knox, and his songs be cherished as noble incentives to manly independence, tender, pure-souled love, and heroic, self-devoted patriotism. And after this what needs there more?—

' No further seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode —
(There they alike in trembling hope repose)
The bosom of his father, and his God "

Dramatic poetry, which had occupied the highest place in our literature, had now sunk to the lowest; and after Johnson's "Irene," which proved a failure, and Home's "Douglas," which was crowned with extravagant success, no tragedy worth notice was produced. This dearth was the less to be regretted, as it occasioned the revival of the old English dramas, which, under the prevalence of the artificial school of poetry, had been too greatly neglected. It may also be added that new paths had now been opened up for the highest intellects, and to which the public attention was more especially directed. But as the stage was still a place of public amusement, if no longer a school of instruction, there was an ample demand for comedy and farce, and accordingly with writers both male and female for these departments, the present period, more than any previous one, abounded. One of the best of these was Oliver Goldsmith, who excelled in this as he did in every other department. Garrick, Macklin, and Foote, all of them actors, and therefore best acquainted with the public taste and the mode of gratifying it, were successful farce and comedy writers. Of accomplished scholars, there was Colman the translator of Terence, and Murphy the translator of Tacitus, whose productions for the stage outlived their more serious literary labours. The same may be said of Cumberland, whose comedies of the "West Indian," "Wheel of Fortune," &c., can still command admiring audiences. But passing over the names of many other writers, whose light, dramatic sketches can still amuse, we are arrested by that of Sheridan, as eminent a play-writer as he was a senator, and whose "Critic," "Duenna," "Rivals," and "School for Scandal," are as well known as his eloquent speech on the trial of Warren Hastings. But as new objects and pursuits continued to increase, the theatre in like proportion was losing its former ascendancy, and becoming of even less importance, at the close of the period, than a Vauxhall entertainment, a concert, or a ball. With this summary notice we may dismiss the subject of the drama.

BOOK XI.

PERIOD FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE IV.—28 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1802—1830.

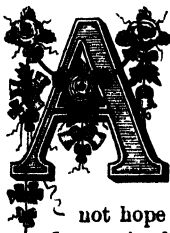
CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	Portugal.	Denmark.	Naples (or Two Sicilies since 1816).
1760 GEORGE III.	1810 JOHN VI.	1808 FREDERIC VI.	1806 JOSEPH BONAPARTE.
1823 GEORGE IV.	(REGENT with the royal title, and full regal powers since 1799.)	Sweden.	1809 JOACHIM MURAT.
France.	1816 JOHN VI.	1809 CHARLES XIII.	1816 FERDINAND I.
1802 NAPOLEON BONAPARTE (FIRST CONSUL FOR LIFE)	1826 PEDRO II. and MARIA II.	1818 CHARLES XIV.	Of the United Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Ferdinand IV. of Naples, or of Naples and Sicily, or of the Two Sicilies, from 1759 to 1806, and Ferdinand III. of Sicily from 1806 to 1815).
1804 NAPOLEON (EMPEROR).	1828 MIGUEL.	Prussia	1825 FRANCIS I.
1814 LOUIS XVIII.	Germany (or Austria since 1806).	1797 FREDERIC WILLIAM III	United States—Presidents.
1824 CHARLES X.	1792 FRANCIS II.	Turkey.	1809 JAMES MADISON.
Spain.	Russia.	1807 MUSTAPHA IV.	1817 JAMES MONROE.
1788 CHARLES IV.	1801 ALEXANDER.	1808 MAHMOUD II.	1825 JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.
1808 FERDINAND VII. (March).—JOSEPH NAPOLEON (June).	1825 NICHOLAS.	Popes.	1829 ANDREW JACKSON.
1814 FERDINAND VII. (restored).		1800 PIUS VII.	
		1823 LEO XII.	
		1829 PIUS VIII.	

CHAPTER I. — CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY. A.D. 1802—1803.

GEORGE III.

State of France and Britain at the time of the peace of Amiens—Articles of the treaty of peace—Bonaparte's first use of the termination of naval hostilities—French expedition to San Domingo—Bonaparte retains his hold upon Italy—Discussion in the British parliament upon the terms of the peace of Amiens—Dissatisfaction expressed of them—Advantages gained by France from the treaty—Statements in parliament on the subject by Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham—Intention announced of repealing the income-tax—Parliament prorogued—Resort of English travellers to France—Condition of the French government—Improvements introduced by Bonaparte—Symptoms of the restoration of monarchic rule in France—Plot against Bonaparte's life by the infernal machine—Its failure—Punishment of the conspirators—Increase of Bonaparte's power—Mode of its exercise—Bonaparte's plans for creating a French navy—Materials of the expedition to San Domingo—The negro government of that island—First successes of the French expedition—Its terrible reverses and failure—The French compelled to abandon San Domingo—Renewed designs of Bonaparte on Egypt—Ultimate purposes to be served by his conquest of Egypt—Bonaparte's fresh aggressions upon Italy and Switzerland—Symptoms of an approaching rupture between France and Britain—Conspiracy against the life of George III.—Colonel Despard, its leader, apprehended—His trial and execution—Warlike precautions against France adopted—War declared—Popularity of the war proclamation in England—A *levy en masse* bill passed in parliament—The income-tax revived in a new form—Peltier's libels against Bonaparte in London—Complaint of Bonaparte to the British government—Trial of Peltier by an English jury for the offence—His defence by Mackintosh—Eloquent speech of Mackintosh in behalf of his client—Effect of his speech throughout Europe—Indignation of Bonaparte at the trial.



AT the time of the peace of Amiens the two great belligerent powers had scarcely the means of carrying on an active warfare against each other. Without allies and auxiliaries on the Continent, England could not hope to touch France by land; with fleets ruined or blockaded, with a navy completely disheartened, France could not expect to touch England by sea. The brilliant campaign in Egypt, which reminded the French of the old

pro prowess of the British infantry, and which told the nations of Europe that these new Gallic armies were not invincible, allowed us to treat with less sacrifice of national pride than at any previous period of the war. We could also treat without any sacrifice of public faith; for the coalesced powers on the Continent, who were engaged in their arduous struggle at the times when the Foxites had recommended negotiation with Bonaparte, had now yielded, for a season, to the terrible first consul, and had sought terms for themselves, without heeding us.

One great desire of the French was gratified by England recognizing their so-called republic; and to obtain this recognition had certainly been one of the various motives which induced the first consul to treat. The contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens were, the King of Great Britain and Ireland on the one part, and the French republic, his majesty of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian republic, on the other. The leading articles of the treaty were:—Art. III.—His Britannic majesty restored to France, Spain, and Batavia all the possessions and colonies which he had occupied or conquered during the war, with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon, which Spain and Batavia severally ceded and guaranteed to his Britannic majesty. Art. VI.—The Cape of Good Hope was to remain to the Batavian republic in full sovereignty, in the same manner as previous to the war. Art. VII.—The territories and possessions of our ally, Portugal, were to be maintained in their integrity, such as they were antecedent to the war; but that portion of Portuguese Guiana which had been ceded was to remain to the French republic, and Spain was to keep the territory on the frontiers of Portugal which had been yielded to her by the treaty of Olivenza. Art. VIII.—The territories, possessions, &c., of the Sublime Porte were to be maintained in their integrity as they were before the war or the invasion of Egypt. Art. IX.—A Veneto-Greek republic, which had started up under French care, in the Seven or Ionian Islands, on the destruction of the ancient republic of Venice, which had possessed these islands for many ages, was recognized by the contracting parties. Art. X.—Malta, with its dependent isles, Gozo and Comino, was to be restored to its old masters, the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. The British troops were to evacuate Malta and its dependencies within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible, when all was to be given up to the order, provided the new grand-master, or commissioners duly authorized, were there to receive the surrender, and that the Neapolitan troops were arrived. The King of Naples was to be invited to send 2000 of his native troops to serve in garrison for one year after the restoration of the knights, or longer, if the Maltese force should not be at that period deemed competent by the guaranteeing powers to garrison the island. Art. XI.—The French troops were to evacuate every part of the kingdom of Naples and of the Roman states, except such portions of the latter as had been annexed to the Cisalpine republic; and the British were to evacuate all the ports and islands they had occupied in the Mediterranean or in the Adriatic. Art. XII.—The evacuations, cessations, and resti-

tutions named in the treaty were to be made, in Europe, within one month; on the continents and seas of America and Africa, within three months; and on the continent and seas of Asia, within six months after the exchange of the ratifications. Art. XV.—The Newfoundland fisheries were to be placed on the same footing as previously to the war. Art. XVIII.—The Prince of Orange, late stadtholder, or the branches of the house of Nassau, were to receive equivalent compensations for the losses they could prove they had sustained, as well with respect to private property as by the change of constitution adopted in the Batavian republic. But by a secret article appended to this 18th article, the Batavian republic was exempted from finding any part of this compensation; and as no other state or territory was pledged for it, it was pretty evident that no compensation to the house of Nassau-Orange was intended. Art. XXII.—The present treaty, done at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802, was to be ratified within thirty days, or sooner if possible; and the ratifications were to be exchanged in due form at Paris.

The very first use which Bonaparte made of the benefit of the suspension of hostilities at sea was to send out a formidable armament to recover, in the first place, the whole of San Domingo from the revolted or the free and independent negroes. On the 14th of December, 1801, only ten weeks and four days after the signing of the preliminaries, a great fleet and a strong land army set sail from Brest for the West Indies. The British ministry, on the solemn assurance that it had no other object in view than that which was publicly stated, agreed not to molest this armament on its passage; but, as the force was so great, and as the treaty itself was not yet signed, it was deemed advisable to watch proceedings, and to reinforce our own fleet on the West Indian station; and to these ends, Admiral Mitchell was despatched with seven sail of the line. That French expedition did not, because it could not, depart from the object laid down; and it terminated, not in any re-occupation, or aggrandizement, or seizure, but in the almost total destruction of the forces engaged in it. But a few days after its first departure from Brest, Bonaparte realized another great project, which gave him in name—what he already had in fact—the presidency and actual command of all Lombardy and those other rich portions of Italy which, by his last treaty with the Emperor of Germany (the treaty of Lunéville), were to constitute the independent Cisalpine republic, and to be freed alike from French and from Austrian dominion and interference. He gave emphasis to the doctrine that Upper Italy could not yet be evacuated by the French armies which had *liberated* it. The whole business was finished

by the 26th of January, 1802. It rendered the *independent* Cisalpine republic a mere appendage of France: it was an infraction of the treaty of Luneville; and, if the Emperor of Germany

had in condemning the peace was even smaller than that which had sided for so many years with Fox in reprobating the war.

The sailing of the immense armament from Brest for San Domingo, pending the negotiation of the definitive treaty, created great alarm, and occasioned some demands in the House of Commons for the recall of the Marquis Cornwallis from Amiens. It was determined that the naval and military establishments should be continued as they were, without any reduction, for three months longer. The transactions with the Cisalpine republic were the cause of fresh excitement; and in the course of the month of January, 1802, it became known in England that Bonaparte had exacted from Spain her American colony of Louisiana, and had claimed, in Italy, Parma and the island of Elba,



RUE ST LEU AND HÔTEL DILA, AMIENS — FROM *France Monumentale et Pittoresque*

had been in a condition to renew hostilities, the British cabinet would scarcely have carried the preliminaries of peace to a definitive treaty. The young Emperor of Russia, who had stipulated for a share in the settlement of Italy, was highly incensed, but beyond this he could offer no interruption. Before the signatures were set to the treaty at Amiens, other usurpations on the part of the first consul, and other provocations most difficult to be endured by a proud nation took place, but which England was obliged to endure in silence, on account of that desire of peace which was general over the whole Continent.

When the preliminaries were first announced to the imperial parliament, which met in the autumn of 1801, the ex-minister Pitt assisted the Addington administration in defending what they had done and were doing. He said that after the great coalitions had all been dissolved, nothing remained for us but to procure just and honourable conditions of peace for ourselves and the few allies who had not deserted us. On the contrary, his late colleagues, Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, censured the conduct of the Addington administration as mean and pusillanimous, declared the preliminaries to be disgraceful, and a prolongation of the war, though single-handed and to any indefinite period, to be preferable to this insidious and insecure peace. Fox with his party now voted with Pitt and the Addingtons in approbation of the preliminaries; and, for some months, it was found that the minority which followed Lord Grenville and Mr. Wind-

thus adding, in a time of peace or of truce, to the enormous acquisitions which he had made during the war. The delays in the negotiations obliged Mr Addington, on the 3d of March, to demand a supply on the war establishment for sixty-one days more. Lord Grenville spoke with great force against the conditions and tendencies of the treaty. It would have been but just and reasonable, said his lordship, for France to have purchased back her colonies, and the colonies of her allies or dependants, Spain and Holland, by continental sacrifices; but France gave up nothing; for Egypt, at the time the treaty was concluded, was not hers to give, while England gave up nearly every foot of territory she had obtained. In fact, by the result of the treaty, France was left either in actual possession of, or with a most absolute control over the greatest or richest part of the continent of Europe. She kept Savoy, she kept Belgium, she kept the Germanic states on the left bank of the Rhine, she kept, under a fiction of independence, the whole of Upper Italy and the whole of Holland; she kept whatever she had gained. And yet she was to be repossessed of all that she had lost. and, moreover, to be allowed to acquire immense territories from her submissive and helpless allies. In Asia she was to have Pondicherry, Cochin, Negapatam, and the Spice Islands; in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, Goree, and Senegal (for it was idle to talk of the Batavian republic having or holding anything); in the West Indies, Martinique, Ste. Lucie, Guadaloupe, Tobago, Curacao, and a part, if not the

whole of San Domingo. In America she was to be repossessed of St. Pierre and Miquelon; and, as new possessions, whence she could press upon both the Anglo-American states and the Spanish-American and Portuguese-American possessions, Louisiana was to be hers by virtue of the secret treaty with Spain, and French Guiana was to be rounded and enlarged by territory torn from Portugal by the treaty of Madrid; and, in addition to this territory in Guiana, extending to the Amazon river, she was to have, in South America, Surinam, Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. In the Mediterranean, too, where our naval superiority was most important, we had disposed ourselves of Malta, Minorca, and even the island of Elba, which France wanted merely in order to exclude us from the neighbouring port of Leghorn. We were now, in fact, excluded from all the ports of Italy; and all that inland sea seemed on the point of being converted into a French lake. The first fruits of this peace, continued Grenville, were seen in the necessity of our keeping in the West Indies, at an enormous expense, thirty-five sail of the line. He exposed the absurdity of placing Malta under the guarantee of powers who could never agree on any one point respecting the island, and of garrisoning it *pro tempore* with the least steady and least reliable troops in Europe. He called the pretended restoration of Malta to the knights a still greater absurdity; for how could it be said that such an order was really in existence, when almost all the funds necessary for its support had been confiscated—confiscated in good part since the preliminaries of this treaty, which was to restore them to their independent, sovereign power? The expenses of the order of Malta, principally in fortifications and garrisons, had been, on an average of the last ten years, about £130,000 sterling per annum. The total revenue derivable from the island was only about £34,000, and of this not more than £8000 came into the coffers of the knights. Of those ample revenues which in former times had been enjoyed by the order, the French had confiscated about £58,000 per annum at the commencement of their revolution, when they suppressed the French *langues*, and declared the whole order to be a thing obsolete, useless, and detestable, like all other institutions that were built upon superstition and monachism. More recently, Spain had been induced to confiscate £27,000 per annum; and still more recently, the estates and property of the order had been seized and confiscated in Lombardy and in Piedmont, while it was evident that the rest of the Italian states, beggared by the war and by French exactions, were looking with an eager eye to such lands and houses as belonged to the order, and were within their

own territory and grasp. In short, of all the former income of the order there now remained a bare £20,000 per annum—a sum evidently insufficient to keep up the extensive and magnificent fortifications, or prepare for the defence of the island. The order of Malta was therefore extinct as a power, and must necessarily come under the influence and into the pay of the French, who had reduced it to this condition of helplessness and degradation. The grand-master would be elected by their nomination, and the whole order would be subordinate to the French.

In the House of Commons, Windham still more bitterly condemned the definitive treaty. The first point he dwelt upon was Malta. The pretended neutrality of that island would at any time allow the French and their allies to collect eighteen ships of the line in its ports, while we were restricted to six ships of the line. To talk of the order, and of the different *langues* or nations composing it, was now idle; its power, its consideration, were gone for ever. The German knights had already refused to serve in a body so changed and degraded; the Neapolitan soldiers could never be any security for the independence of the island; they would throw open the gates of La Valette and Vittoriosa to the first French force that appeared; the state of Malta was a virtual surrender, and our position in the Mediterranean would be made untenable; for, with the exception of Gibraltar, at the entrance of that sea, we should not have a single port or place of refuge for our ships. He (Windham) had been secretary-at-war, and he would enter on a retrospect of the manner in which the war had been conducted. He affirmed that, with the exception of the expedition to Toulon, and the melancholy affair at Quiberon, little had been attempted upon what he conceived to be the peculiar and appropriate principle of the war. There were men, there was a party in England who had unceasingly condemned our entering into hostilities with the French. From its very commencement the war had been carried on with an incessant cry for peace; incessantly was the justice of our cause arraigned, and that of the enemy vindicated; our most splendid victories had been coldly received, our most brilliant successes had been depreciated. If the war was neither just nor necessary, every shilling spent on it was too much; if it was merely a war of experiment, it had cost us too many sacrifices; but, if it was a war for the very existence of the country, then our exertions had been too little for either our object or our means. He repeated emphatically, that it was apparent the strength of the country was unimpaired by the exertions it had made—that the country had not grown lean by them. Lord Folkstone, who seconded

Windham's motion, said that the British flag was degraded and disgraced by this treaty, as far as any treaty could have that effect; that it was a treaty built on Jacobin principles and confirming Jacobin power; that we had abandoned Portugal to spoliation, and in our treatment of the Prince of Orange had added insult to injury; that he saw nothing left for old England but dishonour, degradation, and ruin. It was, however, deemed both just and expedient to give the government of Bonaparte a trial; and with this conviction, many members of both houses had voted in favour of the treaty, and had deprecated all severe strictures on the character and intentions of the first consul.

On the 5th of April, when Addington brought forward his budget for the year, he announced the intention of government to abolish the income-tax, and fund the £56,000,000, with the payment of which it was charged. The resolutions upon the budget were agreed to without a division, and with many compliments and felicitations on the repeal of the income-tax.

On the 28th of June, parliament was prorogued by the king in person, who congratulated the country on the peace and prosperity it was enjoying. On the next day the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for a new one.

English travellers, who had been so long excluded from the Continent, were now rushing in shoals to France and Italy. At the beginning of June there were said to be 6000 British subjects in Paris alone, and the number increased rapidly in the course of the summer and autumn. Among those who hastened to the French capital, to attend the levees of the first consul after the rising of parliament, were Mr. Fox and his nephew, Lord Holland, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Erskine, Lord St. John, General Fitzpatrick, and other members of both houses, mostly of the opposition party. Apparently with but few exceptions, these individuals, though they could not venture as Englishmen openly to approve of the despotism which Bonaparte had established, complacently resigned themselves to wonder and admiration at all that the great man had done and was doing,

and to a most delusive hope, not merely of the durability of the peace, but of the possibility of a close union and alliance between Napoleon Bonaparte, who was now taking his place among the hereditary sovereigns of Europe, and George III. Fox, who had begun that historical work which he did not live to finish, and who wished to make researches in the archives of the office of foreign affairs, and in other French repositories of state-papers, for the correspondence and intrigues of Louis XIV. and his ministers with our unhappy James II., was received by Bonaparte as a friend, was applauded for the efforts he had made to put an end to the war, and was promptly gratified in his wishes.

Since the revolution of the 19th Brumaire, or

10th November, 1799, immense changes had taken place in the government and internal state of France. The directory had left the finances in a wretched condition. forced loans, arbitrarily assessed, had been the chief resource of that rapacious and most corrupt government: these loans had destroyed all credit, and the money having been spent or appropriated as it was raised, the treasury was left empty when Bonaparte became first consul. He repealed the odious system, and substituted twenty-five per cent. additional upon all taxes. Other irregular exactions were put



NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL.—After a portrait by Isidore Dalbe

an end to, order was introduced, and confidence gradually restored. Early in the consulate it was understood that, whatever might be the scepticism or infidelity of Bonaparte, he was determined to give no encouragement to atheism, deism, theophilanthropism, or to any of those creeds or systems which had sprung up with such wondrous rapidity during the revolution. No conviction, no zeal for Christianity, was or could be pretended by the first consul, or by the theists or materialists who surrounded him and made up his government; but the dogmas of Anacharsis Clootz, Hébert, and the rest who had set up the worship of the goddess of reason, and the crudities of Robespierre, and his festival to the Etre Suprême, were all reprobated as offensive to decency and good taste; and it was ~~understood~~ that the far greater portion of the French people

were still Roman Catholic Christians in their heart. About 20,000 priests, who had been banished or imprisoned, were allowed to return, or were set at liberty on taking the oath of fidelity to the consular government as at present established. The churches were re-opened, and, though in most of the great towns many of them were but thinly attended, Christian worship was performed all over France. The Sabbath was again recognized as a day of rest, the decades gave way to the old calculation by weeks, and, by degrees, the whole of Rome's revolutionary calendar fell into disuse. The festival of the 21st of January, in commemoration of the atrocious execution of Louis XVI., was discontinued. To Sièyes, who spoke of Louis as "the tyrant," Bonaparte said, "Nay, nay! Louis was no tyrant! Had he been a tyrant, I should this day have been a captain of artillery, and you saying mass." Privately, with the very few persons he admitted into a large share of his confidence (his full confidence he never gave to living being), he did not pretend to conceal that he was himself aspiring at the name of royalty, having already more than the substance of it; but he quieted their or his own impatience by declaring that "the pear was not yet ripe"—that, powerful as he was, it was necessary to proceed with caution, and to make sure of one position before he advanced to another. He, however, as early as the 19th of February, 1800, took possession of the royal palace of the Tuileries, telling his colleagues that it was "a good military position," and a more convenient place for the seat of government than the Luxembourg, which had been defiled and disgraced by the residence of the directors. Of the placemen, those who had been the most fanatic in their republicanism became the most devoted partizans, the loudest-tongued panegyrists, the most submissive slaves of the consul. These sudden and extreme conversions were not calculated to improve Bonaparte's low opinion of mankind. He was accustomed to say that with money and a little gold lace to put upon their coats, he could un-republicanize all these republicans. But still there were in Paris republicans of a lower grade, who retained all the fanaticism of the reign of terror, and who were from the beginning dissatisfied with a dictatorship which shut up their clubs, suppressed their newspapers, and excluded them from all hope of being great or famous as demagogues. It is rather remarkable that the hottest of these Jacobins, the most sincere and devoted of these republicans, were not Frenchmen, but Italians and Corsicans.

Cerrachi, a sculptor from Rome, Dana, with several other Italian refugees, and Joseph Arena, a Corsican, and brother of Bartholomew Arena, who had been a distinguished member of the

council of five hundred, and who had vigorously opposed Bonaparte on the 19th Brumaire, when he went to St. Cloud to dissolve that legislature with bayonets, formed or headed a conspiracy against the life of the first consul, whom they designated as the greatest of liberticides. Their plot was discovered, they were tracked by Fouché's adroit agents, and were all arrested. Shortly after this, on the 24th of December, 1800, as Bonaparte was driving in his carriage to the opera-house, a tremendous explosion of several barrels of gunpowder, in a waggon which was drawn up on one side of the street, destroyed several houses, and killed many persons. The first consul's carriage, driven at unusual speed by a coachman who is said to have been half-intoxicated, had just passed; the fearful explosion made the man drive still faster; sundry impediments that had been placed in the streets were passed without accident; and unhurt, and enthusiastically cheered by the audience, who had promptly conceived the object of the explosion, Bonaparte entered the opera. As his hatred and dread of the Jacobins always exceeded his dislike of the royalists, he declared that he was convinced the murderous plot was a Jacobin one; but the police soon ascertained, beyond the reach of a doubt, that the infernal machine, as it was termed, had been the work of certain fanatical royalists connected with the Chouans in Brittany and the Vendée. They were caught in the toils which the police spread for them, and were speedily tried and executed. Their attempt had no other effect than that of increasing the popularity and power of the first consul. At the same time that they were guillotined, Cerrachi, Arena, and the others concerned in the republican plot, having already been tried and found guilty, were brought out of prison and executed also. A few days after these Bourbonists and Jacobins had lost their heads, a *SENATUS CONSULTUM*, as every decree of the senate, or published will of Bonaparte, was now styled, came forth, ordering the immediate transportation to Guiana of 130 known leaders of the old Jacobin party, several of whom had participated in the atrocities of the reign of terror. In April, 1801, a general amnesty was granted to all emigrants who chose to return to France and take the oath of fidelity to the present government. About 500 individuals were, however, excepted, including those who belonged to the households of the Bourbon princes, those who had been at the head of armed bodies of royalists, or who had held rank in foreign armies employed against their country, and all those who were held to be convicted of treason. The property of the returned emigrants which had not been sold, or which had not been appropriated by the state for public purpose, was to be restored to them.

But no laws were fixed to determine and regulate this restitution; and the first consul restored or withheld, gave to one member of the emigrant family or to another, just in proportion as he found the parties disposed to enter his service and identify their interests with his. The words "stability and order" were now constantly resounding in every ear, and introduced in every page of printed paper; and under the cloak of these two fine words the entire subversion of liberty and the erection of a despotism were concealed. They found a people wearied out by a long excitement, and anxious only for order and tranquillity at home, and glory and conquest abroad; a people that did not moan or sigh over the bloody, fantastic tricks which had been played, but laughed at them all, pleasantly terminating their political retrospects and reflections with a "*Que de forces nous avons faites dans notre révolution!*"

On the 2d of August, 1802, the following decree went forth, with a proper preamble about votes and registers and the unbiasse will of the people:—"1. The French people name, and the senate proclaim, Napoleon Bonaparte first consul for life. 2. A statue of *Peace*, holding in one hand the laurel of victory, and in the other this decree of the senate, shall attest to posterity the gratitude of the nation. 3. The senate will convey to the first consul the expression of the confidence, love, and admiration of the French people." And after a very few days this new revolution was completed by the issuing of a simple *senatus consultum*, which accommodated the last consular constitution, or that made after the bayonet-scene at St. Cloud, to the present change, by rendering it still more despotic.

By the end of the year 1802 Bonaparte had concentrated the whole power of the state in his single self, and had organized an absolutism compared with which that of Louis XIV. was a free government. In the words of the ablest and honestest of the republican historians of France, he had a class devoted to him in the clergy as re-organized by the concordat; he had a military order in the Legion of Honour; an administrative body in the council of state; a decree-making machine in the legislative body; and a constitution-making machine in the senate. The immense standing army was at his disposal, and almost unanimously devoted to him and his glory. So many places had been created with direct salaries from the state, that he had another army in his placemen, and constant baits to hold out to the thousands of needy or ambitious men that were incessantly resorting to Paris to seek employments under government; and now everything was under government, and by the centralization system the place of distribution was the capital alone. This rage for

place-hunting increased in proportion with his splendour and his power, contributing in an eminent degree to the growth and maintenance of that power, and to the general indifference for national freedom; for, besides France and Italy, Belgium and the annexed provinces on the left bank of the Rhine, Bonaparte could, soon after this, appoint to profitable employments in Holland, and in more than half the states into which Germany was divided; and a few years later Spain and Portugal presented themselves as new Lands of Promise to the ever-increasing and insatiate place-hunters. At the end of his reign, it was not easy to find a man that was not, or had not been, either *militaire* or *employé*.

The absolute power put into the hands of the first consul for life was used with the utmost vigour. His government assumed at once most of the characteristics of an ancient despotism. Even while Fox and his friends were tarrying in Paris, secret arrests were made by night and day, and by scores at a time. Men were arrested upon the information of spies and informers, were immured in the Temple or some other state-prison, without knowing of what they were accused; and were not unfrequently removed in a private manner, and by night, from these places of captivity in Paris to much more horrible prisons or fortresses in remote parts of France. These nocturnal arrests and removals were called *Fonche's lettres-de-cachet*.

The peace of Amiens, besides affording the first consul the opportunity of consolidating his power, and of putting matters at home in order, allowed him time to devise a vast system of colonization. He could not but know that, without foreign colonies, there could be no rapid or certain increase of the mercantile navy of France, and that without a mercantile navy he could have no hope of an armed or national navy capable of contending with that of England—a country whose subjugation was more frequently in his thoughts during this brief peace than it had been during the turmoil and bustle of the war. "Colonies and ships," "ships and colonies," were words constantly re-echoing in the Tuileries and the council of state. He took up the ideas of colonization and naval supremacy which had been current during the American war and all the earlier part of the reign of Louis XVI., and he added bolder notions of his own. He regarded colonies first, as *military stations* whence conquests might be pursued, and secondly, as sources of commercial prosperity and nurseries for seamen: and in his eyes the military part seems never to have been separated from the civil, or conquest from commerce. The expedition to San Domingo not only formed an essential part of Bonaparte's colonial system, but also

afforded him the opportunities of finding employment in a time of peace for a portion of his immense army, and of relegating many of his discontented officers and soldiers far from France. Papers are said still to exist which show that this expedition was for the first consul a measure of military police; that the drafting of the forces to be employed was most cunningly arranged; that the choice fell upon the demi-brigades of which he was least sure, and upon the most ardent of the republicans; that the men devoted to Moreau and the other sturdy republican generals who would not bend the knee at the Tuileries, were all thrust into this fatal expedition. But to keep in control those discontented, turbulent masses, the command in chief was given to General Leclerc, who had become Bonaparte's brother-in-law by marrying his favourite sister Pauline: and, to officers and men, the most tempting and extravagant promises were given of estates and riches in the vast and productive island to which they were going. About 24,000 soldiers were collected on the western coast of France in the autumn of 1801. To transport them to their destination, Bonaparte demanded the services of the Spanish navy; and seven Spanish ships of the line, besides frigates, were put at his disposal. The whole fleet, which sailed on the 14th of December, 1801, consisted of twenty-three or twenty-four sail of the line, including some Dutch ships, of ten or twelve frigates, and of a swarm of smaller vessels and transports. The way in which the first consul disposed of the naval forces of his allies or dependants gave rise to serious reflections in England; for it proved that all the shipping and ports from the Texel to Cadiz were at the disposal of the French, and that, if any long peace were allowed to the Continent, these navies would be greatly increased.

The negroes and mulattoes of San Domingo, who had themselves abolished their slavery by energetic, sanguinary, and terrible means, were now settled down under an imitative temporary republic, of which Toussaint l'Ouverture, a black slave of distinguished courage and ability, was the real head. Toussaint had fought like a Spartacus—only with better success—for the liberation of his race; but notwithstanding his bravery and talent, he had little instruction, and was, like all the negro race, essentially an imitator, who could only copy and follow the ideas and systems of the whites. At first he made a constitution for the negroes of San Domingo like that which the directory had made for France; but when the revolution of Brumaire established the consulship, put the power of the state in the hands of Bonaparte, and altered the constitution, Toussaint changed his constitution also, pro-

claiming himself first consul of Hayti, the Bonaparte of San Domingo! These close imitations irritated the first consul of France, hurt his very susceptible pride, and made him the more eager for the overthrow of this negro republic. "This comedy of government," said he, "must cease! We must not permit military honours to be worn by apes and monkeys!" As for the abolition of negro slavery, Bonaparte considered it as one of the most glaring absurdities which had ever been entertained by the ideologists and revolutionists of France. General Leclerc and his doomed demi-brigades found, almost as soon as they landed in San Domingo, that every negro on the island was hostile to them, and that they were sent to engage in one of the most difficult and destructive of warfares, in a country where the climate and everything else was against them. Their first successes only deceived them, led them into a false and dangerous confidence, and made their subsequent failures more terrible to themselves and more disappointing to those who had sent them thither. Fort Dauphin was easily captured; Cape François was evacuated by the negro Henri Christophe, who had once been a skilful cook at a tavern, but who was now a general of the blacks, and second only to Toussaint l'Ouverture; but, before quitting the town, Christophe burned the greater part of it, and he succeeded in drawing off 3000 armed negroes, with whom he joined the black first consul. With nearly equal ease the French got possession of Port-au-Prince and the chief seaports, and of the principal military posts near the coast. This done, they advanced into the interior of the island to encounter the black first consul and the yellow fever. Various loose actions were fought, in which victory did not invariably declare itself for the whites, and in which the black generals are said to have displayed both skill and courage. But the white first consul had instructed his brother-in-law to employ craft where force failed; to sow jealousies and dissensions among the negroes; to dupe the black first consul by treaties and promises of amnesty, honours, and the viceroyalty of the island; and to adopt all means, foul and fair, to get possession of his person. Though by no means devoid of cunning, or unaccustomed to practise treachery himself, the negro chief fell into the snare, submitted to Leclerc, and was presently loaded with chains and sent a prisoner to France. But the successful treachery did not lead to the result which Bonaparte had confidently expected from it. With an unanimity, with a fury doubled by the dark deed, the negroes flew to arms under Henri Christophe and other leaders, fell upon the French when weakened by the endemic fever, scattered them, drove them

back towards the coast, and tortured, mutilated, butchered them in heaps wherever they obtained the mastery over them. Between the blacks and the whites nearly all the plantations and the dwellings of men were wasted by fire and the sword; and devastations were committed from which the island has never recovered, nor is likely to recover under negro government. The French retaliated wherever they were able, and the most atrocious of wars was prolonged through many months. Even in the restored island of Guadeloupe, where but a slight resistance was offered by the blacks and mulattoes, detestable barbarities were committed, and the French commander frankly announced his intention of pursuing and *exterminating* the remnant of the rebels. In the autumn of 1802, when the yellow fever and the blacks of San Domingo had reduced the fine French army to a few hundreds of sickly, wounded, despairing men, and when Leclerc himself was dying of the endemic, Christophe, with the black chiefs Clervaux and Dessalines, invested the town of Cape François. Leclerc died on the 2d of November, and was succeeded in the chief command by General Rochambeau, son of the old marshal of that name who had served in America with La Fayette, and who had commanded the first great revolutionary army in 1790. The arrival of fresh reinforcements from France—in all about 15,000 men—enabled Rochambeau to drive Christophe and his blacks from Cape François, which they were threatening with a regular siege. He then attempted to recover the ground which Leclerc had lost, and to penetrate into the south of the island; but the troops fresh from Europe caught the terrible diseases of the climate; and after some marches which multiplied the mortality, and some disastrous encounters with Christophe, he was compelled to retreat to Cape François, with a force so diminished, sick, and disheartened, as to render any long defence of that place an impracticability. As by this time the war with England had been recommenced, Bonaparte could not venture to send out any more ships and troops. Preferring a capitulation with the negroes to a surrender to the English, Rochambeau treated with the black chief Dessalines, agreed to deliver up the town to him, and evacuated Cape François on the 1st December, 1803. A more fatal expedition is not to be found in the whole history of this long war. Between February, 1802, and December, 1803, from 40,000 to 50,000 men perished in the island of San Domingo; but, assuredly, one of the objects of Bonaparte was obtained; the troublesome, obdurate republicans could trouble him no longer—the dead, and only the dead, never come back—as Citizen Barrère had said in the high republican days. The treatment which

Toussaint l'Ouverture met with in France was at least as atrocious as any part of this horrible history. He died in a dungeon situated upon the highest and coldest part of the mountains of Jura, after a dreary imprisonment, exposed to every kind of privation.

A few months after the first sailing of the exiled republican army for San Domingo, the first consul despatched Colonel Sebastiani, a Corsican of great address and ability, to Egypt, Syria, and other countries in the Levant; for Egypt still lay at the heart of this all-grasping ruler; and, whether he should recover and keep the great West India islands or not, he was eager to possess himself of the ancient land of the Pharaohs, of the Isthmus of Suez, of all the country that lay between the Mediterranean and the shores of the Red Sea, or that stretched along that sea; for this possession, he still fancied, would facilitate his views on India; and it entered into, and would become a capital part of the grand scheme for seizing the islands along the African coast, and in the Arabian and Indian seas, or all the approaches to Hindoostan.

By deeds as well as by words the first consul had proved that those who were disposed to give him a trial were making a very useless and dangerous experiment. The erecting himself president of the Cisalpine republic, between the signing of the preliminaries and exchanging the ratifications of peace, had been overlooked, or had not been allowed to stand in the way of the pacific experiment. It had, however, been understood at Amiens; and an express promise and pledge to that effect had been given to the Emperor of Russia, who took an active interest in the fate of the house of Savoy, that Piedmont should neither be united to the so-called republic in Italy, nor incorporated with France, but be left, with some slight clipping, to the unfortunate King of Sardinia. It was equally understood that France, which had been allowed all the benefits of the *uti possidetis* principle, should remain content with what she had, nor attempt any new incorporations or annexations of territory, either beyond the Alps or elsewhere. Yet, because the young Emperor Alexander refused to take up that wild scheme of Indian conquest, to be made jointly by France and Russia, which had been entertained by his father, and because he declined concurring in other hostile views against Great Britain and Austria, Bonaparte, after sundry encroachments and stretches of power on the side of the Rhine, and in that other puppet-state, the Batavian republic, took possession of Elba, in virtue of an agreement with Naples and Tuscany; seized upon the duchy of Parma, on the death of the Duke Ferdinand; and finally, by a *senatus consultum*, dated Sep-

tember 2d, 1802, annexed and incorporated the whole of Piedmont with France. Vittorio Amedeo, the original member of the coalition of sovereigns, had died broken-hearted in 1796; his successor, Carlo Emanuele, had been compelled by the French and his own republican-disposed subjects, to sign an act of abdication, and to retire with all his family to the rude island of Sardinia in 1798. As soon as the then impassable sea was placed between this sovereign and his oppressors, and he was doubly safe in the midst of the brave Sards, he put forth a simple and touching, yet spirited protest. Shortly after, he voluntarily resigned the crown to his younger brother, Vittorio Emanuele, who was now ruling—not unwisely or unpatriotically—in Sardinia, which was all that was left of the dominions of his house, one of the most ancient of the dynasties of Europe. But, as a very large portion of the Savoyard and Piedmontese nobility, either anxious to escape from the insolence and oppressions of the French and the republican party of their own countrymen, or to prove their fidelity and attachment to their princes, had followed the exiled family into the island, and as industry and civilization were at a very low ebb, balking the bounties of nature and the richness of the soil, the court remained crowded and miserably poor—so poor, for years, that the noblest were obliged to exhibit themselves in patched coats, and the royal family itself must have been reduced to absolute privations if it had not been for grants of money made by England. Nor was it the intention of the French to respect this last asylum of royalty and wretchedness. "Sardinia," said Bonaparte, "produces the best bread in the world. Sardinia is but a continuation of the island of Corsica, and, like Corsica, must naturally be ours." Emissaries and propagandists were thrown into Cagliari to work upon the discontents of the people, and tempt them with prospects of the advantages and honours to be derived from an incorporation with the French republic; and more than once these agents very nearly succeeded in exciting dangerous insurrections.

The French troops had never been entirely withdrawn from Switzerland; and in the autumn of the present year a fresh army was marched into the cantons. The constitution which had been set up by the directory, and the dissensions and feuds which French intrigue had promoted, had thrown the whole of that tranquil and once happy country into a most stormy and unhappy condition. Many collisions took place, and not a little blood was spilled. At the same time the established provisional government refused to sanction the dismemberment of the Valais, which Bonaparte wanted for his projected military road

over the Simplon. In the month of October the first consul sent his trusty aide-de-camp, Rapp, to Berne, to offer to the distracted cantons his mediation for the settlement of all their differences; and at the same time he ordered General Ney to be at hand to enforce obedience at the head of an army. The democratic party readily accepted the proffered mediation; the aristocratic party, despite of Ney and his army, who were marching on Berne, showed considerable reluctance; but they were obliged to send Aloys Reding, with other deputies from their own body, to Paris, and eventually to submit to the law dictated in the Tuileries. It is true that Bonaparte, who now added "Mediator of the Helvetic League" to his other titles, displayed more moderation and at the same time infinitely more political wisdom in this matter than in any other of the same sort; but his *modus operandi* was worse than an insult to Austria, the close neighbour of Switzerland, and to the other powers of Europe, who had each as good a right to mediate as he had; the march of Ney's army was a direct and glaring attack on that Swiss independence which he had engaged to respect; and, besides all this, he forced the federal government to agree to maintain a body of 16,000 men in his service; and he retained Geneva and the bishopric of Basle, which had been seized by the directors—at the same time separating from Berne the whole of the Valais, which country was not long after incorporated with France.

Another grand provocative to the rupture was the fierce and systematized hostility of Bonaparte to the commerce of Great Britain, which, instead of being allowed, through the return of peace, to flow in its old channels, was actually more impeded and hampered in France, and in the countries where the French held sway, than it had been during the war. While the first consul was making every month or week some new encroachment, or advancing some new claim—while he was every day departing, if not from the strict letter, from the spirit of the treaty of Amiens—he pretended to bind England to the strict observance of every article in that treaty which was against her, and insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, and of every place she had agreed to restore.

The newly returned imperial parliament assembled as early as the 16th of November, when Mr. Abbot was unanimously re-elected speaker of the House of Commons. The speech from the throne seemed to intimate that the renewal of the war was at least probable, his majesty saying that, notwithstanding his sincere desire for peace, it was impossible for him to lose sight of that system of policy by which the interests of other states were connected with our own welfare, and

by which he was obliged not to be indifferent to any material change in the relative condition and strength of the European powers. Augmentations both of the navy and of the army were proposed by ministers a few days after the commencement of the session. On the 8th of December the secretary-at-war, Mr. Charles Yorke, rose to move the army estimates. He said he considered that the feelings of the nation at large had been distinctly manifested; that those feelings were, that we should preserve the peace we had made, so long as it could be preserved with honour; that we should overlook insignificant provocations, and that we should also abstain from aggression and from irritating language; but that, at the same time, we should always be ready to repel aggression, and to resent a great national insult. The military force of France at the commencement of the present year amounted to about 428,000 men, without counting national guards and the immense bodies of gendarmerie.

In the month of November a conspiracy against the king and government was discovered and announced in a manner calculated to give rather more alarm than the nature of the plot and the character of those engaged in it seem to have justified. It was headed by Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, an old soldier, who had once been distinguished by bravery and loyalty, but who had been driven into discontent and disaffection by not receiving the rewards to which he considered himself entitled through his services and abilities, and by the refusal or delay of government to liquidate some claims which he made upon it. He was a native of Ireland, and well connected in that country. On the 18th of November, two days after the meeting of parliament, Sir Richard Ford, a magistrate, issued a warrant for his apprehension, and a strong party of the London, Surrey, and Kent patrols proceeded to a low public-house in Oakley Street, Lambeth, nearly opposite the Asylum, where they found Colonel Despard and thirty-two other individuals, mechanics, day-labourers, and common soldiers, Irish, Scotch, and English, but chiefly Irish, who were all taken into custody, without making any attempt at resistance.

A.D. 1803.

On the 7th of February, Colonel Despard was brought to trial at the Surrey Sessions-house, Newington, before a special commission, of which the Lord Chief-justice of the King's Bench (Lord Ellenborough) was principal. With the single exception of Despard, all the individuals implicated were of the lowest order. The evidence produced left little doubt as to the existence of a plot of the wildest and most absurd kind. The first witness called for the defence was the gallant Nelson, who, in energetic language, bore honourable testimony to the

character of Despard: they had been, he said, on the Spanish main together in 1779; they had been together in the enemies' trenches, they had slept in the same tent; assuredly he was then a loyal man and a brave officer. General Sir Alured Clarke and Sir E. Nepean declared that they had always considered his loyalty as undoubted as his bravery. Despard declined saying anything in his own behalf. Lord Ellenborough summed up the evidence; the jury, after half-an-hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty, but recommended the prisoner to mercy.

Two days after, on the 9th of February, twelve of the other prisoners were brought to the same bar. The jury returned a verdict of guilty against John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, William Lander, John Macnamara, and four others of the prisoners, but recommended three of them to mercy.

Notwithstanding the recommendation of the jury, the appeals of his wife, and other applications, the king in council judged it not advisable to extend the prerogative of mercy to Despard. It happened unfortunately that just at this moment the colonel's countrymen were again in a very turbulent state. The dissenters of the north of Ireland were plotting under the guidance of Mr. Russel, who, like Despard, had been an officer in the army, and had served with much distinction; the Roman Catholic peasantry in the south had very recently been in open insurrection, to fix the maximum price of potatoes, and to expel the strangers who had settled among them; and ever since the rumour of the exceeding great probability of the renewal of the war with France, much activity, and going and coming to and from the Continent, had been observed among the old club-men in Dublin. On the 21st of February, Colonel Despard; Macnamara, an Irishman, and a carpenter by trade; John Wood, a soldier; John Francis, a soldier and shoemaker; Broughton, a carpenter; Graham, a slater; and Wrattan, a shoemaker, were all executed.

On the 8th of March a message from his majesty to both Houses of Parliament was received by the country, and by all Europe, as the signal of the close approach of war. It stated that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, his majesty had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. In the debates which took place in the lords on the proposed address in answer to this message, Lord Hobart (afterwards Earl of Buckinghamshire), secretary for the colonies, said that it was the earnest wish of ministers still to be able to prolong peace. Earl Spencer, who had been first lord of the admiralty under the late Pitt administration, said that he

had ever been a friend to vigorous measures; that he rejoiced to find ministers were at length sensible they had gone the full lengths of concession and negotiation, and were now determined to act a manly part; that there was no other chance of saving this country but by showing the first consul that we were not afraid of meeting France even though single-handed, and that, rather than suffer the smallest particle of the national honour to be tarnished, we were ready to recommence hostilities. The address was carried in the lords unanimously. In the commons Addington faintly repeated the hope that the continuance of peace might yet be found possible. Here, too, the address was voted unanimously.

The very day after this debate (on the 10th of March), another message was delivered expressing his majesty's intention of embodying and calling out the militia. On the 11th, the House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee of supply, ministers proposed to add 10,000 seamen to the 50,000 already voted. In the debates on this subject no small blame was thrown upon the Addington administration for having tried the experiment of peace, and several declarations were made that the existing administration was altogether incompetent to the carrying on of a vigorous war.

On the 6th of May, Lord Pelham communicated to the lords, and Mr. Addington to the commons, another message from his majesty, intimating that orders had been given to Lord Whitworth, our ambassador, to quit Paris immediately, unless he found a certainty of bringing the pending negotiations to a close against a certain period, and that General Andréossi, the French ambassador, had applied for a passport to be ready to quit London as soon as he should be informed of Lord Whitworth having quitted Paris. Ministers said that therefore an adjournment would be advisable for two or three days. Both houses adjourned till the Monday following. But it was not until the 16th of May, and after another adjournment, that all doubt and uncertainty were terminated by another royal message, which announced the recal of Lord Whitworth and the departure of Andréossi. In order to give time for producing the necessary papers, the consideration of the king's message was postponed for two days. But on the 17th, the day after the message was delivered, an order of council was published directing that reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the French republic; and a proclamation was issued for an embargo on all ships in the British ports belonging either to the French and Batavian republics, or to any countries occupied by French arms. The declaration of war was received in England with almost universal enthusiasm. Men

felt that the experiment of a peace had been tried and had failed; that an armed truce would be nearly as expensive as an active war, without the excitement and glory of warfare; that such a truce would enable Bonaparte to crush the spirit of national independence, to establish his dominion over the continent of Europe, and to build, with all the resources of the Continent, in treble fortified and inaccessible ports, a fleet which, in the course of a few years, might dispute with us the sovereignty of the seas.

This important subject was not fully taken into consideration until Monday, the 23d of May. In each house an address was moved, re-echoing the sentiments of the king's message and declaration. Some few doubts were expressed as to the justice or the expediency of commencing hostilities without some further attempt at negotiation; but in both houses the doubters were left in a most feeble minority.

At war with France, it was impossible to be at peace with Holland, which was now little more than a French province, and which still retained maritime resources too great to be despised. Lord Hawkesbury soon called the attention of the commons to another royal message relating to the ex-Stadtholder of Holland, our late ally, the Prince of Orange, who had been despoiled and left without a home, and who had no reliance except on the generosity of this country. His lordship then moved that the sum of £80,000, and a pension of £16,000 per annum, during the pleasure of his majesty, should be granted to the illustrious house of Orange. The grant passed without opposition.

On the following day, the 18th of June, another royal message acquainted parliament that, for the security and defence of the country, his majesty thought it necessary that a large additional force should be raised and assembled forthwith. On the 20th, in the commons, Mr. Yorke, the secretary-at-war, presented the plan of increase, which proposed to levy an army of reserve 50,000 strong—the men to be raised by ballot like the English militia, and their services during the war to extend to Great Britain, Ireland, and the Channel Islands. A bill to this effect was carried through both houses, not without opposition to some of its particulars, but without any division. Subsequently (on the 18th of July), Mr. Yorke moved for leave to bring in a bill enabling his majesty to raise a levy *en masse* in case of invasion. [At this moment the opposite coasts of France and Belgium were lined with troops, and the *Moniteur* and the *Brussels Gazette* were calculating how many weeks or days it would take Bonaparte to reach London.] This, he contended, was an ancient and indispensable prerogative of the crown, as was acknowledged in the laws of

the Anglo-Saxons, in the assize of Henry II. and statute of Henry III.; and the object of the present bill was only to facilitate the exercise of such prerogatives in case of need. The *levy en masse* bill was passed without dissent. Three days after this a message was delivered from his majesty, acquainting both houses that a spirit of insurrection had manifested itself in Ireland, and been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin. The corresponding address to the throne was carried at once and unanimously; and before another sun rose, two bills, one for trying rebels in Ireland by martial law, the other for suspending anew the habeas corpus act in Ireland, were hurried through all their stages and passed. Long before these debates were over the new Irish rebellion had extinguished itself in the bottomless pool of its own follies. But at Paris the movement had been well concerted: while the shores of England were threatened with invasion, Ireland was to be made the seat of civil war, and the Irish exiles and refugees had pledged themselves for the success of the insurrection, if Bonaparte would supply them with *only* money, arms, artillery, ships, and troops.

As early as the 13th of June, in bringing forward the budget, the chancellor of the exchequer had intimated his intention of reviving the income-tax as a necessary war-tax, and on the 5th of July he moved that the house should go into committee upon that subject. The new tax he chose to call a property-tax, although in substance it was little more a *property*-tax than the old one, only containing a clause by which, in cases of incomes from land or interest of money, no particular disclosure was to be required. The proportion now demanded was not, however, so large as formerly. Some abatements were also granted to various classes of persons; and the bill was read a third time, and passed on the 1st of August. Various other new taxes were also imposed. The total amount of supplies granted for the year was £41,363,192. The session was closed on the 12th of August by a speech from the throne. The king appeared in excellent health, and was enthusiastically cheered by immense multitudes on his way to and from parliament.

The war was inevitable before, but perhaps no single circumstance tended more to exasperate Bonaparte than the trial of Peltier, with the eloquent pleading of Sir James Mackintosh. Jean Joseph Peltier was a journalist and royalist refugee, and not in himself a very interesting or exalted person, having little literary merit, and being much more abusive than eloquent or witty. At the commencement of the revolution he edited a monarchic paper, entitled *Les Actes des Apôtres*, and wrote a great number of pamphlets. After the 10th of August, 1792, when the Bourbon

monarchy was rent to pieces, and "when our shores were covered as with the wreck of a great tempest," he fled to England, and availed himself most actively, and to an immense extent, of our liberty of the press. He began, after the peace of Amiens, to publish a new journal, called *L'Ambigu*, in which he lashed the first consul, his court and government. In the fourth number of this paper appeared a miserable ode on Bonaparte's revolution of the 18th Brumaire, fictitiously ascribed to Chenier, the republican poet. Peltier, or his ode, represented Bonaparte as Cæsar who had passed the Rubicon, as the tyrant who had left no liberty in France; and pictured the last of the Romans with an avenging poniard in their hands—and then descending from classicities, asked the warriors of France whether they were not ashamed of serving a Corsican, *un Corse*—and then, returning to the classical, recommended the Tarpeian rock, &c. At the same time Peltier gave vent to another thing in rhyme, called the "Prayer of a Dutch Patriot," wherein he spoke of Bonaparte's making and unmaking kings, of his making himself consul for life, &c., praying that the succession might soon be left open by his death, or that he might disappear like Romulus in a mysterious apotheosis. Instead of meeting these rhymes with contempt, Bonaparte fell into a transport of passion: he pretended that they were provocatives to his assassination and to the overthrow of his government. He instructed his ambassador at London to demand satisfaction from the British government. Our secretary for foreign affairs, Lord Hawkesbury, replied that in England the press was unshackled, that its excesses were punishable by law—that our courts were open to all—that the British court and the ministers themselves, often traduced and libelled, had no other resource—that he did not doubt but that an English jury would give the first consul satisfaction if he chose to proceed against Peltier. The first consul, who could not, or would not conceive that our government had not the same power over newspapers which he had over his *Moniteur*, and the same power to treat journalists as he had treated them by scores, and by hundreds, intimated that nothing less would satisfy him than the suppression of *L'Ambigu*, and the deportation of Peltier. There was assuredly, at this moment (in the summer of 1802), no want of a conciliatory tone on the part of our ministers. Lord Hawkesbury went so far as to say in a note to M. Otto, that it was "impossible that his majesty's government could peruse the articles in question without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published them should suffer the punishment he so justly deserved." Finding it beyond the reach of his might or persuasion

to make our government suppress *L'Ambigu*, and transport its editor, the first consul instructed his ambassador at London to urge that government to institute proceedings in our courts of law. His eagerness for vengeance on a poor refugee scribbler made him reject Addington's very sensible advice to treat this libel with contempt. He would fain have precipitated the trial, but he could not change the routine of our lawyers. At last, on the 21st of February, 1803, the trial came on in the Court of Queen's Bench, before Lord Chief-justice Ellenborough, and a special jury. The information had been filed by his majesty's attorney-general *ex-officio*, and stated "that peace existed between Napoleon Bonaparte and our lord the king; that M. J. J. Peltier, intending to destroy the friendship so existing, and to despoil the said Napoleon Bonaparte of his consular dignity, did devise, print, and publish in the French language to the tenor following," &c. The attorney-general conducted the prosecution. It was every way a happy choice by which Peltier selected for his counsel the able Mackintosh. The subject had much that was inspiring—the contrast of condition between the real prosecutor, the master of the greatest empire which the civilized world had yet seen, and the defendant, a poor outcast, was striking and dramatic; Mackintosh, in the prime vigour of his faculties, had exerted them all in praiseworthy preparation, and he was warmed in the delivery of his forensic oration by the presence of a crowded and enlightened audience. He called that English law-court his client's last asylum upon earth; he applauded the dignified conduct of ministers in refusing to violate the sacred hospitality due to an unfortunate stranger, who now appeared in that court as the only place in which his prosecutor and he could be upon equal terms; he flattered the honourable pride of the jury by saying for his client that the most refreshing prospect his eye could rest upon was a just, impartial, and fearless English jury—that he felt, with him, gratitude to the Ruler of empires that, after the wreck of everything else ancient and venerable in Europe—the wreck of all established forms and acknowledged principles, of all long-subsisting laws and sacred institutions—Englishmen were met there to-day administering justice after the manner of their forefathers; and by the express choice of the accused himself, the jury, instead of being half foreign, was wholly English. He represented this cause as the first of a series of contests with the freedom of the press which Bonaparte was determined to carry on in the only country where the press was free; and he called upon his countrymen to pause before the great earthquake swallowed up all the liberty that remained among men. Holland, Switzerland, and the imperial towns of Germany,

had once participated with us in the benefit of a free press. Holland and Switzerland were now no more, and near fifty of the free imperial towns had vanished since the commencement of this prosecution. Every press in Europe from Palermo to Hamburg was now enslaved: and here he electrified the court by exclaiming, "One asylum of free discussion is still inviolate! There is still one little spot where man can freely exercise his reason on the most important concerns of society—where he can boldly publish his judgment on the acts of the proudest and most powerful tyrants. The press of England is still free. It is guarded by the free constitution of our forefathers. It is guarded by the arms and hearts of Englishmen; and I trust I may venture to say, that if it be to fall it will fall only under the ruins of the British empire. It is an awful consideration. Every other monument of European liberty has perished. That ancient fabric, which has been gradually reared by the wisdom and virtue of our forefathers, still stands: it stands, thanks be to God! solid and entire; but it stands alone, and it stands amidst ruins."

The attorney-general (Spencer Perceval) replied, Lord Ellenborough summed up, and the jury returned a reluctant verdict of guilty. But before Peltier could be called up for judgment, the war was renewed, and he was let off scatheless. He had in the meantime published the report of the trial, with Mackintosh's defence at full length, as revised by the author. Numerous copies of it were smuggled into the Continent, and from one of these Necker's famed daughter, Madame de Stael, made a spirited translation into French, which ran throughout Europe like a Greek fire. It gave a better reason for the renewal of hostilities than any that our diplomatists put into their protocols; it showed to the civilized world the real stake for which England was fighting; it did more mischief to Bonaparte than he would have suffered from the defeat of an army or from the destruction of a fleet. It could not but fill him with rage and animosity. He, the master of Europe, had been bearded by a penniless pamphleteer, and an advocate whose fortune was all to make; and this could have been done in England alone. Again he poured forth rhapsodies against that accursed liberty of the press which allowed little men to meddle with great, and against that British constitution which sanctioned such excesses, or prevented their being punished with arbitrary transportation, or captivity. The *Moniteur* became more abusive than ever: from this moment war was declared in the first consul's heart—from this moment the secret encouragement he had given, since the peace, to the Irish refugees and malcontents, became an open and barefaced protection.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1803—1804.

GEORGE III.

Necessity of conquests to Bonaparte—His rage at the speech of George III. in parliament announcing war with France—His interview on the occasion with Lord Whitworth, the British ambassador—English tourists in France detained as prisoners of war—Hanover occupied by a French army—Hamburg and Bremen abandoned to France—Naples occupied by the troops of Bonaparte—Bonaparte encourages the Irish to revolt—Emmett's conspiracy—Its outbreak and desperate proceedings—Its defeat and dispersion—Apprehension, trial, and execution of Emmett—Possession of the Channel by the English fleets—War in India—M. Perron, the French adventurer—Dissolution of the Mahratta confederacy by the victories of Lake and Wellesley—Early career of Wellesley in India—Renewed malady of George III.—His recovery—Resignation of the Addington ministry—Return of Pitt to office—Progress of Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of slavery—Parliamentary grant of supplies—Naval encounter of a French squadron with a fleet of Indianmen—Capture of four Spanish frigates laden with treasure by the British—Spain declares war against Britain—Bonaparte's apprehensions of royalist conspiracies—Arrest of Moreau—Irregular arrest of the Prince of Condé—His execution—Unpopularity of the deed—Remonstrances against it by the Russian government—Bonaparte's irritating manner—Suspicious death of Pichegru in prison—Capture of Captain Wright off the French coast—His imprisonment and mysterious death—Banishment of Moreau—Bonaparte proclaimed Emperor of the French—He again addresses a letter to George III. desiring peace—His violations of the rights of neutrality—Reconciliation of Pitt with the Addington administration.



If there be one historical fact clearer than another, it is that Bonaparte was resolved on renewing the war with Great Britain. His one predominant idea was, that his existence depended on an extension of his conquests. "My power," he would say, "depends on my glory, and my glory on my victories. My power would fall if I did not support it by fresh glory and new victories. Conquest has made me what I am, and conquest alone can maintain me. A newly-born government, like mine, must dazzle and astonish. When it ceases to do that, it falls!" If he had wished to prolong the truce of Amiens for a season, it was only because he wished to be the more fully prepared for war, and to be enabled to work out some of his great projects in the interval.

On receipt of the speech with which King George had opened the session of parliament, the first consul gave way to a paroxysm of rage; and his passion was not moderated by the reception of the debates in both houses which followed the opening speech. Talleyrand, who never was in a passion in his life, conferred with our ambassador. He declared the astonishment of his master at the king's message, and at the very unfriendly debates, and asked what was the meaning of those violent attacks of the English press against the government and person of the first consul? Lord Whitworth went over the old ground, saying that whatever was published in the English papers might be considered as a national retaliation for what was published in the French papers; that in France these attacks

were published *officially*, which was by no means the case in England; and that, although the French government possessed a control over the press in France, the English government neither had nor could have such a control in their country. "But at least," rejoined Talleyrand, "your government can execute the treaty of Amiens, and evacuate Malta!" Lord Whitworth replied that that evacuation was now connected with other circumstances, and with other clauses of the treaty which had been infringed by France. A few days after this the two diplomatists had another conference. Lord Whitworth recapitulated all the principles on which the treaty of Amiens was founded, and the right which arose from those principles of interference on the part of Great Britain, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential differences which might have arisen in the relative situation of the two countries. He instanced the cases, beginning with Italy and concluding with Switzerland, in which the territory or influence of France had been greatly extended subsequently to the treaty of Amiens.

In spite of the advice of his most able minister for foreign affairs, who thought little of his master's diplomacy except when expressed by 100,000 bayonets, and who feared that the passionate part of his temperament would carry him into some indiscretions, Bonaparte determined to confer personally with the British ambassador; and Talleyrand had scarcely left him ere his lordship was informed that the first consul wished to converse with him at the Tuileries at nine o'clock that night. It has been conjectured, and it may

indeed be assumed as a certain fact, that this irregular and unseemly obtrusion into the department of Talleyrand proceeded from a design to shake the resolution of the British ambassador, and to astound or terrify him by a display of rude violence, which had succeeded with the Austrian diplomatist at Campo Formio. But Britain had not been humbled and crushed like



(CHARLES MAURICE DE TALLEYRAND — After a portrait by Gerard

Austria, and Lord Whitworth was not Count Cobentzel. Perceiving that his menaces did not disturb the equanimity of Lord Whitworth, the first consul altered his tone. If the British government and he could only agree and act together, what might they not do? Look at the natural force of the two countries—France with an army of 480,000 men, and England with a fleet which made her the mistress of the seas, and which he thought he should not be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, as their strifes might overturn it. If England could only come to this understanding, there was nothing that he would not do to gratify her. Participation in indemnities, as well as in influence on the Continent, treaties of commerce, in short everything that could testify friendship, he would give to her. As little moved by this as by his threats, Whitworth, when allowed to speak, calmly said that the king, his master, had no wish to participate in the conquest and spoils of the Continent, had no ambition to acquire more territory, but only to preserve what he had. Bonaparte had said in public as well as in private, and to the ambassadors of foreign powers as well as to his own subjects, that England was unequal to a single-handed contest with France; and he gave Lord Whitworth to understand that, with-

out allies, we could never touch him. To this his lordship replied, that if his Britannic majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies. Lord Whitworth was as patient as he was firm; he did not give up negotiating until it was altogether hopeless; he rebuked with calm dignity the intemperance of the first consul, who offered him a public insult at the levée in the Tuileries on the 13th of March; he did not take his departure until the 12th of May, and then he left behind him, in the hands of Mr. Talbot, the secretary of embassy, who was to remain at Paris a few days longer, the project of a convention which England would take as the basis of a definitive and amicable arrangement. What Bonaparte did after his lordship's departure was to order that Mr. Talbot should be detained as a prisoner of war.

Notwithstanding the time which had been gained by Bonaparte, the order of council for granting reprisals and letters of marque, and the proclamation for an embargo, which were issued two days after Lord Whitworth's return, led to the immediate detention or capture of about 200 French and Dutch vessels. To retaliate for this customary procedure, the first consul had recourse to a most novel and unprecedented outrage: by a decree, dated the 22d of May, he ordered that all the English, of whatsoever condition, found on the territory of France, should be detained prisoners of war, on the pretence that many of them belonged to the militia. Nothing could exceed the harshness with which this order was executed in Paris, where there was still a vast number of travellers, many of whom were merely passing through that capital on their way homeward from Italy, Switzerland, and other countries—whole families were seized together, as if the wives and daughters of the English aristocracy and gentry were militia officers. These sweeping arrests were not confined to the English that were actually on the territory of France; they were extended to Italy and every neighbouring country where the French had an armed force, or where they could intimidate and give the law. As no distinction had been made as to sex, so none was made as to condition, profession, or pursuits. Clergymen, a venerable Indian judge (Sir Elijah Impey), men of letters or science, artists, all were captured. What made this odious seizure still more odious, was the fact that on the eve of its taking place, Bonaparte made a renegade Englishman, whom he retained in his service to write a newspaper in the English language, insert in the columns of his journal that the English travellers on the Continent, in France, Belgium, Holland, or Italy, had nothing to fear; that their persons would be guaranteed under the protection of a government which pro-

tected the laws of nations even while England was violating them. About 10,000 British subjects of nearly every class and condition remained in Bonaparte's clutches.

Before the English government began to seize the French and Dutch ships, a French army was collected on the frontiers of Holland to pounce upon the comparatively defenceless hereditary dominions of the King of England; and, as soon as the declaration of war was issued, General Mortier advanced into the heart of the electorate. The Duke of Cambridge, who was residing at Hanover, seeing that resistance was altogether hopeless, and that most of the larger towns were determined to treat with the French general, entered into a negotiation at the end of May, and engaged to surrender the territory upon condition that his army should be permitted to retire unbroken behind the Elbe, with the pledge on their part that they would not again serve in the field against the French during this war. Deputies from the principal towns treated separately with Mortier, and agreed to conditions of surrender and submission on the 3d of June. The English ministers advised the king not to ratify the treaty which his son had made. Upon this, Mortier, who had entered and taken possession of the city of Hanover on the 5th of June, called upon the Hanoverian army to surrender; or abide the consequences of an attack by overwhelming forces behind the Elbe. The Duke of Cambridge had quitted the country, but Count Walmoden, the commander-in-chief of that small but fine army, was compelled to agree to a convention on the 5th of July, and to dismount his cavalry, surrender his arms, and disband and dismiss the whole army. More than 500 pieces of artillery, a large quantity of ammunition and timber, and an immense number of horses, fit to remount Bonaparte's ill-conditioned cavalry, fell into the hands of Mortier, who, besides, levied military contributions in the country. Being in the immediate neighbourhood of the rich commercial Hanse-towns of Hamburg and Bremen, he levied considerable sums of money upon them also, without the least regard to their independence and neutrality; and other sums, very important to the first consul, whose finances were in an embarrassed condition, were raised among the Jews and other capitalists of those Hanse-towns, by way of loan. What was still worse as regarded England, the French, by their occupation of Hanover, were enabled to close the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser, and to prevent British merchant vessels from going up either to Hamburg or to Bremen. As the neighbouring German states made no attempt to prevent the conquest or occupation of Hanover, a country which, though the hereditary possession of the

King of Great Britain, was still an integral part of the German empire, with indefeasible claims to the protection of the whole Germanic League, and as the English were prevented from ascending the rivers, it was determined that neither German nor any other ships should descend them or enter them; and the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser were soon strictly blockaded by British squadrons. With their trade thus completely cut off, with the French armies in their close neighbourhood, perpetually threatening them with military violence and exaction, the two great Hanse-towns were reduced to a deplorable situation. In the extremity of their distress they called upon the King of Prussia as guarantee and protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany; but the shuffling and selfish court of Berlin, whose self-seeking was to end in self-destruction, had entered into the views of Bonaparte, in the hope and expectation of annexing Hanover to Prussia; and, accordingly, that cabinet refused to interfere, thus virtually abandoning not only Hamburg and Bremen, with their industrious and lately thriving dependencies, but all the smaller states of the north of Germany to the rapacity and lawlessness of the French invaders.

Nor was it only in the north of Europe that the first consul had matured his means of attack before the declaration of war, and that he now made that attack with a contempt for other treaties, which were affected by neither the observance nor the breach of the peace of Amiens. His Sicilian majesty was no party to the treaty of Amiens; the integrity of his dominions and the withdrawal from them of all French troops whatsoever, were stipulated for in a previous and separate treaty with the French government, and had been paid for, in various ways, at an enormous expense. But the court of Naples was the old friend and ally of Great Britain; the country, ravaged and despoiled by successive revolutions and invasions as it had been, was still rich; its ports on the Mediterranean and on the Adriatic offered admirable points of departure for expeditions to various countries which Bonaparte coveted: from Brindisi, near the mouth of the Adriatic, to Corfu and the other Ionian islands, of which he had determined to possess himself, was but a few hours' sail; and for these and other special and weighty reasons, besides the plan of excluding British commerce from the Continent, he poured his troops once more into the devoted kingdom of Naples.

But it was nearer at home that the consequences of Bonaparte's manœuvres and preparations during the peace were most shamefully exhibited, or most seriously felt by England. So soon as the mask began to fall off, he called to

Paris all the fugitive or disaffected Irish on the Continent; he re-organized the Irish Brigade, giving it the name of the Irish Legion; and by means of his so-called commercial agents, and of Irish clubbists in Dublin, Cork, and other towns, he carried on that active correspondence to which we have already alluded, and matured the plots for an insurrection, which at one time he confidently hoped would extend to an universal civil war. One of his most active emissaries was one Quigley, or O'Quigley, who had been outlawed in 1798, and who since that period had resided in France. This man came over secretly, and apparently with a well-filled purse. He perambulated Kildare, his native county, proselytizing and making converts with cash and whisky. But, far above Quigley, and the real head of the conspiracy, was Mr. Robert Emmett, the son of Dr. Emmett, the court or castle physician of Dublin, whose recent death had put him in possession of £2000 or £3000 (a sum he proposed to employ in the subversion of the British government), and brother to that Emmett who had been mercifully let off with banishment for the overt acts of treason he had committed in 1798. This young man (he was only in his twenty-second or twenty-third year) had gone crazy with a revolutionary and republican enthusiasm, and had neither been cured nor made more moderate by that wretched exhibition, the termination of republicanism in France. As he spent his money freely, he proselytized with some effect in Dublin; but it cannot be said that his proselytes were of a very elevated condition: the chief and very highest of them were one Dowdall, who, before the union, had held some inferior office about the Irish House of Commons; one Redmond, who called himself a merchant, and who appears to have been little more than a huckster; and one Allen, a bankrupt woollen-manufacturer. While Emmett worked in Dublin and its neighbourhood, an individual of more mature age, and who laboured under the influences of a different or a more complicated insanity—religious enthusiasm being, in his case, mixed with the political—preached and laboured at Belfast, and in other towns of the north of Ireland. This was Thomas Russel, an old half-pay officer in the king's service, who had fought against the Americans at Bunker's Hill, and who, since his retirement, had overturned a weak brain by the study of polemical divinity, and the attempt to understand and apply the prophecies of the Old Testament and the mysteries of the Apocalypse. Other chiefs of less name or note were scattered over Ireland; and material assistance was expected from one Dwyer, a fellow of infinite cunning and activity, who had been "out" in the rebellion of 1798, and who, at the head of a formidable band

of outlaws, had maintained himself ever since among the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the Wicklow mountains. Dwyer was ready for anything, and believed to be fit for everything: his lawless band, and the semi-barbarous Wicklow peasantry, over whom he exercised a wide control or influence, were fully prepared to commit every atrocity. It appears to have been fully proved that Emmett made overtures to this Dwyer—to this leader of a ferocious horde; but it is not quite so certain that the devout Russel corresponded with him. They determined to begin with seizing the arsenals and the castle of Dublin. Various circumstances pointed out the 23d of July as the best day of all the year for beginning; it fell this year on a Saturday, when the working people of the capital received their wages and got drunk, and when the ordinary resort of country-people to the market would, by itself, cover and let pass a somewhat extraordinary meeting. Towards evening on the appointed 23d of July the rabble of Dublin and the peasantry began to collect in vast numbers in St. James's Street and its neighbourhood. The castle was within a mile, and the barracks, containing 2000 or 3000 soldiers, were within half-a-mile of the spot; but not a soldier, not an officer either civil or military, made his appearance. About dusk the concerted signal that all was ready was given by some men who were mounted on horseback, and who rode furiously through the principal streets of the capital. A Mr. Clarke, an opulent manufacturer, made a bold attempt to reason with the furious mob, and, finding his efforts ineffectual, he galloped to the castle and warned the lord-lieutenant. As he was returning, a blunderbuss was fired at him, and he fell desperately, though not mortally wounded. This was the first blood that was shed, but it was soon followed by more. Just as Clarke fell, some of the insurgents fired a small cannon, and sent up a sky-rocket; and immediately after this signal, Emmett sallied forth from his dépôt, at the head of his central committee, and drawing his sword, incited the mob to action. They all rushed along the street as if intending to attack the castle. Before they got to the end of the street, Colonel Brown, a meritorious officer, who was hastening to his post, was deliberately shot dead by a blunderbuss. Disgusted at these and other cold-blooded murders, at the savage cries that were raised for vengeance and plunder, at the backwardness of his rabble-rout to press on to the castle or to any point where they were likely to meet the soldiery, and at their alacrity in breaking open houses and calling for whisky, Emmett and his staff, after some fruitless attempts to manage and direct the foul hurricane they had raised, disappeared from the scene, and stole out

of the town. Emmett's mob-generalship scarcely lasted half an hour. The head of the advancing column never approached the castle nearer than Francis Street, which is distant about half a mile. Unfortunately, Lord Kilwarden, the Lord Chief-justice of Ireland, passed in the rear of the mob, fleeing in his carriage by another line of streets towards the castle. This judge had been attorney-general at the time of the last rebellion. The ruffians wheeled round and presently fell upon him. He was accompanied in the same carriage by his daughter and a nephew. They were all three dragged out of the coach; the savages spared the lady, but they murdered her aged father and her cousin before her eyes. But by this time some of the troops were under arms and ready to march. When about 150 men, headed by two subaltern officers, reached the top of Francis Street, the disordered rabble, many thousands strong, set up a scream of terror, and all that were sober enough to run, ran off at the top of their speed. But many fell and were made prisoners, and a party of fifty soldiers, who had got into the rear of the fleeing column, fired upon it as it passed. A lane strewn with pikes pointed out the way to Emmett's dépôt, wherein were found a large quantity of ball-cartridges, hand-grenades, gunpowder, more pikes, some military uniforms, and a proclamation, wet from the press, of persons styling themselves "The provisional government," and containing a sketch of the constitution they had proposed giving to the "Hibernian republic." A hot pursuit was instantly commenced after these legislators, who showed as much folly or fatuity, when fleeing for their lives, as they had displayed in all the rest of the business. Emmett and his friends reached the Wicklow mountains, but only to find that they were shunned like men that had the plague, and that none would raise a finger for them, or give them food and a hiding-place. Quitting his companions, Emmett returned to Dublin, but only to be tracked by the police, to be seized and committed to the prison which was already crowded by the miserable wretches he had armed. Dowdall and Allen escaped out of the island, but Redmond was arrested at one of the ports as he was about to take his passage for America. In the meanwhile Russel had utterly failed in his attempts at a rising in the north; and, after issuing a proclamation, in which he styled himself the General of the Northern District, he had disappeared. After the arrest of Emmett, Russel stole into Dublin; two or three days after his arrival he was discovered and seized. He was sent for trial to that northern district of which he had intended to be the revolutionary general. Emmett was put upon his trial for high treason on the 19th of September,

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in Dublin, the scene of his mad pranks, where there were too many witnesses to speak to his overt acts, and too universal an indignation at the sanguinary result of them, to allow any, the remotest chance of his escaping the gallows and the block. He died with much courage or composure, declaring himself a member of the Church of England. The undoubted Protestantism of him, of Russel, and others, totally disqualified them from heading a popular insurrection in Ireland. Redmond (one of the central committee) and two working men (one of whom confessed to the murder of Colonel Brown) were tried and executed in the same town. Russel was tried at Carrickfergus on the 20th of October. He quoted the prophecies and the Apocalypse, pleaded that his religious conscience had compelled him to endeavour to overthrow the existing government, and gave ample indications of a disordered mind; but he was nevertheless executed at Downpatrick. Some short time after these executions O'Quigley and Stafford were apprehended in the county of Galway; but government, who displayed throughout this unhappy affair an uncommon degree of leniency, were satisfied with the examples which had been made; and the lives of these two chiefs, and of a host of inferior and untried prisoners, were spared on their making a full disclosure of all the circumstances of their treason.

Ireland was safe, and England could not be invaded, for her fleets swept the Channel and the French coast in all its extent, blockading the principal ports, and occasionally bombarding a sea-port town or two. Ships and gun-boats were gallantly cut out of Havre, St. Valery, and many other ports and roadsteads; the batteries that protected the town of Dieppe were knocked to pieces; many vessels, both national and mercantile, were burned on the stocks, and the important town of Granville was bombarded and burned under the eyes of Bonaparte's generals, and almost in his own presence. With nearly 600 ships of war at sea, England, besides holding the Channel, and defending her own coasts, could despatch fleets and squadrons to every quarter of the globe, and prosecute extensive schemes of conquest.

We now return to Indian affairs, which, since the death of Tippoo Sultan, had not only been important in themselves, but on account of the master-spirit whom they were training for his splendid European career. Upon the fall of Seringapatam, in which Colonel Arthur Wellesley had borne a distinguished part, that rising officer was left in command of the city, and the part of the Mysore territory which had come under British rule and protection; and here he displayed those talents, both civil and military, which were afterwards so conspicuous in the peninsula. In the first of these, indeed, he was so remarkable

that the secret of wherein his chief excellence lay was still unknown, and even his own brother, the Earl of Mornington, Governor-general of India, was wont at this time to say of him, "I believe Arthur's great strength to be rather in the civil than the military line." This was soon to be tested, for in 1800 the colonel was called by circumstances into the field, with an independent military command. A daring adventurer named Dhoondia Waugh, a man of Patan or Mahratta origin, had, like many Indian adventurers, commenced a career of his own, sometimes as captain of a troop of hunted banditti, sometimes as the leader of an army, according to the fluctuations of his shifting fortunes, during a ten years' career; and although repeatedly defeated and driven into obscurity, he had always managed to re-appear, and become more formidable than ever. He had now suddenly emerged from the Mahratta country at the head of 5000 horse into the frontier of Mysore, which he threatened to break through and overrun, while the pompous title he had assumed of "King of the Two Worlds" announced the greatness of his ambition, as well as the dangerous nature of his purposes. A few successes, or even a short delay, might have rallied ten times the number of followers to his standard, and enabled him to establish a sovereignty as formidable as that of Hyder Ali or Tippoo Saib. As his hostility to the British power in India also had been openly announced, it was necessary that this daring adventurer should be arrested in his course, and Wellesley was sent against him for the purpose. With his characteristic decision the colonel crossed the Toombudra river into the Mahratta territories, at the risk of offending the Peishwa, or the court of Poonah, who were unable to expel Dhoondia, but might have resented the British entrance on their soil, as an infringement of former treaties. But, on the contrary, this decisive step was welcomed as a promise of deliverance from a dangerous rebel and oppressor. After following the doublings of his light-heeled adversary, who seemed always at hand although never visible, defeating several detachments of his army, and storming the hill-forts he had garrisoned, Wellesley crossed the Mulpoorba, and entered the Nizam's territory, where he at length brought Dhoondia Waugh to a stand at a place called Conahgul. The King of the Two Worlds, who was deficient neither in skill nor courage, drew up his army, which was chiefly cavalry, in a favourable situation, having his left flank and rear covered by the village and rock of Conahgul. But the four regiments of British and native troops advanced boldly to the attack, and to equalize the length of his line with that of the enemy, Colonel Wellesley had recourse to the

bold expedient of forming his regiments and charging in *one* line. The enemy were routed after a brief resistance, and chased for many miles across the country; their elephants, camels, baggage, and plunder fell into the hands of the conquerors; and the body of the King of the Two Worlds, who had fallen in the action, was placed on the carriage of a galloper-gun, and on this bier transported to his followers for interment. In this long campaign and chase, which lasted from the end of June till the 10th of September, Wellesley on every occasion had shown that courage, sagacity, and foresight by which, in after years, he anticipated every emergency, and allowed himself to be neither beaten nor surprised, as well as that promptness of decision which enabled him to profit by the blunders of his adversaries, and convert even untoward circumstances into the means of unexpected success.

The hostility to the British power in India, which had ceased for a short interval after the capture of Seringapatam, was now to blaze out afresh in the Mahratta confederacy, that threatened to become still more formidable than the opposition of Tippoo and his more able father. The most dangerous and influential of these chiefs was Scindia, who had in his service M. Perron, an able French adventurer, who twenty years earlier had arrived as a petty officer in the fleet of Suffrein, but had been raised to the rank of general by Scindia, whose forces he had brought by European discipline to a state of efficiency seldom found in Indian armies. To him also was intrusted by Scindia the keeping of that unfortunate prisoner, Shah Alum, the Mogul emperor, in 1793. Scindia, however, had a rival in Holkar, another powerful Mahratta chief; and between the two there had subsisted a struggle for the mastery, by which the country was thrown into anarchy, and rent by civil wars and dissensions. But besides the able services of Perron and his disciplined troops, Scindia had a decided advantage in the Peishwa of Poonah, the sovereign of the Mahrattas, over whom he exercised the influence of a *maire de palais*, and whose name he used as a tower of strength for the purposes of his own ambition. This state of things continued until 1802, when Holkar, watching his advantage, suddenly crossed the Nerbudda, entered Poonah with a strong force of cavalry, defeated the troops of Scindia and the Peishwa, and placed one of his own kinsmen upon the musnud at Poonah. The deposed sovereign of the Mahrattas fled to the British for protection, who saw at once their interest in adopting his cause. By enforcing his authority they could break the power of the rival chiefs, dislodge the dangerous French influence that might be revived by Perron and his countrymen, and estab-

lish a general sovereignty over the discordant Mahratta tribes who recognized no law but that of their own chieftains. A treaty was signed on the 21st of December, 1802, by which the Company agreed to restore the Peishwa to his throne; and for this purpose an expedition was to be directed in the first instance against Holkar, who ruled at Poonah, through his creature and kinsman the new sovereign. This portion of the combined movement against the dangerous Mahratta confederacy was happily intrusted to Colonel, now Major-general Wellesley; and as these events had for some time been anticipated, the order found him ready for instant action. He commenced a rapid march for Poonah on the 9th of March, 1803, crossing the rivers in wicker boats, and advancing with celerity upon the Mahratta capital; but on his approach to it, he learned that Amrut Rao, who held it, had resolved to set fire to the city, rather than yield it to the English. This brought Wellesley to a stand, but only for a moment: he opened a feigned negotiation with Amrut, and having thrown the barbarian off his guard, he reached Poonah by a rapid night march of his cavalry, and saved the city, by a sudden capture, from the destruction that hung over it. Amrut Rao fled, and on the 13th of May the Peishwa re entered his capital, and was once more established on his throne.

As so many rival chiefs had to be opposed or conciliated, General Wellesley, who had been intrusted with full power to direct all the political as well as military affairs of the British within that territory, commenced by friendly overtures to the powerful Scindia; but as that chief rejected every proposal of peace or alliance, war was declared against him on the 6th of August, and Wellesley commenced his march from Poonah. It was only by striking down this formidable potentate with a prompt and decisive blow that the Mahratta chiefs were to be prevented from combining against the British as their common enemy. His first operation was against the town and fort of Ahmednuggur, strongly garrisoned for Scindia, which he took by escalade. He then crossed the Godavery river, being eager to bring Scindia to action; but this the wary chief endeavoured to avoid through his great superiority in cavalry. In this way the British army might have been exhausted by marches and counter-marches, or destroyed in detail by skirmishes, had not Wellesley inclosed his enemy by dexterous combinations within a range that was every day becoming more circumscribed. Finding that the favourite modes of Indian warfare were unavailing, and being reinforced by sixteen battalions of infantry commanded by French officers, and a large train of artillery, Scindia now resolved to hazard an en-

gagement, and for this purpose stationed his army, nearly 50,000 strong, upon the banks of the river Kaitna, near the village of Assaye. The position was well chosen. The banks were steep and rugged, the river almost impassable, and the whole force which Wellesley mustered did not exceed 4500 men, of whom only 1700 were British. But he resolved to become the assailant, and his soldiers followed him with that confidence of success which even already his career had inspired. He crossed the river by a ford, and leaving his Mysore and other irregular cavalry to keep the Mahratta horse in check, he advanced upon the village of Assaye, where their infantry was posted. As he advanced in three lines, of which the two first were infantry and the third of horse, the enemy opened a heavy cannonade upon them, and quickly formed a new line to meet the unexpected nature of the attack, its right resting on the river, and its left on the village of Assaye and the Juah stream that flows in a direction parallel with the Kaitna. But Wellesley still kept what he had at first secured—a conflict that was to be confined to the left wing of the Mahrattas, while their powerful cavalry was thrown out of action. As their artillery was of great weight, the sound of the British guns in reply was almost inaudible: a rapid advance was necessary, as the assailants had no other chance against such a cannonade that riddled their ranks and dismounted their small field-pieces; and Wellesley ordered his troops to leave their cannon behind, and close upon the enemy with the bayonet. It was then that the advantage was transferred from the Mahrattas to the British: the artillery of the former was carried, and their ranks wavered under the close, steady charge of man to man. Once more and for a moment the fortune of the day seemed to shift; a body of the Mahratta infantry rallied; their cannoneers, who had thrown themselves upon the ground as if dead, and allowed the charge to pass over them, started to their feet, and turned their guns upon the rear of Wellington's sepoy, who had entered too hastily into a pursuit of the fugitives; while the Mahratta cavalry, that had been hovering in the distance, were now advancing to the aid of their foot. But a gallant and decisive charge, made by Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell with the British cavalry upon this portion of the battle, sufficed to scatter the body that had rallied and silence the unexpected fire of the guns, as well as keep the Mahratta horse at a wary distance. The main charge against the village of Assaye was led by Wellesley in person at the head of the 78th British infantry, and it was here that the tug of conflict was at the hottest, so that he had two horses killed under him, while most of his staff

officers had in like manner been dismounted. It was not until the darkness of night had closed that the battle was ended, and the disciplined Mahratta infantry put to the rout. The stoutness of their resistance was attested by the British loss, which amounted to nearly a third of those who had entered into action; but on the other hand, the Mahrattas had sustained a defeat by which the prestige of their high military reputation was broken, and their confidence abated. Such was the far-famed victory of Assaye, obtained on the 23d of September, 1803, a victory from which the commencement of its great hero's military renown is usually dated, and in consequence of which he obtained in after years from his illustrious rival the spiteful title of the "Sepoy general."

Scindia had now recourse to negotiation, and in the beginning of November a truce was granted him, on condition that he should remove his forces into the territory of the Rajah of Berar, and there remain strictly neutral. But far from maintaining this neutrality, he was only preparing for a new war; and at his instigation the rajah took the field against the British, his own forces being strengthened by Scindia's cavalry and a large body of Persian auxiliaries whom the rajah had taken into pay. To break this formidable combination, Wellesley set his troops once more in motion, and on the 29th of November came up with the enemy encamped near the village of Argaum. The march of the British had been under a burning sun, by which they were exhausted; the greater part of the day was spent and the darkness of night was at hand; but every hour of delay was dangerous with such an army drawn up before them. Under such circumstances the battle of Argaum was commenced, fought, and won. On the advance of the British, a heavy cannonade was unexpectedly opened upon them from behind some trees where the enemy had masked their artillery, and dismayed by the fire, the native infantry in the British service began to take to flight. But they were speedily rallied and brought back to the charge before their fear had become contagious. The first brunt of onset upon the British was made by the Persian mercenaries, who, mounted on their fiery chargers, came down like a whirlwind upon the 74th and 78th regiments, in full confidence to sweep them off the field; but as well might they have assailed the solid rocks, and in the close rolling fire of these regiments the whole of that gallant band of eastern chivalry was destroyed. At the same time Scindia's cavalry made a fierce onset upon the British left, and charged a battalion of native infantry in the Company's service, but scarcely with better fortune than their Persian allies, for they too were

routed with great slaughter. Dismayed by the utter defeat of their horse, the Mahratta infantry did not await the charge, but broke and fled in confusion, and were pursued for several hours by moonlight, until darkness saved them from total destruction, leaving in the hands of the victors thirty-eight pieces of cannon and all their ammunition, with many elephants and camels, and great store of baggage. The Rajah of Berar, after this ruinous defeat, was glad to sue for peace, and conclude it upon the terms offered by General Wellesley, which were—that he should cede the province of Cuttack and the district of Balasore to the Company, and dismiss the European officers who were in his service. The example of the rajah was followed by Scindia himself, whose army had been defeated in another quarter by General Lake; and he obtained peace upon the severe terms of surrendering to the Company the rich provinces between the Jumna and the Ganges called the Doab, several extensive districts beyond the Ganges, and a part of his maritime territory in Gujerat. He also agreed to respect the treaty which the Company had established with the Peishwa, and recognize the right of the latter to the territories of which the Company had put him in possession; and should any difference afterwards occur between him and the Peishwa, to submit it to the arbitration and decision of the Company. Rapid as was the campaign and important its results, the toils, dangers, and difficulties were such as have seldom been crowded into a whole year of the most active and eventful European warfare. But these can only be fully understood and appreciated by a careful study of the history of our empire in India, and a copious narrative of the actions of Wellington in that quarter. The service of a few days only is thus modestly detailed by himself, in a letter to one of his brothers shortly after the battle of Argaum:—"The operations of this war have afforded numerous instances of improvement in our means of communication, of obtaining intelligence, and, above all, of movement. Marches such as I have made in this war were never known or thought of before. In the last eight days of the month of October, I marched above 120 miles, and passed through two ghauts with heavy guns and all the equipments of the troops, and this without injury to the efficiency of the army; and in the few days previous to this battle, when I had determined to go into Berar, I never moved less than between seventeen and twenty miles, and I marched twenty-six miles on the day on which it was fought." It was not to be wondered at if Wellington, after the lapse of many years, was wont to speak of this campaign as the most laborious service in which he had ever been engaged. From the narrative it is evident, that in

India he had been in training for the wars of Spain and Portugal; and that after he had been annealed in such a furnace, he was well fitted for the future trials of the Peninsula.

We must here retrace our steps, to notice a very important part of this campaign which was conducted by another great and successful British commander. The expedition of Wellesley into Poonah was but part of a combined movement for the purpose of breaking up the confederacy of the Mahratta chiefs; and while he was employed in restoring the Peishwa to his throne, General Lake marched from Cawnpore on the 7th of August, 1803, with an army of 10,500 men, in the direction of Delhi, the ancient capital of India. The chief parts of his commission were, to deliver the Mogul from captivity, and break the power of Scindia by detaching M. Perron from his service. It was thought by the Governor-general of India, that the French adventurer might be bought over, and Lake was commissioned to make large offers to that effect; but Perron instead of waiting to be purchased, advanced to encounter the British commander at the head of 15,000 cavalry, and took post near the strong fortress of Alighur. Here he was attacked by General Lake at the head of his cavalry in two lines, supported by his infantry, upon which the Frenchman's troops retired without abiding the onset. Lake then took possession of Cael, and afterwards stormed the fortress of Alighur, in which Perron had his collection of military stores. This loss, with the desertion of many of his soldiers and the discontent of his French officers, made Perron resume the negotiations which had been interrupted; and three days after the capture of his fortress he applied to General Lake, stating that he had quitted the service of Scindia, and requesting permission to pass with his family, his effects, and the officers in his suite, through the Company's territories to Lucknow. He alleged as his reason for this desertion, that he was superseded in office by the government of France, who had already sent out a successor to displace him; and that he was weary of the ingratitude of his own officers, and the hopelessness of any resistance he could offer to the British dominion in India. These offers were gladly accepted, for as long as he remained he was considered, from his abilities, courage, and resources, to be the chief strength of the Mahratta confederacy, and a head around which French influence might be rallied for a fresh attempt to recover its possessions in India. It has also been supposed that he yielded at last to the tempting offers which he had originally rejected, and was enabled to retire to Lucknow with a large sum in specie, and considerable drafts upon the treasury at Calcutta.

Having got rid of such a formidable obstacle,

Lake continued his march, and on the 11th of September encamped near the Jehna Nullah, within six miles of Delhi. But here he was brought to a stand, by the intelligence that the



GENERAL LORD LAKE — From print in Military Chronicle, 1812

efficient, well-trained army of Perron, 19,000 strong, under the command of Louis Bourquien, another French officer, had crossed the Jumna from Delhi under cover of night, and was advancing for the defence of the capital. The tidings were instantly followed by the apparition of the whole army drawn up in order for battle, with their flanks completely guarded by swamps, so that they could only be approached in front, while an attack which they made upon the British outposts, was the challenge and certain prelude to a decisive encounter. Although the forces of Lake only amounted to 4500 men, and although they were weary with a long march during a hot sultry day, he could not decline the invitation. His first object was to tempt the enemy from their strong position. For this purpose he threw out his cavalry in front to skirmish, ordering them to retire after enduring the first cannonade, leaving an opening for his infantry to advance; and this manœuvre they executed with admirable precision. Deceived by this appearance of a flight, the Indians rushed out from their strong position, but in their headlong advance suddenly found themselves confronted by the British infantry, who sent them reeling backward by a heavy volley of musketry followed by a charge of the bayonet. They fell back upon their artillery, which they endeavoured to bring into play; but before they could effect their purpose another close volley was discharged among them, followed by another bayonet charge under which they were driven from their cannon, while the light flying

artillery and troops of horse, with which they were charged in rapid succession and with deadly effect, deprived them of all power of rallying: they wavered, turned, and fled in such confusion, that whole masses of the fugitives were driven headlong into the Jumna. From 300 to 400 of the British army fell in this engagement, but ten times the number of the enemy lay stretched by their side. But the completeness of this victory was more signally attested by the moral effects that followed. On the following morning, Louis Bourquien and four of his French officers surrendered themselves to the British as prisoners of war, and two days after (the 16th of September), General Lake entered the palace of Delhi, and was welcomed by the Mogul, whom his success had set free. But never perhaps since the days of King Lear had fallen royalty exhibited a more pitiable spectacle than that which was presented in the person of Shah Alum. The representative of Timour and those mighty sovereigns whose grandeur had become a world-wide proverb, and whose wealth and power exceeded the wildest fictions of eastern romance, was an old, decrepid man, worn out with years of captivity, insult, and oppression: one of his eyes had been wantonly blinded with the point of his own dagger, and now, when restored to his throne, he could receive his champion and deliverer under nothing better than a tattered canopy, and with such fragments of his former state as had been too worthless to tempt the spoilers who held him in durance. He had nothing to give but titles, and these he bestowed freely, so that the modest unpretending British general was now by patent royal, "The Saviour of the State," "The Hero of the Land," "The Lord of the Age," and "The Victorious in War."

Eight days after his entrance into Delhi, Lake was obliged to continue his march to Agra, which he reached on the 4th of October. This city was strongly garrisoned by seven battalions of the enemy encamped on the outside of the fort, who occupied the town and chief mosque. The ravines were quickly crossed, and the garrison, who had rejected the first summons to surrender, now craved for a cessation of hostilities; but during the negotiation they opened a treacherous fire upon the British, which compelled a renewal of the siege. Breaching batteries were formed, and on the 17th the garrison surrendered. But even while thus employed, the formidable resources of Scindia were employed for the recovery of Delhi from the British; and seventeen of his battalions, more perfect in discipline than any native army that India had yet sent against the conquerors, and from 4000 to 5000 horse had arrived upon the north-west frontier of Oude, to renew the campaign already all but ended, and

wrest the conquests of Lake from his grasp. On the 27th of October he left Agra to reach this new enemy, marching through roads which the rains had rendered almost impassable. On the 1st of November he reached the enemy, who were advantageously posted with their right upon a stream, their left on the village of Laswarree, and their front defended by seventy-two pieces of cannon. But as yet Lake had only his cavalry with him, having left the infantry to follow as it best might, for speed was of the utmost importance. He commenced operations with a charge of his foremost brigade, that cut its way through the left of the Mahrattas; but when it reached the village of Laswarree, it was met by such a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, that Lake found it necessary to recal it. Other similar charges of the different brigades in various quarters were resisted and repelled in like manner, when, fortunately, his infantry and artillery, which had made a rapid march of twenty-five miles in less than eight hours, began to make their appearance in the distance. This unexpected coming was as cheering to the British cavalry as it was dispiriting to the Mahrattas; they offered to surrender upon certain terms, to which Lake was willing to agree; but as symptoms of delay or insincerity were manifested, he allowed them only an hour to deliberate and decide. No answer being returned at the end of the hour, the battle commenced in earnest. The 76th regiment was first brought to the charge; but as it advanced to close with the enemy, it was encountered by such a heavy fire, that a battalion and five companies of sepoys were brought up by Lake to reinforce them, and the whole party went holdly onward against the shower of canister-shot that thinned their ranks, and the charges of cavalry that all but broke through them. But the Mahratta horse were driven back and routed by the 29th dragoons, who were let loose upon them; the whole British army that had now come up, was brought to the charge; and the conflict was a close bayonet encounter, in which the enemy, notwithstanding their gallant resistance, were driven back step by step, while their own artillery was captured and turned against them. Their resistance only occasioned their total ruin, for when they attempted to escape by flight it was too late. Seven thousand lay dead on the field, 2000 were taken prisoners by the British, and of the seventeen Mahratta battalions that had entered into action none survived, except those fugitives who concealed themselves among the bazaar people, or outstripped the pursuit by the superior fleetness of their horses. As for General Lake, who in this as in the previous engagement had headed the charges both of cavalry and infantry,

he was repeatedly exposed to imminent personal danger, while two horses were shot under him, and his son who attended him as aide-de-camp was wounded at his side. His victory, so gallantly won and so important in its results, possessed the additional advantage that it was cheaply purchased, for the loss of his own army was only 172 killed and 652 wounded; and it was the more distinguished in the annals of military heroism from the fact, that his soldiers had previously been long under arms, and that they had just accomplished a march of more than sixty-five miles in forty-eight hours.

While Wellesley and Lake had thus been conducting the campaign in different parts of the country, but for the same general object, the operations against the Mahrattas were not exclusively confined to these two successful expeditions. Simultaneously with them, two upon a lesser scale had been directed by the provident forecast of the governor-general, to distract the attention and divide the resources of the enemy. and were signalized by the same results. But of these subsidiary attempts we can only afford a passing notice. One was into Bundelcund with a division of the Bengal army under Colonel Powel, who overran the province, and re-established the authority of the Company over it, after taking its principal forts, especially Fort Calpee and Gwalior, and gaining a victory over the Mahratta chieftains in the neighbourhood of Capsah. The other was into the province of Cuttack, and was conducted by Colonel Harcourt with a division of the Madras army, which had been stationed in the Northern Circars. Harcourt, after driving the Mahrattas before him, entered the city of Cuttack and besieged its fort, which besides being strongly fortified, was inaccessible except by a narrow bridge over a very wide ditch; but in three weeks the fort was taken by storm, and the resistance of the province was at an end with its capture. But even subsidiary to these minor expeditions, and dependent upon them, were two movements, necessary to be made for the completion of this most complex and yet most successful of widely-extended and far-reaching campaigns, which were as prosperously conducted as the rest: these were by a detachment from the force of Colonel Powel after the capture of Gwalior, against the dispersed bands of Mahrattas between Bundelcund, Berar, and Cuttack—and another detachment from the army of Colonel Harcourt to take possession of the chain of mountains which separates Cuttack from Berar, and of a defile by which the only entrance can be made from the one province to the other. Never, even in the wars of Napoleon, was there a military plan of operation combining such a variety of movements directed to one great end;

and never, perhaps, was any of even his wonderful plans so successful in all and each of its details. Not one failed, and the glory of the master-spirit who had planned it in his cabinet at Calcutta was equally shared by those agents who realized it. It had lasted only four months, but had extended over nearly the whole continent of India. Four great battles and eight important sieges, in which the British arms were invariably successful, had crowned that short period; and the armies of the Mahrattas, composing in all 250,000 men, with 40,000 more who were of still greater account as they had been disciplined by French officers, and were equal in strength, spirit, and efficiency to European soldiers, had been so effectually routed wherever they made a stand, that their relics could now be only collected for a guerilla resistance. Of the trophies of these fights, besides vast stores of ammunition and treasure, there were above 1000 pieces of cannon. By the downfall of Scindia alone the power of the Mahrattas was broken, and the war which afterwards was waged with his rival Holkar stripped of the formidable character it might otherwise have borne, and brought to an equally successful termination.

While such was the great addition of glory and military prestige conferred by these triumphs, the immediate political consequences, in the establishment of our rule over India, were of the most substantial character. The signal successes of the year 1803 gave to the British empire other advantages besides the acquisition of the Mahratta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges: they secured, by the possession of Delhi, Agra, and Calpee, the mastery and free navigation of the Jumna, with an important tract of country along the right bank of that river; they gave us the greater part of the rich province of Bundelcund, the whole of Cuttack in Orissa, and the best part of the territory in Gujerat, with valuable ports which were before accessible to the French, thereby securing the navigation along that immense coast, from the mouths of the Ganges to the mouth of the Indus; and furthermore, they gave to the Company a stronger frontier in the Deccan, and to our allies, the Nizam and the Peishwa, an important accession of strength.

A.D. 1804. Parliament had scarcely re-assembled after the Christmas recess ere it was known that the king was suffering under an attack of his old malady. On the 14th of February it was publicly announced, by an official bulletin issued at the palace of St. James's, that his majesty was much indisposed; and a succession of similar notices, notwithstanding the customary obscurity of the language, left little doubt as to the serious nature of the com-

plaint. The intelligence carried grief, not altogether unmixed with dismay, throughout the country, for, to the great bulk of the people, George III. was still the "good old king;" his popularity had increased with his years and his misfortunes, and with the costly exertions made in this war; and, from the popular faith in his high English spirit, in his fortitude and decision, it was felt that he was in a manner necessary to the defence and safety of the country, which was still threatened with invasion, and could see from her own coasts the mighty preparations that Bonaparte continued to make. The dismay was the greater from the very general conviction that the Addington administration was inadequate to the crisis. Perhaps a similar conviction in the king's own mind had mainly contributed to his present attack. He had hitherto clung to Addington, not because he considered his spirit and abilities comparable with those of Pitt, but because he knew him to be averse to the granting of that Catholic emancipation which always alarmed his own conscience, and presented itself to his excited mind as a monstrous concession, which would be equally perilous to the temporal and spiritual welfare of his line and of his country. To these state and religious anxieties were added numerous inquietudes of a domestic nature, and other uneasinesses—in which, however, despondency as to the spirit and resources of the country, or fear of the French legions that were collected on the opposite side of the Channel, most assuredly had no place. There was not a man in Great Britain more insensible of fear than George III., or that looked with a more constant assurance to the triumph of his countrymen, if an invading force should, by some unforeseen chance, be enabled to land, and to the eventual and not distant downfall of Napoleon Bonaparte. His religious convictions, which were even stronger than his patriotic sentiments, ever kept uppermost in his mind the belief that a system which had arisen out of atheism and immorality, and which had been established by violence and injustice, must soon fall and disappear. But his other anxieties were numerous and acute; and perhaps none of them affected him more than the unhappy separation of his eldest son and his niece and daughter-in-law the Princess of Wales, attended, as it was, with perennial scandals and perpetual public comment.

On the 27th of February, twelve days after the first public notification of the king's illness, a bulletin appeared announcing that his majesty was much better, and on the 14th of March the lord-chancellor declared that "the king was in such a state as to warrant the lords commissioners in giving the royal assent to several bills." On the 9th and 10th of May, and again on the

11th of May, the day before Pitt's re-appointment as premier, his majesty showed himself to the inhabitants of the metropolis, driving through the principal streets of London and Westminster, accompanied by the queen and the princesses. If he could derive comfort and consolation from the loud and hearty congratulations of the people, materials for it were not wanting. The eyes of his daughters were seen streaming with happy tears.

It was now reported that Pitt, Fox, and the Grenvilles had coalesced. Pitt assured his confidential friends that he was resolved never to hamper himself in that way, and, in effect, with neither Fox nor Grenville did Pitt think of allying himself. With Fox such an engagement was impossible; and Pitt well knew that, except in the last extremity, the king would never again admit Fox into the cabinet. At the same time it was evident that the Addington ministry could not stand. The Easter recess suspended for a short time the rising strife of parties: but when parliament met again on the 5th of April, things at once assumed a most hostile aspect. The way in which the defences of the country had been provided for, and the navy managed, were severely criticized; and in these criticisms Pitt, as well as Windham, joined. Some fruitless attempts were made to induce Pitt, the Grenvilles, and the men who had already assumed to themselves the title of "all the talents," to serve under Addington. On the 12th of May it was publicly announced that Addington had resigned, and that Pitt had been appointed to succeed him. Of the Addington ministry Pitt retained the Duke of Portland, president of the council; Lord Eldon, chancellor; the Earl of Westmoreland, lord privy-seal; the Earl of Chatham (his own brother), master-general of the ordnance; and Lord Castlereagh, now president of the board of control. He brought in with him Lords Melville, Harrowby, and Camden; Melville taking the post of first lord of the admiralty, in lieu of Lord Hawkesbury, and Camden that of secretary for the colonies, in lieu of Lord Hobart. He made Lord Mulgrave chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet, instead of Lord Pelham. But Mr. Canning, the ablest and most eloquent of all his adherents, was left to the inferior situation of treasurer of the navy, which had been occupied by Tierney, and which did not give a seat in the cabinet. The government of Ireland was left unchanged under the lord-lieutenancy of Lord Hardwicke. On the whole, a majority of the late cabinet ministers were retained, and formed a majority also of the present administration.

At the time when Pitt returned to office any the shortest interruption to the activity of the

executive might have proved very fatal to the country; and at the same time any prolonged exciting discussion might have reduced the king to a worse state than that he had so recently been in. Patriotism, therefore, as well as common humanity, might well prevent Pitt from urging any stipulations in favour of the Catholics, or from bargaining with the king for that Catholic emancipation, the refusal of which he had assigned as the cause of his resignation in 1801. The Grenvilles, who knew that no strong ministry could be made *without* Pitt, were determined to prove that no strong ministry could be made *without them*; and they now joined their ill-humour with the party vehemence of Fox.

On the 30th of May, Wilberforce, who had been labouring in his vocation session after session, and without making any material progress for a good many years past—that is, in parliament, for in the country he had obtained many converts—moved for the appointment of a committee to consider the propriety of introducing a bill for the abolition of the slave-trade, after a time to be limited. Addington considered that it would be utterly impracticable to carry into execution any bill founded upon such views as Wilberforce had adopted, and therefore opposed the motion. But both Pitt and Fox voted for Wilberforce; and upon a division the motion was carried by seventy-five against forty-nine. A bill framed for the abolition was brought into the house, and was read a second time, on the 7th of June, after a long discussion. Wilberforce's majority was now much increased, the number voting for the second reading being 100 against 42. Through the pressure of other business, and the lateness of the season, the bill, after the motion for its being committed had been carried by seventy-nine against twenty, was postponed to the next session.

But little other business of any importance was transacted in parliament during the short remainder of this session. The budget had been discussed before Pitt's reinstatement. The total supplies granted were—for the navy £12,350,606—for the army £12,993,625—for the militia and fencible corps £8,159,114—for the ordnance £3,737,091—for miscellaneous services £4,217,295—for *extra* miscellaneous services (relating solely to Ireland) £2,500,000—for discharging arrears and debts on the civil list £591,742—for an additional yearly sum, out of the consolidated fund, for the better support of his majesty's household, £80,000—or a grand whole of £53,608,574! To raise this money recourse was had to new taxes and duties, to loans and annuities, and to three lotteries. The king was well enough to go down to the House of Lords and prorogue parliament in person on the 31st of July.

VOL. IV

The coasts of France, both on the Mediterranean and on the ocean, were again insulted and disturbed by British fleets and squadrons, while, in the more remote seas, other colonies belonging to her or to her dependency, the Batavian republic, were rapidly captured.

The French admiral Linois, who had reached Pondicherry, and who had been enabled to escape from that roadstead, finding he could do no good to M. Perron in the Mahratta war, hoped to do some mischief to the English by picking up a few of their stray Indiamen. He had captured several of these ships, and had plundered the English factory at Bencoolen, when, on the 15th of February, he fell in with a rich fleet of East Indiamen and country ships that were coming from China, and on the point of entering the Straits of Malacca. As Linois had with him a ship of the line, three frigates, and a brig, and as our merchant vessels had no men-of-war to convoy them, he made quite sure of an easy swoop and of an immense prize. But by this time the Company's ships were generally armed and well officered; and Captain (afterwards, by grace of this action, Sir N.) Dance, who was acting as commodore to the fleet of traders, was both an able and a brave sailor. Dance, finding that the enemy were proposing to cut off his rear, made the signal to tack and bear down on them, and engage in succession. This manœuvre was executed by three of the Indiamen; and the rest stood towards Linois under a press of sail. The French then formed in very close line, and opened their fire on Dance's headmost ships, which did not return it until they got to closer quarters. After a smart action of forty minutes, and before half of the Indiamen could come up and engage, the enemy stood away to the eastward, under all the sail they could carry. Dance pursued Linois until four P.M.; when, considering the immense property at stake, and fearing that a longer pursuit would carry him too far from the mouth of the Straits of Malacca, the gallant commodore of this well-conducted merchant fleet made the signal to tack; and, the signal being well obeyed, by eight in the evening they all anchored safely in a situation to enter the strait the next morning. Nothing more was seen of Linois, who, according to his own account, had run away through fear of being surrounded.

In declaring war against France, the British government had included Holland, but had not included Spain, which country, although not actually occupied by French arms, was almost as much under French influence and dictation as was the so-styled Batavian republic. Intelligence having been received in London that an armament was fitting out in the Spanish port of Ferrol, that a considerable Spanish force was already collected

and

there, and that French troops were expected to join them, the admiralty immediately despatched a squadron to cruise off Cadiz, to intercept and capture four Spanish frigates known to be bound to that port from Monte Video, with an immense quantity of specie on board. The commodore of this squadron was Captain Graham Moore, the amiable and gallant brother of General Sir John Moore; he carried his flag in the *Indefatigable*, forty-four gun frigate, and was accompanied only by three other lighter frigates. On the 5th of October the four British frigates discovered, near Cape Santa Maria, the four expected Spanish frigates, which were under the command of Don José Bustamente, and which were carrying all sail to get into Cadiz Bay, now so near at hand. A lieutenant, sent to demand them to surrender, having returned with an unsatisfactory answer, an action began. In a few minutes one of the Spanish frigates, the *Mercedes*, blew up, and only her second captain and about forty of her crew were saved. The rest of the Spaniards successively and soon struck their flags. The value of the cargoes captured netted very little short of £1,000,000 sterling; and this was considered as so much kept from the exchequer of Bonaparte. A deep domestic tragedy cast an additional cloud over this very questionable proceeding. Captain Alvear had embarked in the *Mercedes*, carrying with him his wife, four daughters, and five grown-up sons, and a fortune estimated at about £30,000 sterling, the gradual savings of thirty years' toil in South America. Not many minutes before the battle began, Alvear and his eldest son went on board the Spanish admiral's frigate, and from its deck they witnessed the awful explosion of the *Mercedes*, with the destruction not only of their fortune, but of all who were dearest to them. The British government restored to Captain Alvear, out of the proceeds of the three cargoes, the £30,000 which he had lost, but they could not bid the ocean restore its dead. Those who concurred in the expediency doubted the right of detaining these ships; and even those who defended the legality of the act could not help casting severe censure on the English admiralty for not having sent—instead of a force very little more than equal to that of the Spaniards—such a formidable force as would have allowed Bustamente to submit at once, without an appeal to arms, and without an impeachment of his honour. The transaction created a great stir at Madrid, where a party decidedly hostile to Bonaparte had previously been forming and gathering some strength. On the 27th of November, an order was issued to make reprisals on English property; and on the 12th of December the King of Spain put forth his formal declaration of war against Great Britain.

Bonaparte knew he had converted nearly all the leaders of the republican party, by arguments addressed to their own interest and aggrandizement; he saw daily the men who had made republican constitutions and declarations of the rights of man, and manifestoes of liberty and equality, and forms of oaths against all monarchic government, taking his pay, cringing at his feet, and writing his praise; but he felt that there were still some fanatics whom he could neither buy nor reach; and now and then, notwithstanding the slavery in which he held the press, a republican article would appear, and produce, in some of the corners and by-places of France, an impression and a sympathy which seemed to prove that the spirit of Jacobinism was not altogether extinct. Hence the journals were placed under still greater restrictions. The nocturnal arrests, and the mysterious deportations to lonely fortresses on the remote sea-coasts, or among the Jura Mountains, the Pyrenees, and the Alps, had continued to increase all through the year 1803; but the consular reign of terror, as it is called, was principally confined to the period which intervened between the month of October of that year and the month of April, 1804.

The only man in France that Bonaparte feared singly was Moreau, whose military reputation was second only to his own, who was warmly beloved by the soldiers who had served under him, and who had frankly shown a decided aversion to the despotic system of government which the first consul was so rapidly building up. With Moreau once in his clutches, or with materials and charges wherewith to discredit him in the eyes of the soldiery and the people, he calculated that the throne he was erecting would be firm and safe. His secret police well knew these not secret thoughts, and they acted conformably. The republican hero of Hohenlinden was accused of conspiring with General Pichegru, Georges-Cadoudal, the two Polignacs, and other royalists; and he was arrested on the 15th of February. Many other arrests took place at the same time, and some of the prisoners were threatened with, if not actually subjected to torture, in order to extract confessions from them, or to induce them to confess whatsoever the secret police might wish. Some of these victims had been lured to Paris by the very agents of the police who now gave a false character to their proceedings and intentions. But even evidence thus extracted failed to make out any present case of plot or conspiracy.

Monsieur, or Louis XVIII., was out of Bonaparte's reach, and living under the Emperor of Russia's protection at Warsaw; his brother the Count d'Artois, his nephew the Duke de Berri,

and the other princes of his family, were safe in London, unless that invasion could be achieved of which there seemed no present probability. But, close on the French frontiers, and within the grasp of a night-marching corps of gendarmes-à-cheval, was a young Bourbon prince, and the bravest and most interesting, if not the best living member of that somewhat degenerate race. Louis-Antoine-Henri de Bourbon, Duke d'Enghien, who was born at Chantilly, in August, 1772, was the son of the Duke of Bourbon and grandson of the Prince of Condé; being a lateral branch of the then reigning family of France. He had served under his grandfather in the emigrant army that fought in the Netherlands and on the Rhine against the Jacobin republicans, and had displayed not only a high and romantic personal courage, but a degree of military knowledge and ability which made the royalists consider him a worthy descendant of the Condés—the favourite heroes of France until the revolution broke out. Gay, light-hearted, witty, gallant, and not over-scrupulous in pursuit of pleasure, he had all the qualities which the French most admired, and which constituted the *beau seigneur*, or fine gentleman, in the olden times. At the peace of Luneville, in 1801, the emigrant corps being completely disbanded, the Duke d'Enghien fixed his residence at Ettenheim, a château on the German side of the Rhine, a few miles from that river, and in the territories of the Margrave of Baden. This choice of a residence was influenced by an attachment between him and the Princess Charlotte de Rohan, who resided at Ettenheim with her near relative the Cardinal de Rohan. "That unfortunate prince," says Bourrienne, who only pretends to relate what he knew on the very best authority, "was at Ettenheim in consequence of a love affair, and had no communication whatever with those who had been concocting a plot in the interior of France." Between love, hunting in the Black Forest, and cultivating with his own hands a small flower-garden, he passed his whole time. But, as there was the closest connection between the two Polignacs, De Rivière, and others, and the French princes in England, who could not be reached, Bonaparte decided that D'Enghien, who could be reached, was in the plot also, and that his life must be sacrificed, if not to his security, to his vengeance. By one of those orders that flew like lightning from Paris to all the extremities of France, the officer commanding at Strasburg was enjoined to send some troops across the Rhine, by night, and seize the duke in his château; and Caulaincourt, one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp, and soon afterwards called Duke of Vicenza, was sent by his master to the Rhine to superintend the operation. Caulaincourt gave

the *delicate* commission to Colonel Ordenner, commandant of the gendarmerie-à-cheval, who, on the night of the 14th of March, crossed the river with some squadrons of gendarmes and other cavalry, entered the territory of Baden as though it had been a French province, and advancing at the charging-pace, soon surrounded the château of Ettenheim.

The duke was roused from his midnight slumber by the tramp of horses' feet and the rattling of arms; he was forthwith seized, put into a carriage, and whirled off towards Paris. Iron chains were put upon the prince's arms, and the carriage which conveyed him stopped only to change horses and mounted escorts of gendarmes. They scarcely allowed him time or opportunity to procure any refreshment. At the dusk of the evening, on the 20th of March, the carriage stopped at the gloomy old fortress of Vincennes. That same night he was brought before a military tribunal which had been named by Murat and Bonaparte himself, and which dispensed with witnesses or any kind of evidence; and on the following morning before daylight he was led down to the ditch of the castle to be put to death by some of Savary's gendarmes. The prince asked for the attendance of a confessor. "Would you die like a priest?" was the brutal reply to the request. He cut off a lock of his hair, and gave it with a miniature, and a gold ring, to an officer, imploring him to cause it to be delivered to the Princess de Rohan; and then, presenting his breast to the soldiers, he exclaimed, "I die for my king and for France." The men fired at the close distance of ten paces, and, as they fired, the duke rushed towards the muzzles of their pieces, and fell dead at their feet.

Whatever may have been the sensation produced in Paris or in the rest of France by this atrocious affair, it is certain that the kidnapping and murder of the Duke d'Enghien excited an indignant feeling in all the rest of Europe, and produced immediate demonstrations unfavourable to Bonaparte in all the courts that were strong enough, or remote enough, to hazard the expression of their opinion. The court of St. Petersburg ordered a public mourning for the death of the unfortunate prince, and remonstrated with his real assassin, the first consul; and the Emperor Alexander, as mediator and guarantee of the continental peace, notified to the states of the Germanic empire that he considered the violation of the territory of Baden, and the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, as an overt attack on the security and independence of that empire. Going farther than this, the young czar sent in a note to the diet assembled at Ratisbon, complaining of this violation and criminal transgression of the law and rights of nations, and reminding the

diet that he had pledged himself, together with the first consul of France, to protect the rights and insure the tranquillity of the minor states of the Germanic confederation. The King of Sweden also remonstrated, and sent his note to the Germanic diet, as a party interested through the possessions which he held in the empire, and as an ancient guarantee of the independence of that league. Bonaparte, whose pride could never bear reproach or interference, and who knew or suspected that Russia, some time before this, had listened to English proposals for a new coalition, made Talleyrand write a most insolent and outrageous note to the Russian ambassador. He asked why, when the Elector of Baden and the other German princes were silent [their silence proceeded from their weakness and their fears], Russia presumed to intermeddle in a matter that was wholly German? Whence came that strange pretension of Russia to mix audaciously in what did not concern her? When the Emperor Paul, the ally of France, and the father of the Emperor Alexander, fell under the blows of assassins, *sold to England*, had France advanced the political right of examining that mysterious iniquity? This language might insure, at no distant period, a war with Russia, but it was not calculated to remove the evil impression which had been made. This war indeed was almost a certainty before; but the kidnapping and the murder of the Bourbon prince, and the recriminations cast in the teeth of the young czar (who, in the *Moniteur* and other French publications, was directly accused of being the assassin of his own insane father), hastened the declaration of hostilities, and gave a keener edge to the Russian enmity.

Just fifteen days after the execution of the Bourbon prince at Vincennes, General Pichegru—with whom, as with Georges, the Polignacs, and others, the prince ought to have been confronted—was found dead in his cell in the Temple, where he had been lying ever since the 27th of February, subject to the frequent visits and interrogatories of Réal and other familiars of the police. No threats, no promises could induce Pichegru to injure any man by his answers, or to effect the great object in view—that of implicating General Moreau in the royalist conspiracy. He threatened, on the contrary, to tear to pieces the flimsy web which had been thrown round Moreau; to speak out on his public trial; to unfold the odious means by which he and his companions had been entrapped into the conspiracy by Bonaparte's police; and to reveal what he knew of the first consul's own correspondence with the Bourbons. To proceed publicly against two such successful generals as Pichegru and Moreau at one and the same time,

might, perchance, prove too severe a trial of the temper of the army. It was calculated, too, that, if Pichegru were but dead, it might be insinuated that it was only his death which removed the proof of Moreau's complicity. Réal had been heard muttering as he came from his cell, "What a man this Pichegru is! There is no moving him." On the 5th of April, this counsellor of state and manager of police, this creature of Fouché, had a long secret interview with the general, and it was on the next morning that Pichegru was found strangled on his bed, with a black cravat tightened round his neck, by means of a stick which acted as a tourniquet. Six obscure surgeons, named by the criminal tribunal, were called in to examine the body, and sign a report that Pichegru had committed suicide.

The world was still aghast at the fate of Pichegru, when another and a more bloody catastrophe was brought to light from the same state-prison. Captain John Wesley Wright was becalmed on the morning of the 8th of May, close by the mouth of the river Morbihan, on the coast of France, and was carried by the ebb-tide close upon the rocks. Whilst his crew were sweeping with all their strength to get clear of the coast, seventeen armed vessels were rowed out from the Morbihan, consisting of six brigs, six luggers, and five smaller gun-vessels. Wright's craft was only an 18-gun brig-sloop, and his crew consisted of fifty-one effective men and twenty-four boys; yet he gallantly fought, within grape and hailing distance, the whole French flotilla for nearly two hours, and did not strike his colours until his ship was a mere wreck—until twelve of his men were wounded and two killed, and he himself wounded in the groin. Laurent-Tourneur, the French commanding officer to whom Wright struck, told him that he had nobly sustained the honour of his flag, and the high reputation of his country's navy; that the French loved and esteemed the brave, and that he and his crew would be treated with all possible kindness. This was the natural impulse, and no doubt the intention or wish of the brave French officer; but there were very different feelings and intentions entertained at Paris. The first consul was informed that Wright's vessel had been recognized as the same which had landed Pichegru; and that Wright had been a lieutenant on board Sir Sidney Smith's ship the *Tigre*, and had distinguished himself under Sir Sidney in the defence of Acre. Orders were immediately transmitted to the coast to interrogate the captured English crew *separately*, that is secretly, and by the police; and, when nothing could be got from the English sailors to throw any light on the Pichegru conspiracy, Captain Wright was brought up to Paris, thrown into the Temple, not

as a prisoner of war, but as a state-prisoner, and there confined *au secret*. What followed could be precisely known only to those familiars who possessed the secrets of that prison-house. Even the date of the unhappy man's final catastrophe is not known; for Bonaparte himself declared that his death had been concealed for some considerable time—the motive of that concealment no doubt being an anxiety to avoid a too close juxtaposition with the death of Pichegru in the same accursed place. Bonaparte also allowed that, to extort confessions, the surgeon of Wright's ship was threatened with immediate death; and this is nothing less than a species of torture. He also declared that his grand object was to secure the principals, and to extract a full disclosure of all he suspected Wright to know; and that he considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost consequence. These avowals have tended to confirm the belief, which was very generally entertained at the time, and which indeed seemed unavoidable, that Wright was barbarously treated in his close confinement—perhaps that his body, as well as mind, had been subjected to actual torture—and that, to get rid of the evidence his maimed or injured frame would present, recourse was had to another midnight assassination. Captain Wright was once, and only once, seen in public, after his arrival at the Temple. This was on the 2d of June, when he refused to answer any interrogatories, declaring that, as a prisoner of war, as a British officer, he considered himself amenable only to his own government. We know not how long after this Wright lived, but it was a considerable time ere it was announced in the *Moniteur* that he had been found one morning in his cell with his throat cut from ear to ear; and that this was another very clear case of suicide. But again a great majority of the world, not certainly excepting that of Paris, concluded it was another clear case of assassination. And, in fact, the probabilities of Wright's having destroyed himself were still less than the small probabilities in Pichegru's case.

After many vain attempts to effect a compromise with Moreau, and after the functions of the jury had been suspended, a mock state-trial commenced, the republican general being arraigned with the two Polignacs and the rest of those royalists. Nearly every form of justice was outraged, and nothing was or could be proved against Moreau. But the brave Georges-Cadoudal and twelve associates were guillotined, and Moreau was banished from France. His house and bit of ground were bought by the government, and an officer of Savary's *gendarmes d'élite* conducted the man universally esteemed the best general, next to Bonaparte, through France and

Spain to Cadiz, where he embarked with his wife and family for the United States.

These were but a few of the means by which Bonaparte paved his way to the imperial throne. For some time past preconceived addresses had been pouring in from the departments, and the opinion had been industriously circulated in Paris, that nothing but an hereditary monarchy could save France. Certain *ci-devant* Jacobins noisily took the lead, and the tribunate and the senate joined chorus in singing or shouting "Long live the Emperor!" "Long live hereditary monarchy!" "Let us proclaim Napoleon Emperor of the French!" And, after a few forms had been gone through, he was so proclaimed on the 19th of May.

In the month of July he left Paris to visit the camp at Boulogne, and the so-called army of England. Some of the Paris gossips were quite certain that he was now really going to carry into execution his long-threatened invasion, and would soon be back with King George and William Pitt, with all the royal family, and the worst of the English aristocracy, prisoners in his train. But nothing took place at Boulogne beyond a distribution of the crosses of the Legion of Honour, the swearing-in of the troops to the new absolute order of government, and a splendid review near the shore of the Channel—that Channel whose broad rough waters were studded with British ships of the line, and proud frigates which told the enthroned soldier that he was not to pass it. The poor, defenceless old pope was dragged from Rome to Paris in the inclement month of November; and on the 2d of December, he assisted at the coronation of the Emperor and the Empress Josephine.

Shortly after his coronation, Bonaparte addressed another letter to George III. personally, under the title of "Sir, and Brother." The professed object of this epistle, which was very different from its real object, was to prove that France and England ought to be at peace; and that he, the emperor, was weary of war. The King of England's answer was returned in a diplomatic note, addressed by Lord Mulgrave, our secretary of state for foreign affairs, to Talleyrand, who continued to fill that office in France. Bonaparte's string of truisms was met with the general declaration that there was no object which his Britannic majesty had more at heart than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure the advantages of a peace founded on bases not incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions; but that he was persuaded that this end could only be attained by arrangements which might at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe.

The rights of neutral states and the law of nations had been most flagrantly violated, in numerous instances, in the summer and autumn of 1804. Two or three of these cases will serve to show in what temper the British government must have received the new emperor's insidious letter. Ever since the rupture of the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte had been complaining that the British ambassadors, envoys, and other diplomatic agents resident at the different courts and states of Europe, were only on the Continent to create him enemies among his neighbours, and to encourage and promote insurrections and conspiracies in the interior of France. Even after his own intimate conviction that the Duke d'Enghien was in no plot at all, and was not a man capable of entertaining for an instant any notion of leaguering himself with assassins, he gave out that the unfortunate prince had been so leagued, and that sundry English diplomatists were leagued with him, having urged the prince to rush into the foul conspiracy, and having furnished him with money for the purpose. It is quite certain that our diplomatists were not on the Continent to make friends for this overbearing foe of their country and of Europe; and it was a part of their duty—a duty not in itself very agreeable, yet one recognized in the law or common practice of war—to encourage the Bourbon royalists and other disaffected classes in France, and to embarrass by internal commotions the enemy that was threatening to invade England, and that had long kept an immense army in sight of our coast. Bonaparte himself had done something more than this in Ireland, and that too at a time when there was peace between him and Great Britain. A plan was laid by the imperial secret police and one Mehée de la Touche, who passed himself off as a devoted partizan of the Bourbons, and who pretended to be at the head of a party. Mr. Drake, our resident at Munich, and Mr. Spencer Smith, our envoy at Stuttgart, fell blindly into the snare laid for them by the great practitioner: they took Mehée for the passionate royalist that he described himself to be; they encouraged him to persevere, and expressed the hope that the great party he represented would eventually succeed in overthrowing the intolerable tyranny of the Corsican. They suggested some measures which might contribute to that desirable end, but assuredly assassination was never mentioned by any one, excepting perhaps Mehée de la Touche himself. Obedient to the orders of Bonaparte,

the petty courts of Bavaria and Würtemberg ordered Drake and Smith to quit their territories immediately. The *Moniteur* then publicly assailed Sir George Rumbold, our chargé d'affaires to the circle of Lower Saxony; and a party of French troops, suddenly crossing the Elbe, kidnapped Sir George at his country-house near Hamburg. This diplomatist was carried a close prisoner to Paris, and there thrown into the Temple. After some time he was liberated on the remonstrance of the court of Berlin; but his papers were all detained. Such were a few of the facts which preceded the Emperor Napoleon's letter to his "brother" George III.

Before this time Pitt felt his ministerial condition to be one of extreme difficulty. The mingled opposition, including so many of his own family connections, was collecting all its force; and, shrinking from the collision, or hoping to gain strength in the interval, he put off the assembling of parliament as long as he possibly could. A severe illness deprived him for some time of the services of his colleague, Lord Harrowby; and he declared that the loss of this assistance would be a great misfortune, but that he must do as well as he could. An attempt was made to conciliate Lord Grenville, but it failed—his lordship would not abandon Fox and the Talents, or his preconceived notion of a comprehensive ministry. Nothing, therefore, remained for Chatham's proud son to do, but to make peace with Addington, who had carried with him no inconsiderable reinforcement to the mixed opposition. It is said that the king, who retained his warm partiality for Addington, and who was reasonably alarmed at the weakness of Pitt's majorities at the close of the session, strongly recommended, and in fact insisted upon, this reconciliation: and this appears to be proved by expressions used privately and confidentially by Pitt himself.

Simultaneously with this reconciliation, and possibly as an essential ingredient to it, Addington was raised to the peerage, as Viscount Sidmouth, of Sidmouth, and was brought into the cabinet as president of the council, in the room of the Duke of Portland, whose years and infirmities made retirement desirable. At the same time Lord Mulgrave was appointed secretary of state for the foreign department, in the place of Lord Harrowby, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire took Mulgrave's post as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1805—1806.

GEORGE III.

Meeting of parliament—Pitt questioned about Catholic emancipation—His reply—Parliamentary supplies for the year—Impeachment of Lord Melville—Treaties of alliance against France—Bonaparte crowned at Milan—His menaces renewed of invading Britain—His preparations at Boulogne—His sudden departure for the invasion of Austria—Mack appointed commander of the Austrian army—Surrender of the Austrians at Ulm—The French enter Vienna—Bonaparte defeats the Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz—The Emperor of Austria signs the treaty of Presburg—Extensive territories ceded to France by the treaty—Confederation of the Rhine established by Bonaparte—Political blunders of Britain at this period—Unsuccessful operations on the Baltic—The combined French and Spanish fleets sail from Cadiz to the West Indies—They are pursued by Nelson—They are attacked by Sir Robert Calder off Cape Finisterre—Preparations of Nelson for battle near Cape Trafalgar—Battle of Trafalgar—Defeat and destruction of the united French and Spanish fleets—Death of Nelson—Spain gradually becoming reconciled to England—Suicide of Admiral Villeneuve—War in the East Indies—Victories of the British over Holkar and the Mahrattas—The Rajah of Bhurtpoor, Holkar's ally, submits to the British—Peace restored in India—Death of William Pitt—Debate on the question of a national monument to his memory—His debts paid by government—A new and opposite administration succeeds—Its want of agreement—Fox appointed secretary for foreign affairs—His unsuccessful negotiation for peace—Proceedings of the negotiation—Preliminary proceedings—Changes introduced into enlistment for the army—Improvements in the army—Opening of the budget—Impolitic taxes—The slave-trade—Preparations for its final extinction—Impeachment and trial of Lord Melville—His acquittal—Prorogation of parliament.



OTWITHSTANDING the accession of Lord Sidmouth's partizans, Pitt felt that his majorities would still be rather feeble and therefore he wished to put aside all questions which might divide his friends.

When parliament met, on the 15th of January, the minister appeared to have lost much of his usual confidence; but this might in part arise from his declining health. His rival did not omit to remind him that he had done nothing to redeem the pledge which he was understood to have given to the Roman Catholics. On the last point Pitt replied with great animation. If the measures in favour of the Catholics of Ireland, which Fox was now so loudly calling for, appeared to him so immediately necessary, why had he suffered four years to elapse since the union, without having ever called for them before? "What the reasons are," continued Pitt, "which have induced me to suffer the Catholic question to remain dormant, I shall, on a future occasion, have an opportunity of stating: and I flatter myself that the house and the country will give me credit for consistency, when I shall have stated the reasons why I still think that the matter should remain dormant at the present moment." The opportunity for explanation cannot be said to have presented itself during the present session; and before the next session was two days old Pitt was dead: so that it seems to us unfair and inconsistent to talk of his resuming office in 1804, "refusing to make any stipulation for the Catholics," and of his having from that

time "*always* opposed those who urged their claims." This *always* includes only a few most busy and stormy months. In opening the budget Pitt stated that he should require a loan of £20,000,000 for England, and one of £2,500,000 for Ireland; together with the imposition of several new war-taxes, and a double duty on salt. Some additions were made to the army grants; £4,000,000 were allotted to the militia and fencible corps; nearly £4,500,000 to the ordnance; £15,000,000 to the navy; and a very large sum to miscellaneous services. The total amount of the supply voted for the year was £55,590,000. The property or income tax, or "the contribution on the profits arising from property, professions, trades, offices, &c.," was increased, as were certain duties on legacies, on horses, &c.

From the commencement of the session Lord Melville [Henry Dundas] was menaced with the storm which burst over his head in April. "Rumour," says Wilberforce, "had for some time impeached Lord Melville's integrity." But rumour is not truth. Pitt, whom Dundas had served so long and with such untiring zeal, declared to Wilberforce that he was fully persuaded of his personal integrity—that "he was quite sure there was no real pocketing of public money in him." Mr. Whitbread led the parliamentary assault with a degree of violence which has not often been surpassed; the Addingtonians joined in the attack; and Wilberforce took the same course, and influenced forty other members, or the party commonly called "the saints." When, however, the house first divided, there occurred, what had

not happened upon any great question for many a year, a perfect equality of votes, 216 voting for the criminatory resolutions, and 216 against them. The speaker (Abbott) with whom Wilberforce had consulted beforehand, gave the casting vote, and it was against Melville. On the 8th of April, Pitt, who was greatly agitated, informed the house that Lord Melville had resigned his office—that of first lord of the admiralty. The health of the premier was visibly affected by this occurrence. Many violent debates and other proceedings followed; and on the 26th of June, Whitbread, accompanied by a great number of members, impeached Lord Melville, in the name of the Commons of Great Britain, of high crimes and misdemeanours, at the bar of the House of Lords. A bill was brought into the commons by Whitbread to avoid those differences of opinion which had arisen in the case of Warren Hastings, or to prevent the proceedings in the impeachment of Lord Melville from being affected by any prorogation or dissolution of parliament; and, after some slight alteration in the wording, it was carried through all its stages without a division. Here the proceedings rested for the present; and before any further progress could be made, Pitt, whose health and spirits were evidently affected by them, was laid in Westminster Abbey.

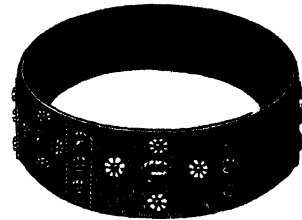
On the 12th of July, in consequence of a message from the king, £3,500,000 were voted for the new coalition which was forming on the Continent; and on the same day parliament was prorogued by commission.

Two days before the prorogation, Lord Sidmouth (Addington) and Lord Buckinghamshire resigned. Sidmouth was succeeded by Lord Camden, and Lord Buckinghamshire by Lord Harrowby. Lord Castlereagh obtained Earl Camden's place of secretary of foreign affairs.

Although it had not been deemed expedient to communicate the fact to parliament, a treaty had been signed as early as the 11th of April, by which the Emperor of Russia and the King of England reciprocally bound themselves to use the most efficacious means for forming a general league of the states of Europe, for the purpose of putting an end to the encroachments of the French government. Sweden and Austria had both entered into the same views. The King of Sweden had signed a separate treaty with the Emperor of Russia, on the 10th of January; but Austria hung back, and recommended that negotiations should be attempted with Bonaparte before proceeding to hostilities. A Russian envoy was despatched for France; but he stopped for a time at Berlin to sound the intentions of the prevaricating cabinet of the King of Prussia; and while he was there, intelligence was received at Vienna and St. Petersburg of Bonaparte's having annexed

Genoa to France, and of his having intimated by other proceedings that a state of peace on the Continent was not to prevent his aggrandizing himself still further at the expense of his neighbours. This led to the envoy's immediate recall, and to the determination of Austria to try again the fortune of war. By a treaty signed at St. Petersburg, on the 9th of August, Austria became a member of the league with England, Russia, and Sweden. But Prussia continued in the same dubious state: increasing her armies, avoiding any direct engagement, or even explanation, and evidently waiting events, in order to determine which side to take as the most advantageous to herself.

Bonaparte had torn the treaty of Luneville into pieces, and since the opening of the present year he had but too plainly intimated that Europe must fight or submit to him. He gave the people on the other side of the Alps to understand that the Italian republic was an anomaly, and that they must turn it into a monarchy. No time was lost in executing this work. The French emperor crossed the Alps; and on Sunday, the 26th of May, he was crowned in the magnificent



THE IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY.—From the Illustrated News.

cathedral of Milan. The ceremony was not performed by the pope, although Pius VII. was at Turin, but by the Archbishop of Milan. Being crowned with the iron crown of the Longobards, Bonaparte instituted an Italian order of the "Iron Crown;" and modelled the new kingdom on precisely the same plan as the French empire. He forthwith established his military conscrip-

¹ "The celebrated iron crown of Lombardy was deposited in the cathedral of Monza. This famed symbol of kingship is a broad circle of gold, set with large rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, and was deposited in an ornamented cross, placed over an altar, closely shut up within folding doors of gilt brass. The crown is kept in an octagonal aperture in the centre of the cross. It is composed of six equal pieces of beaten gold joined together by close hinges, and the jewels and embossed gold ornaments are set in a ground of blue and gold enamel. The most important feature in this crown is a narrow iron rim which is attached to the inside of it all round. The rim is about three-eighths of an inch broad, and a tenth of an inch thick, and is said to have been made out of one of the nails of the crucifixion. The crown is said to have been presented to the Emperor Constantine by his mother Helena, and the sacred iron ring from which it is named was to protect him in battle."—*Illustrated London News*.

tion, and raised the army of Italy to 50,000 men. These Italian troops were of immense service in the ensuing campaign; and without them Massena must have been crushed on the Adige by the Archduke Charles. On his return from Italy he gave a new impulse to the preparations for the invasion of England, and spoke of it publicly as an attempt fully resolved upon, and not to be prevented by any occurrences whatever. He repaired again to the coast, and dated several striking and important decrees from "the imperial camp of Boulogne." The army of England, as it was called, augmented rather than diminished, still lay at Boulogne; the flotillas had been increased, and a junction was making between the French fleets and the fleets of Spain. But—to say nothing of the doubt which still exists, and will ever exist, as to the reality of his intention to risk his army and person in this desperate enterprise, as Nelson at Trafalgar annihilated the united fleets, without which the invasion was an absolute impracticability, as that battle would have been fought whether there had been a coalition or not, and as the continental war affected on neither side the forces whose battlefield was the wide ocean—it is absurd to say, as some French writers continue to do, that it was the hostile movement of Russia and Austria, brought about by English gold, that saved England from invasion, if not from conquest. England was safe through the cannon fired at Trafalgar, though not a gun had been fired on the Continent, and though Bonaparte had been left undisturbed to parade his troops on the coast as he had already done for years. Towards the end of August, Bonaparte returned once more to Boulogne, and the *Moniteur* announced that this journey was the prelude to the invasion of England. But on the 28th of that month it was announced that the army of England was to become the army of Germany—that the Emperor Francis had attacked the Elector of Bavaria, an ally of Napoleon—that the Emperor Alexander was marching—that the Continent was in flames. And forthwith the one hundred and fifty thousand men collected at Boulogne and along that coast struck their tents, and, forming into five separate corps, under the commands of the five marshals, Soult, Davoust, Ney, Lannes, and Murat, marched away with admirable rapidity for the Rhine.

After hesitating so long, and thereby occasioning delays on the part of the Emperor Alexander, the cabinet of Vienna precipitated measures, and took the field too soon; for the Russians, who had to perform an immense march before they could reach the banks of the Upper Danube, were still far off when the Austrians commenced operations. By a strange fatality, the Emperor

Francis had given the command of his main army to General, now Field-marshal Mack, who had the art or knack still to pass with the aulic council as a great military genius, and the best of tacticians and strategists. His shameful discomfiture in the south of Italy, in the year 1799, was attributed solely to the bad, unwarlike qualities of the Neapolitan troops; with the steady veterans of the emperor, the sturdy Austrian infantry, the active light troops of Bohemia, and the brilliant cavalry of Hungary, he would do better, nay, must conquer, and rescue the whole of Germany from the thralldom of the French. Of this confidence he had himself the fullest share, so that he threw himself into action with more alacrity than prudence. Some fruitless attempts were made to secure Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, as an ally; but that prince, hating the whole house of Austria, and believing in the invincibility of Bonaparte, remained steady to the French, and assisted in the humiliation of Germany. Not only did Prussia remain neutral, but the Elector of Baden, in whose territory the Duke d'Enghien had been kidnapped, and the Elector of Würtemberg, followed the same line of conduct as his serene highness of Bavaria. If Prussia had fallen upon the French in flank as they were advancing against the Austrians, the consequence must have been fatal to the invaders: but she professed to be neutral and impartial; the daring violation of her own territory by French troops could not rouse her, and she kept her splendid army of 200,000 men in perfect inactivity. In vain Pitt offered his subsidies; in vain the Emperor Alexander repaired in person to Berlin; that unwisely selfish cabinet would do nothing, or nothing yet; and this indecision lasted until the coalition was ruined. There was treachery in his camp, and in the field Mack made scarcely one movement that was not a mistake. The Austrians were defeated by Ney at Elchingen, and at the bridges over the Danube at Guntzburg; and after the affair of Guntzburg there was scarcely any more fighting, a system of capitulations being commenced, and detached masses of troops surrendering to the French without firing a musket. Within twelve days after Bonaparte had crossed the Rhine, Mack's doom was sealed—he was shut up in Ulm, as old Marshal Wurmser had been in Mantua, without a hope or possibility of being relieved. On the morning of the 20th, the Austrians came out of Ulm, and defiled before Bonaparte; the infantry then threw down their arms at the back of the ditch; the cavalry dismounted, and delivered up their arms and their horses to some of the French cavalry who had lost their own horses in the campaign. The poor Austrians, in the act of surrendering their arms, shouted, "Long live

the Emperor Francis!" Mack, who was there, replied to some French officers, who addressed him without knowing who he was, "Messieurs, you see before you the unhappy Mack!"

As the French approached Vienna, the Emperor

fighting some desperate battles on the Adige, at Caldiero, and other places, had been driven out of Italy by the superior forces of Marshal Massena, who closely followed him on his retreat through the Tyrol. The archduke, however,

formed a junction with the forces under the command of his brother, the brave Archduke John. Affairs were not desperate, or were so only in the eyes of cowards. The Emperor Alexander had now arrived in Moravia with his formidable army; the loyal subjects of Austria were rapidly recruiting the forces of their sovereign and the two archdukes; the country afforded no subsistence to the French; a most severe winter had set in, and the French must either have retreated or have perished there. It behoved the allied emperors to avoid a general action; but it was a part of the fatality of the adversaries of Bonaparte



THE TOWNHALL, ULM.—From Prout's Sketches in Holland and Germany

Francis and his family fled from it into Moravia. On the 13th of November, the French took undisputed and quiet possession of that proud capital, which had stood in former ages so many sieges, and which had seen the Moslem conquerors twice retreat from before its walls. There had been an abundance of time to allow of the removing of all such things; the grand united army in Moravia was very badly provided; the Russians were in want of almost everything; but the Austrian managers of these matters appear to have thought it better to keep their military stores, arms, clothing, and provisions for the use of their enemies than to send them to their friends; for the French found in the magazines of Vienna and its suburbs an immense quantity of all these things. Bonaparte gave a part of the spoils to the Elector of Bavaria, whose troops were fighting under his banner, and whose un-German heart was triumphing in the calamity and humiliation of Austria. The new Emperor of the French took up his abode in Schonbrunn, the splendid palace of the far-descended Emperor Francis; he appointed one of his generals governor of Vienna; and conducted himself in all things like the sovereign of the country. Many times the report was confidently spread that peace had been concluded between Napoleon and Francis; and this, connected with other occurrences and indications, was likely to damp the spirit and embarrass the counsels of the Russians, who had marched so far only to meet a beaten, disheartened, unsteady ally.

In the meanwhile, the Archduke Charles, after

parting to be slow when they ought to be quick, and quick when they ought to be slow. The Russians and Austrians, therefore, marched to the plain of Austerlitz, and gave the French battle there on the 2d of December. The two armies which engaged were nearly equal in number; but the French had a decided superiority in artillery, both as to number and quality; and it was on the employment of that arm that they principally relied for their victory. The Russian infantry made a great use of the bayonet: most of the French that were wounded, were wounded by that weapon, and in nearly every case these wounds proved mortal. In the end it was a victory for Bonaparte; but it was for a long time doubtful, and it cost him a tremendous price. The Russians retired in perfect order, in solid bronze-like masses, and the French showed no inclination to follow them. The Emperor of Russia refused to join in the humiliating measure; but the Emperor Francis, the very day after the battle, opened negotiations with the French.

On the 26th of December, while Alexander was retiring by regular day marches into his own territories, Francis signed the ruinous treaty of Presburg. By this treaty he ceded, nominally to Napoleon's kingdom of Italy, not only Venice and the Venetian provinces in Upper Italy, but the Venetian provinces in Istria, in Dalmatia, and on the coast of Albania, which he had possessed ever since the treaty of Campo Formio; he ceded to the Elector of Bavaria the whole of the Tyrol, with the bishopric of Passau and other territories;

he ceded to Würtemberg and Baden, those other liege vassals of France, other districts; he recognized the regal titles of the Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and the grand-ducal title of the Elector of Baden,—for the Emperor Napoleon had resolved that the first two should have the rank of kings, and that the Elector of Baden, who had taken the kidnapping and murder of the Duke d'Enghien in such good part, and who, like the other un-German princes, had rendered important services during this campaign, should have the rank of grand-duke; and, in addition to these and other sacrifices, Austria, in a secret article, agreed to pay to the French a military contribution of 140,000,000 francs. The population thus turned over to the conqueror by a few strokes of the pen was estimated at about 3,000,000. But there was worse than a loss of population, and a limited surrender of territory: by being made to give up Trieste, which had long been her only sea-port, and all that she had obtained by the treaties of Campo Formio and Luneville on the Adriatic, Austria entirely shut herself out from the sea, and became an inland power, without the faculty of exporting or importing directly a bale of goods or a cart-load of produce—she became *enclavée*, cooped in on every side; and on the Adriatic side, where she most wanted freedom and extension, a hostile state, a strip of the kingdom of Italy, which was merely a province of France, was interposed between her and the sea. The fracture made of the independence of Switzerland and of the Grisons had weakened her frontier on the side of France; and now the disseverance of the Tyrol, the cradle of the imperial house, and the oldest of its possessions, completed this ruin of frontier and bulwarks, and gave the French the entire command of the best routes which connect Upper Italy with Germany. But still more loss of influence and honour!—all the smaller German states of the Rhine were formed by Bonaparte, who put himself at the head of it as “Protector,” into what was called the Confederation of the Rhine: the old Germanic empire was thus dissolved; the influence of the French was fully established over a great part of Germany; and very soon after this treaty the Emperor Francis formally renounced his title of elective Emperor of Germany, and assumed that of hereditary Emperor of Austria, &c. The King of Prussia, who had been the only king in Germany until Bonaparte chose to give kingly crowns to his vassals of Bavaria and Würtemberg, was recommended by the cabinet who were leading him to his ruin to take the title of Emperor of Prussia; but he did not. Less than three weeks after the signing of the treaty of Presburg, Eugene Beauharnais married Augusta Amelja, daughter of the King of Bavaria;

and shortly after Mademoiselle or Princess Stephanie Beauharnais, Eugene's cousin, was given in marriage to the son and heir of the Grand-duke of Baden, who had earnestly solicited the honour of an alliance with the august family of Bonaparte. Another matrimonial alliance was contemplated with the family of the King of Würtemberg.

Other parties connected with the coalition were to blame besides Mack and the aulic council; and the government of Pitt, who had originated the convention, had made a very injudicious use of the resources of their country. That system of petty expeditions which had so long disgraced England, or which, at the least, had deprived her of the honour she might otherwise have obtained, had again been resorted to; and for the present saving of a few millions, the necessity had been incurred of a future expenditure of very many millions. If the King of Sweden, whose zeal in the cause was depressed only by his poverty, had been liberally supplied with money—if 25,000 or 30,000 British troops had been sent to the Baltic in the autumn, a great movement might have been effected in the north of Germany—the vacillations of Prussia might have been brought to an end by those best of all arguments, the presence of a great allied army, and the exceeding great probability of the French being the losing party; and Prussia would have carried with her into the coalition Saxony, Brunswick, and one or two other minor states; Bonaparte would have been obliged to divide and sub-divide his grand army; he might have been attacked on his left flank and on his rear, and the Hanoverians, and probably the Dutch, whose countries had been left with hardly any French troops in them, would have risen *en masse* and have overthrown their temporary Gallican governments; for the Hanoverians were heartily attached to their old line of sovereigns, and the Dutch were by this time heartily sick of French domination, and of that system which had led to the almost entire destruction of their foreign trade, the one great source of their wealth, as of their former political greatness. If this course had been pursued in good time, Bernadotte would not have quitted Hanover at all, or if he had done so, he must have been compelled to retrace his steps; and in either case the catastrophe at Ulm, to which he so essentially contributed, would not have taken place. But precious time was lost, money was withheld, and the very small number of native British forces which Pitt's government thought they might spare for foreign service was divided, and sent to two opposite extremities of Europe; only 5000 or 6000 British troops were sent to the Baltic, and, counting the king's German legion and other foreign corps, the entire force which

landed in Swedish Pomerania (*and not before the month of October*), under the command of General Don and Lord Cathcart, fell short of 16,000 men. This force was joined by 12,000 Swedes, and by about 9000 or 10,000 Russians. The supreme command was rather nominally than really intrusted to the King of Sweden, who, after recovering Hanover, was to advance upon Holland. But there could be no advance of this extensive kind without securing, at the very least, the neutrality of Prussia; and a mixed army of less than 38,000 men, and the delays which had occurred, and the differences of opinion which were known to exist among the officers in command of it, were but little calculated to give to Prussia those convictions she wanted. Pitt had despatched Lord Harrowby to Berlin, and the English generals were disposed to rely upon the effects of his lordship's diplomacy; but his Swedish majesty, who better knew the character of that cabinet, and who forgot that he had not a force sufficient to dictate to Prussia with her 200,000 men, wrote some impatient and rather violent notes to his Prussian majesty. The court of Berlin complained; the English and the Russians too remonstrated; a quarrel was the consequence; and his Swedish majesty, throwing up the command of the allied army, retired with his own forces to Stralsund. After more than three weeks had been spent in waiting the result of the negotiations at Berlin, and in explaining away the words and letters which had given offence to his Swedish majesty, Gustavus resumed the command, and the petty allied army began to shake itself: but it was now beyond the middle of November; and in the interval Mack had surrendered at Ulm, and Bonaparte had entered Vienna—events which made the Berlin cabinet more vacillatory than before, and more tenacious of the rights of neutrality with regard to the belligerent party that was so evidently succumbing in the present struggle. Gustavus marched into the electorate of Hanover, and even laid siege to the town of Hameln, where Bernadotte had left a considerable garrison: but then came the news of the battle of Austerlitz, and thereupon the allies conceived no alternative was left them but to get back with all speed to their respective countries. The British re-embarked; the Swedes retired again to the shelter of the well-fortified Stralsund; and the Russians retreated into Mecklenburg, there to await the arrival of their shipping.

The operations of the 3000 British troops, who were sent to the south of Italy, will be noticed in the following year, in connection with the French conquest and entire occupation of the kingdom of Naples—an event which would have happened about the time it did, whether the allies had or had not induced the Neapolitan court

to break its treaty of neutrality with the French, although our sending and landing of troops certainly furnished Bonaparte with good materials and colours for excusing his ambition, and his predetermined aggrandizement.

We gladly escape from these continental disasters and disgraces on shore, to our victories and glories at sea. But for our successes on our own element, woful, indeed, must have been the close of this year, 1805. With the joint navies of France and Spain, Bonaparte had hoped to gain an Austerlitz by sea. Eluding the vigilance of Lord Nelson, now in command of the Mediterranean fleet, Admiral Villeneuve, who stole out of Toulon, on the 31st of March, with ten ships of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, reached, after an indirect course, the harbour of Cadiz. Here he was joined by six Spanish sail of the line and two French ships of the line, with 10,000 troops on board. With these troops, with eighteen sail of the line, and with his frigates, Villeneuve sailed for our West India islands. As soon as he could learn the course he had taken, Nelson followed him across the Atlantic with only ten sail of the line. The British admiral reached Barbadoes on the 4th of June, three weeks after the arrival of the French admiral at Martinique. Villeneuve had been joined by two more French ships of the line, but they had brought him conflicting and bewildering instructions from his emperor, and he had been able to do little more than capture and burn a few of our merchant vessels; and so soon as he learned the arrival of the dreaded Nelson, he set sail on his return for Europe. His twenty sail of the line were followed by our ten. Nelson returned to England on the 18th of August, without having seen anything of the combined fleet. But Villeneuve did not reach port without an action: he was attacked by Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder, to the north-west of Cape Finisterre, on the 22d of July. The Frenchman had still his twenty sail of the line and seven frigates; Calder had only fifteen sail of the line and two frigates; yet he captured an eighty-four and a seventy-four gun ship (both Spaniards), and was much censured for not having done more. After this action Villeneuve ran into Ferrol and Coruña. He was ordered to proceed to Brest, where Gantheaume was ready to join him with the Brest fleet, which counted twenty-one ships of the line; but upon learning that Calder had joined Admiral Cornwallis, instead of sailing for Brest he ran round the Spanish coast, and took refuge in Cadiz.

On the 21st of August, the day on which Villeneuve got into Cadiz Bay, Admiral Gantheaume, who was expecting him at Brest, stood out of that harbour with twenty-one sail of the

line, as if to meet him a little way out at sea. Admiral Cornwallis, who was watching Ganteaume, had at this moment only fourteen ships of the line with him; but with this inferior force he moved in to attack, and, after a distant cannonade, Ganteaume, who strained his eyes in vain in looking out to the south for Villeneuve's fleet, retired to the protection of land batteries, and at nightfall returned again into Brest harbour. As the French and Spanish squadrons remained inactive, the other movements of our fleets were of little importance, until Nelson again took the chief command.

On the 14th of September the foot of the hero was again on the quarter-deck of his favourite ship the *Victory*; he sailed on the 15th, and on the 29th, his birth-day, he arrived off Cadiz, and



CAPE TRAFALGAR, from the Shores of Barbary.—De Capel Brooke's Sketches in Spain and Morocco.

joined Lord Collingwood. A novel and most admirable plan of attack was concerted, and with a full assurance of success, the fleet awaited the day when the French and Spaniards should venture out to sea. On Monday, the 21st of October when Nelson was near Cape Trafalgar, the enemy was discovered. Nelson told Blackwood, his captain, that he would not be satisfied unless he took twenty of them. He asked whether the captain did not think there was a signal wanting. Blackwood replied, that he thought the whole fleet understood what they were about. But Nelson gave his last signal—"ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY;" and, as the telegraphic message was communicated from the mizzen-topgallant-masthead of the *Victory*, it was greeted with three cheers on board of every ship in the fleet. It was the hour of noon when this most memorable of our sea-battles began in earnest. Nelson's customary signal on going into action, "Engage the enemy more closely," was fast belayed at the *Victory's* main-topgallant-mast-

head. The entire British force consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, four frigates, one schooner, and one cutter: the French and Spaniards united counted thirty-three sail of the line, five frigates, and two brigs. The largest ships on our side were the *Victory*, the *Royal Sovereign*, which carried Collingwood's flag, and the *Britannia*, which carried the flag of Rear-admiral the Earl of Northesk; they mounted 100 guns each. The largest ships on the opposite side were the *Santissima Trinidad* of 130 guns, the *Principe de Asturias* of 112 guns, the *Santa Anna* of 112 guns, and the *Rayo* of 100 guns. The British had four ninety-eight gun ships, and one eighty-gun ship: the enemy had six eighty-gun ships. Of the smaller line-of-battle ships, mounting sixty-four guns, the British had three, and the enemy only one: the British had sixteen seventy-four's, the enemy twenty two. Leaving out of the account the frigates and small craft on both sides, Nelson had but 2148 guns to oppose to Villeneuve's 2626 guns. His numerical inferiority in men was much greater: his patched-up ships, too, were inferior in quality; but his immense superiority lay in the quality of his crews, in the long-practised skill and bravery of his officers, in his own ready resources, and in the zeal and enthusiasm with which he had inspired every

man and boy in the fleet. The enemy fought bravely; but by three o'clock ten ships of their line had struck, and Admiral Villeneuve was a prisoner. The victory was completed in another half-hour; but Nelson had been mortally wounded by a rifle-ball fired from the mizzen-top of one of the French ships, and he was breathing his last as the sailors were shouting triumphantly. Two Spanish admirals had surrendered. In all, nineteen ships of the line had struck to Nelson at Trafalgar. Admiral Gravina, in the *Principe de Asturias*, a 112-gun ship, fell away to leeward of the rear, and made off, with four other ships. Five other ships, four French and one Spanish, under Villeneuve's second, Rear admiral Dumanoir, which had sustained little or no damage in their masts and sails, while hardly any of the hard-fought British ships had a stick left standing, hauled off to windward; but as Dumanoir passed the *Royal Sovereign*, the *Conqueror*, and the *Victory*, which were lying like logs upon the water, he and the three French ships with him

poured their shot, not only into those British ships, but also into the Spanish prizes they had made. Both Gravina and Dumanoir escaped from the battle; but Gravina had been mortally wounded, and Dumanoir and his squadron fell in, in their flight, with Sir Richard Strachan, who was cruising in search of the Rochefort squadron, and were all taken on the 4th of November. The *Achille*, a French seventy-four, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of her crew took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by British tenders, who picked them out of the water. The total number of prisoners taken, including the land forces on board, amounted to nearly 12,000. The total British loss in the battle was 1587, including many officers, besides the greatest of all. Captain Duff of the *Mars*, and Captain Cooke of the *Bellerophon*, were among the slain. The French, out of eighteen sail of the line, preserved only nine, and the Spaniards, out of fifteen sail of the line, preserved only six. The moral effect was as great as the physical one; between the two, the marine force at the disposal of Bonaparte might be said to be annihilated.

Nelson's crowning glory rescued England from all chance of invasion, and left her sovereign of the seas. After the battle of Trafalgar the task of the British navy, that had attained under Nelson to a degree of perfection which it had never approached before, was of the easiest execution: nor could reverse, defeat, or disgrace have possibly attended our flag in any seas, if our changing boards of admiralty and variable governments had known how to make use of the mighty powers and energies at their disposal, and had discarded, on the one hand, their proneness to jobbery, or to political trafficking in promotions, and on the other hand their incidental fits of economy. The French, indeed, henceforward renounced all hope of invading and conquering England; nay, even of contending with her as a maritime power; but they flattered themselves that they had found more than an equivalent, in the easy subjugation and plunder of the Continent; and that the continental system, which began to occupy Bonaparte's mind as soon as his navy was destroyed, would, by closing all the ports of Europe to English commerce, reduce the proud rival of France to poverty and despair. The Spaniards generally had fought bravely in the action; but the heart of the Spanish people was not in that cause, some humane and politic proceedings of Collingwood, being superadded to the very unfavourable effects produced by Dumanoir's conduct, and by various other deeds of their French allies, produced a sudden popular reaction favourable to the English. All this tended to obliterate the recollections of the melancholy

affair of the four treasure-frigates, and to qualify the Spaniards for that close alliance with the English into which they were so soon driven by Bonaparte; and it enabled Collingwood to exercise a powerful influence over the people of Spain at the commencement of their great rising.

Admiral Villeneuve, who acknowledged that the French could no longer think of contending with us at sea, was brought over to England, but was almost immediately liberated on parole, and allowed to return to France. Perhaps it would have been better for himself to have been retained a close prisoner; for scarcely had he reached Rennes on his way to Paris when his name was added to that ambiguous list of suicides which was headed by the names of Pichegru and Wright.

In the course of the year which witnessed the glories of Trafalgar, our arms were attended with signal success in the East Indies; and a land war was there carried on, not in the petty manner practised by us on the European continent, but on a grand scale. Notwithstanding the victories of Generals Lake and Arthur Wellesley in 1802-3, a fresh Mahratta war broke out in 1804. The great chief, Holkar, who had remained inactive during the war against Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, and who had been strengthening himself while they had been rushing to their ruin, suddenly assumed an attitude which excited alarm or suspicion. Having refused to enter into an amicable negotiation, General, now Lord Lake, and General Fraser, were sent against Holkar. One or two hill-fortresses were stormed, a skirmish or two were fought, and then, on the 13th of November, 1804, Holkar's infantry and artillery, strongly posted near the fortress of Deeg, in the midst of tanks, topes, and morasses, were entirely defeated by General Fraser, who charged them with the bayonet, under a terrific fire of round, grape, and chain shot. Unfortunately, a cannon-ball took off Fraser's leg, and he died of his wounds a few days after. On the 17th of November, Lord Lake gained another victory at Furruckabad. This would have finished the war but for a new alliance which Holkar contracted with the powerful Rajah of Bhurtpoor. Lake instantly turned his arms against the territory of that rajah, and drove the Mahrattas out of several of his fortresses. On the 1st of January, 1805, his lordship marched to the city of Bhurtpoor, the excessively strong and well-defended capital of the rajah, and on the 3d he commenced a siege which has scarcely a parallel in the history of modern India, and which witnessed minings and explosions of unprecedented magnitude. Two assaults were repulsed by the besieged, with great loss to the besiegers. At length Holkar's general, Meer Khan, having been entirely routed

and chased out of the country by General Smith, and Holkar himself so much reduced that he could give no assistance to his ally, the rajah made proposals for peace, and on the 10th of April he repaired in person to Lord Lake's camp. The terms granted to him were:—1. That the fortress of Deeg should remain in the hands of the English, and that the rajah should renounce for ever all connection with the enemies of Great Britain. 2. That he should pay to the Company twenty lacs of rupees, and restore to it some territories which had been conferred upon him by the Company. 3. That he should deliver up one of his sons as an hostage. At this juncture the now aged and infirm Marquis Cornwallis arrived to succeed the Marquis Wellesley as governor-general; but he fell sick on the road, as he was travelling to the upper provinces to confer with Lord Lake, and died at Ghazipoor, near Benares, within three months after his return to India. Scindia now separated his forces from those of Holkar, and implored for a peace. Holkar spurred away to the banks of the Indus to seek fresh allies among the chiefs of the Sikhs, giving out that he expected to be joined by the hardy and warlike tribes of Afghanistan. Lake followed him, and never allowed him rest until he had driven him beyond the Hyphasis, the boundary of Alexander the Great's conquests. But a timid, money-sparing policy now prevailed in the council of Calcutta; Lake was checked in his career of victory, and was ordered to grant the peace for which the ruined Mahratta was praying. The negotiations were neither long nor difficult, though they must have been painful to his lordship; for he was bound by his instructions to reinstate Holkar, not only in his own dominions, from which he had been driven, and which he had deserved to

forfeit, but also to put him in possession of territory to which it was believed he never had any right. In conformity with the new system of policy which had been adopted of abandoning all connection with the petty states, and, generally, with the territories to the westward of the Jumna, Lord Lake was instructed to dissolve the defensive alliances which we had contracted with the Rajah of Gyssore and other inferior powers

who had rendered essential services to his lordship, and who looked upon their ruin at the hand of the Mahrattas as an inevitable consequence of their being abandoned by the English.

As Lord Lake, Sir John Malcolm, and every other enlightened man in India (whose eyes were not distracted by the prospect of a present saving of money) had clearly foreseen, these treaties, with their concessions and renunciations, gave only a transitory calm to the country. But the campaigns, we repeat, had been conducted in a glorious style; the reports of them in England came opportunely to revive the spirit of the nation—a nation which had little to fear, when it could breed and send forth such men as fought with Nelson at Trafalgar, and marched and fought with Wellesley and Lake in Hindoostan.



MONUMENT TO LORD NELSON, in St. Paul's Cathedral, by John Flaxman, R. A.

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A.D. 1806.

Parliament was appointed to meet on the 21st January. Pitt's government had never been so weak as now, and the uneasiness of the king seemed to threaten another return of his distressing and incapacitating malady. The health of the premier had been visibly affected before the close of the preceding session. In the autumn he repaired to Bath; but the sanatory effect of those waters and that genial air, was prevented by the dismal news of the surrender of Ulm, of the battle of Austerlitz, and of Austria's seceding from the coalition;

and these calamities on the Continent appear to have assumed such a magnitude in his eyes as almost to blind him to the gain, glory, and triumph of Trafalgar. He came up to town as the meeting of parliament approached; but he was too ill to attend to much business, and on the appointed day, when the houses met, he was lying in a dying state at his country house at Putney. The royal speech was delivered, not by the king in person, but by commission. Two days after the meeting of parliament, Pitt expired in the forty-seventh year of his age. After some ungenerous efforts on the part of the Foxites, Mr. Lascelles, on the 27th January, moved, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to direct that the remains of the late Right Honourable William Pitt be interred at the public expense, and that a monument be erected to his memory in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, with an inscription expressive of the irreparable loss the nation has sustained by the death of so excellent a statesman." This was opposed, with more or less illiberal heat, by Lord Folkestone, Mr. William Smith, the Marquis of Douglas, Mr. Ponsouby, Fox, and others. Hawkins Browne, Sir Robert Buxton, Lord Temple, Ryder, George Rose, Lord Castlereagh, and Wilberforce warmly supported the motion, variously expressing their astonishment or disgust at the disappointment of their expectations, that, on this solemn occasion, party considerations would have been buried in oblivion, and that the proposed honours to the dead—to the unflinching, honest, disinterested statesman—would have been voted unanimously. Fox and his opposition persevered to the dividing of the house; but the division strongly marked the superior generosity of that assembly, the numbers being, *for* Mr. Lascelles' motion 258, *against* it only 89. And, at this moment, few doubts were entertained of Fox's stepping into the post which Pitt had vacated; and if Pitt had been alive, and in his place, he could, on no question whatever, have commanded more than a very slight majority.

Pitt was accordingly interred in Westminster Abbey, where Fox was so very soon to be laid by his side. But more was required from parliament than the vote for a tomb in the Abbey. Pitt had died penniless, and had left debts to a large amount. Wilberforce generously attempted to raise the money by subscription among political and private friends; but his efforts did little more than elicit a miserable exhibition of ingratitude and baseness. Nothing therefore was left but an application to the public purse. A motion for a grant of £40,000 was made by Mr. Cartwright on the 3d of February, and was carried

without opposition. In private, as in public affairs, Pitt had allowed himself to be cheated and robbed; but never had a minister that ruled the country for twenty long years, or for a half or a fourth of that time, done so little to enrich himself or his family—never had statesman and dispenser of patronage and places been more indifferent to his interests. Even in Fox's long harangue against the public funeral—and which, after all, was more a criticism on the wording of an epitaph, the inscription to be put on a tombstone, than anything else—he himself had confessed that no minister was ever more disinterested, as far as related to pecuniary matters—that his integrity and moderation in this respect were confirmed by the state of his affairs when he died.

As the king's antipathies to Fox were undiminished, an attempt was made to patch up the ministry which Pitt had formed, and to place Lord Hawkesbury at the head of it. But Lord Hawkesbury declined this dangerous promotion. It was whispered that the king then tried Addington, and that Addington refused, from a sense of the impracticability of forming a government capable of resisting the coalesced and formidable opposition. It is stated as a certainty, that an offer was made to the Marquis Wellesley, who had just arrived from India, by the remainder of Pitt's ministry, and, of course, with the king's approbation, to take the lead of administration; and that the marquis immediately and distinctly declined it. Nothing, therefore, was left but to call in Lord Grenville; and, as Grenville was pledged to the Foxites, or to the principle of a comprehensive ministry, with "all the talents" or chiefs of different parties in it, the king was at last compelled to admit Fox also. The following arrangements were finally settled, and were announced to the public on the 4th of February:—Lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; Fox, secretary of state for foreign affairs; Viscount Sidmouth (Addington), lord privy-seal; Earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; Lord Howick (Grey), first lord of the admiralty; Earl of Moira, master-general of the ordnance; Earl Spencer, secretary of state for the home department; Windham, secretary for the colonies; Lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer; Erskine, lord high-chancellor; and Sir Gilbert Elliot, who had been created Baron Minto after his return to England from losing Corsica, had the patronage and management of India, as president of the board of control. All places were swept clean, and new men put into them. So thorough a ministerial change had not been witnessed for many years. Among the minor appointments, Sheridan obtained that of treasurer of the navy; and even this place, which

gave him no seat in the cabinet, appears to have been grudgingly and reluctantly bestowed. Lord Auckland became president of the board of trade, with Earl Temple for vice-president; Earl Temple (who had thus two places) and Lord John Townshend, joint paymasters of the forces; General Fitzgerald, secretary at war, &c. The law appointments were—Pigott to be attorney-general, and Sir Samuel Romilly to be solicitor-general. Law, who had been made Lord Chief-justice of the King's Bench and created Baron Ellenborough, in 1802, by the Addingtonians, was, by rather a startling novelty, brought into the cabinet. The Duke of Bedford, whose family, friends, and dependants had formed an important part of the mosaic opposition, became Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. From the first, this cabinet carried in its construction the seeds of its own dissolution. No one acquainted with public affairs, with the temper of the court, and of parliament and the country, believed that this "motley wear" would wear long; nor would it, even though Fox, the real but not the nominal head of it, had not been carried so soon to the Abbey. There was jealousy, incompatibility, and disagreement between Lord Grenville and Charles Fox. Windham, again, differed both with Grenville and with Fox on many essential points of home as well as of foreign policy; and Sidmouth differed from them all three. There was wanting, too, that harmony or sympathy with the court, without which no ministry can expect to do much good, or to enjoy a long existence.

As secretary for foreign affairs Fox had the management of the most important and the most difficult affairs of government. As he had been declaring for thirteen long years and more that the present war was unnecessary, that its origin was iniquitous as its conduct was imbecile, he could hardly do less than make some attempt to bring about a peace. It appears, too, that he calculated somewhat on his personal influence with Bonaparte, and on the pacific professions he had made to him during his visit to Paris. Upon some empty compliments and vague expressions now used by the conqueror, Fox commenced a long correspondence with Talleyrand for the pur-

pose of obtaining—what was not to be obtained from Bonaparte, without leaving him the master of the Continent, without the sacrifice on our part of all public faith—a peace, a sure and durable peace. In his first letter on this great subject, Fox, who was now a minister, and not a leader of opposition, confessed the difficulties which stood in the way of negotiation; that the treaty of Amiens could not now be taken as a basis, and that England could not think of consenting to a short and uncertain truce; and he declared that the British government was determined to keep faith with all its allies on the Continent, and to conclude nothing except in concert with the Emperor of Russia, whose armies were still in the field, and to whom England was bound by the closest ties of alliance. On discovering the determination of the French cabinet not to admit the Emperor Alexander, either as a contracting party or as a mediator, Fox ought to have broken off his correspondence; for the continuance of it could only dishearten the Russian army, and instil into the Russian cabinet doubts and misgivings as to the honesty and steadiness of the English cabinet; but Fox continued to write long letters to Talleyrand, to betray an eagerness for entering upon negotiations, which the French, in spite of his declarations that Britain itself had nothing to fear—that her

resources were as abundant as ever—attributed to a terror of Bonaparte, and to an inward conviction of the inability of Britain to continue the war much longer. Talleyrand, whose letters savoured of the dictation of Bonaparte, limited his correspondence to the most vague, equivocal expressions, avoiding every positive point, every word that might commit him or his court to any fixed line of action, and giving back to Fox, and with interest, his philanthropic apophthegms and generous syllogisms. This correspondence was good as a homily, or as a course of moral philosophy and philanthropy; but as a negotiation, or as a preliminary to a feasible and positive treaty of peace, it was nothing. Fox, upon a mere hint that such a measure would be taken as a proof of the sincerity

WILLIAM PITT¹

¹ From the statue in bronze, by Sir F. Chantrey, R.A., erected in Edinburgh by the Pitt Club of Scotland.

of the British government, appointed Lord Yarmouth (the late Marquis of Hertford) to act as minister plenipotentiary at Paris. Lord Yarmouth had long been living in France—at the English dépôt at Verdun—having been one of the ten thousand and more travellers seized and detained as prisoners of war, at the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Before he could enter upon any discussion, the French invaded and conquered the kingdom of Naples, and put forth a claim to the possession of its dependency, the island of Sicily, where a small British army had now been collected to defend our fugitive ally, the Bourbon king. There was on both sides a promise that these negotiations should be kept a profound secret—an agreement dishonourable to England; but the French, who hoped to break up our alliances, adroitly divulged the secret to the court of St. Petersburg, and to well-nigh every court in Europe. Hence arose a downright quarrel between Lord Yarmouth and M. d'Oubril, the Russian minister at Paris. The conditions proposed by Bonaparte were inadmissible; but Fox, persevering in the path he had chosen, determined to send over to Paris a public and openly accredited plenipotentiary to treat for peace. The person he selected for this mission was Lord Lauderdale. The Scotch earl soon found he could do no more than the English earl had done. Lauderdale's negotiations lasted from the 9th of August to the 6th of October, when they were broken off by a demand for passports. Fox had laid down no basis, or none on which Bonaparte's negotiators would meet him; and the results of his pacific policy were an increase of presumption on the part of the French, and of suspicion on the part of our allies.

We return to the business of parliament. Mr. Windham brought in his plan for altering the military system, and particularly the mode of recruiting the army, which certainly called for improvement, as hitherto men had been enlisted for life. Conscription or force, he said, could not be resorted to in England: the enlistments must be voluntary, and, to render them prompt and sufficient in number, the term of service must be limited, and the condition of the soldier improved; the trade of the soldier must be brought to a competition with the other trades usually followed by the poorer classes. For this purpose, Windham proposed that the soldiers raised in future should be enlisted for a term of years; that this term should be divided, for the infantry, into three periods of seven years each; and, for the cavalry and artillery, the first period to be ten years, the second six, and the third five years; that at the end of each period a man might have a right to claim his discharge, and that his privileges, pensions, &c., should be augmented in proportion to the length of his service. As the first step neces-

sary to introduce this change, Windham moved for a bill to repeal Pitt's additional force bill. Here he encountered the full brunt of opposition, with speeches from Castlereagh and Canning. But on the 14th of May the repealing bill passed through the commons. In the lords it met with great opposition; but it was finally carried. Windham's plan for limited service was then introduced (on May 30th) by way of a clause to be inserted in the annual mutiny bill. The opposition was again powerful; but the clause was voted and inserted. A bill for the training of a certain number of persons, not exceeding 200,000, out of those that were liable to be drawn for the militia; a bill to suspend the ballot for the militia in England for two years, with a reserved power to government of recurring to it in order to supply the vacancies of any corps which should be reduced below its quota; a bill called the Chelsea Hospital Bill, to give a legal security to invalid, disabled, and discharged soldiers for such pensions and allowances as they were entitled to; a bill for augmenting the pay of infantry officers of the regular army; and a bill for settling the relative rank of officers of yeomanry, volunteers, militia forces, and troops of the line, completed Windham's new military system, and were all carried, though not without opposition. An increase was also voted to the pay of sergeants, corporals, and privates of the line, to the Chelsea pensions, and to the pensions of officers' widows—three points on which the house was unanimous. On the whole, the British army, which began to improve rapidly soon after these enactments—though certainly the improvement was not owing solely to them—owes a debt of gratitude to Windham. Similar benefits were voted to the navy. On the motion of Lord Howick, the head of the admiralty, additional pay was allowed to the officers, petty officers, and seamen, and the Greenwich Hospital allowances to out-pensioners were increased. But there was a most unwise and unpatriotic-looking delay in voting the proper honours and rewards to those who had fought at Trafalgar.

The budget for the year was opened by the chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Henry Petty, on the 28th of March. The permanent taxes were stated at £32,535,971. The requisite supplies for the year were put at £48,916,000. Of this enormous sum, £15,281,000 were to be applied to the navy—£18,500,000 to the army—£4,718,000 to the ordnance, including ordnance sea-service. Among the proposed ways and means were another loan of £18,000,000, and war-taxes to the amount of £19,500,000. The new chancellor of the exchequer showed himself a good accountant and a clear expositor; but he gave on this occasion no proof of financial genius;

he showed no originality of conception; and, though nurtured in the school of Adam Smith and the Edinburgh philosophers and economists, he laid on or retained taxes which could not but have an injurious effect on manufactures and commerce. He imposed, for example, a duty of forty shillings a ton on pig-iron. He also kept up that old petty-tax system, by which a modicum of money was raised at an infinitude of trouble and vexation, and wherein, in some instances, the amount was half eaten up by the expenses of collection. He imposed an additional duty on beer and spirits in Ireland, and a paltry tax on appraisements, which was calculated at £66,000 per annum. But his lordship's great financial move was the simple but bold one of raising the income or property tax from 6½ to 10 per cent., and making it to extend to all property above fifty pounds a year. The pig-iron tax, which he calculated would yield £500,000 per annum, met with a great opposition; but this was nothing compared to the storm raised by the sudden and high increase of the property-tax to 10 per cent. In spite of their dangerous, demoralizing effects, lotteries were continued as a source of revenue to government. Lord Henry Petty, however, introduced sundry improvements in the auditing of accounts, in regulating the excise-office, custom-house, and other public offices, so as to prevent the practice of public officers deriving profit from the public money in their hands. Some slight improvements were also made in the acts regulating commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, and a law was passed for permitting the free interchange of grain of every kind between the two islands.

But the glory of this session, and of this ministry, is held to be the blow struck at the slave-trade. By the labours of many years, Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their numerous and influential friends, had at last prepared the majority of the country and of parliament for this measure, which, from the beginning, had been favoured by the advocacy and eloquence of Pitt, who had delivered on the subject some of the best speeches he ever spoke. This preparation had been slow and gradual; and it appears probable that measures which could not be carried in 1805 under Pitt, were carried in 1806 under Fox, simply because the time was more ripe for them. Yet, even now, the measures carried were far less extensive than is generally imagined—they were only instalments and advances towards a total suppression of the slave-trade—some few instalments added to those several acts and resolutions which had been passed in favour of the negroes during Pitt's long administration. We repeat, it was the work of time: and, possibly (if there is blame), Pitt was no

more to be blamed for not doing, at an early period, what Fox did, than Fox is to be blamed for not doing what was done a quarter of a century after his death, when the Whig government of Earl Grey proclaimed the emancipation of the negroes.

If Pitt had not been able to prevent the impeachment of his friend and colleague Lord Melville, when alive and in power, there was but slight chance that that prosecution would be let sleep now that he was gone, and his adversaries in place. The trial commenced in Westminster Hall, on the 29th of April, before the lords, the members of the House of Commons being present in a committee of the whole house. The articles of the charge were ten in number; but in substance only three:—1. That, as treasurer of the navy, Lord Melville had applied divers sums of public money to his private use and profit. 2. That he had permitted his paymaster, Trotter, to take large sums of money from the Bank of England, issued to it on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place it in his own name with his private banker. 3. That he had permitted Trotter to apply the money so abstracted to purposes of private emolument, and had himself derived profit therefrom.

Whitbread, the chief manager, was not a Burke; office-books and bankers' accounts were but indifferent materials for rhetoric; a very large portion of the public, now that the first excitement was worn away, were weary of the subject; and of the upper classes the majority, though admitting some carelessness and irregularity, considered Dundas as an ill-used man. Nearly all the attractions were wanting that crowded Westminster Hall with rank, genius, and fashion at the commencement of Warren Hastings' trial. The attendance was thin and flat, and the proceedings were run over pretty much in the manner of an auditing of accounts. It was made perfectly clear that Mr. Trotter had made up for the miserable deficiency of his salary by deriving profit from the banking house of Coutts on the deposits; that Melville had made temporary use of sums of money, but had repaid them all, and with interest: but Whitbread's evidence failed altogether in proving that Melville had ever sought private emolument from the deposits, or had ever abstracted any public money with the intention of keeping it for himself. There were altogether only sixteen days of trial. Fox, Sheridan, Lord Howick, Lord Henry Petty, and Dr. F. Laurence, though managers, scarcely opened their lips during the proceedings; and except two long, hard, and dry orations from Whitbread, no speech was delivered on that side. On June the 12th, the sixteenth day of the trial, the lords voted on the

several charges. The number of peers that voted was 135. When the clerk, with the lord-chancellor, had cast up the numbers at the wool-sack, the chancellor ordered proclamation for silence; which being made, his lordship addressed the house:—"My lords, a majority of the lords have acquitted Henry Viscount Melville of the high crimes and misdemeanours charged upon him by the impeachment of the commons, and of all things contained therein." Their lordships adjourned to the chamber of parliament; and, the chancellor having announced there that the impeachment was dismissed, the whole business, which had cost the country some thousands of pounds, ended.

The present ministry, by their new bill, and their debates on the regular army, in which they spoke disparagingly of the yeomanry and volunteers, had given great offence to a very numerous part of the nation; their financial measures gained them no credit with the country at large; but what drew down upon them the greatest weight of discredit and unpopularity, was their ungenerous conduct with respect to that unhappy woman, the Princess of Wales.

Parliament was prorogued on the 23d of July. During the last month of this session ill health had wholly prevented the attendance of Fox. It was evident to most of his friends that he was rapidly following Pitt to the grave.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A D. 1806—1807.

GEORGE III.

Unsuccessful efforts of the British and Russians in behalf of Naples—The Neapolitan dominions overrun by the French—The King of Naples and his family driven into Sicily—Defence of Gaeta against the French—The war in Naples—Victory of the British over the French at Maida—Several accounts of the battle—Disasters of the French troops in Calabria—General Stuart unable to follow up his success at Maida—He returns to Sicily—Gaeta surrenders to the French—Expedition of Sir Home Popham to Buenos Ayres—Buenos Ayres capitulates—The colonists rally, and compel the British troops to surrender—Subsequent movements of Popham's expedition—Louis Bonaparte appointed by his brother King of Holland—Bonaparte becomes Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine—His hostile purposes towards Prussia—Mutual complaints between him and Prussia—Preparations of Bonaparte for a Prussian campaign—Delay of British and Russian aid to Prussia—Bonaparte commences the war—He defeats the Prussians at Auerstadt and Jena—His Berlin decree against British commerce—Bonaparte holds out delusive hopes to the Poles—He applies in vain to Kosciusko for his co-operation—He uses the name of Kosciusko without permission—He excites the Poles against the Russians—He enters Poland—Battle between the French and Russians at Pultusk—Unprovided condition of Russia for the war—Death of Fox—Changes in the British cabinet—A new parliament opened—Its unsatisfactory proceedings—Liberal supplies voted for the war—Progress of the slave trade abolition bill—Unpopularity of the ministry—Attempts in behalf of Catholic emancipation—They are unsuccessful—The ministry dismissed and a new one appointed—Popular agitation against Popery—The parliament dissolved—The war continued in South America—Monte Video taken by the British—General Whitelocke appointed to the command in South America—His unfitness and injudicious proceedings—His unsuccessful attack on Buenos Ayres—Disgraceful close of the expedition—Whitelocke brought to trial and cashiered—Commencement of hostile proceedings between Britain and Turkey—A British fleet sails up the Dardanelles—Constantinople effectually fortified by the French—Inglorious end of the Turkish expedition—British expedition to Egypt—Its defective means and failure—Death of the Turkish sultan—Reduction of the island of Curaçoa by the British—Preponderance of Bonaparte's influence in Denmark—Apprehensions of his using the Danish fleet against Britain—The British ministry resolve to anticipate him—They send an expedition to take possession of the Danish fleet—Bombardment of Copenhagen—The Danish fleet surrendered to British keeping—War proclaimed between Britain and Denmark.



UR military operations in the course of this year extended to the south of Italy and Sicily. Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, the East and West Indies, and South America. The petty expedition which had been sent into the Mediterranean under General Sir James Craig, being joined by a Russian force, landed at Naples in the month of November, 1805, when the French army, under General St. Cyr, which had been occupying a great part of

that kingdom, was absent in Upper Italy, co-operating with Marshal Massena. Before St. Cyr took his departure, the Neapolitan government promised to remain neutral; but that engagement, like so many others, was contracted under the influence of fear and weakness, and Ferdinand IV., though deploring the smallness of their forces, received the English and Russians as friends and deliverers. If the allies had been more numerous, and if they had arrived six weeks or two months earlier, they might have set the

whole of Lower Italy in a blaze against the French; they might have insured the destruction of St. Cyr's *corps d'armée*, and have prevented every one of the successes which Massena had obtained over the Archduke Charles in Upper Italy. But as things were—with their contemptible numbers and too tardy arrival—the English and Russians could do little but hasten the ruin of Ferdinand IV. As soon as Bonaparte learned the breach of the promised neutrality, or the arrival of the Russians and English (whose landing Ferdinand could not have prevented if he had been ever so much disposed to do it), he issued from Vienna one of his terrible proclamations, declaring that the Bourbon dynasty of Naples had ceased to reign. As the battle of Austerlitz and the peace with Austria had left his armies nothing to do in the north of Italy, he ordered St. Cyr to retrace his steps to the south with all possible speed. But St. Cyr's forces were only the van of a much more formidable army. Marshal Massena followed close behind with three great columns, and a multitude of generals of name and fame; and behind them all came Joseph Bonaparte, destined by his brother to fill this Bourbon throne. In all, counting the Italian regiments which had been raised in Lombardy and Piedmont, more than 70,000 men were in full march for the Neapolitan frontier, behind which lay 3000 British, about 4000 Russians, and a small and disorganized Neapolitan army, which was worth less than nothing. The Russian general presently informed the Neapolitan court that they had better negotiate with St. Cyr for a renewal of the neutrality which they had violated, and that, for his own part, he must be gone; and, before the foremost French column reached Rome, the Russians marched away to the sea-ports of Apulia and embarked for Corfu. Sir James Craig could only follow the example of the Russian general: he fled rather than retreated from the banks of the Garigliano. Without seeing an enemy, except in the Neapolitan peasantry, whose vengeance they provoked, Craig's force was found to be considerably reduced before he could embark and sail away for Sicily. None were left to defend the frontiers or the line of the Garigliano, except Fra Diavolo and a few hundreds of brigands and insurgents. As soon as the *débâcle* began, old King Ferdinand, thinking most of his personal safety, embarked for Palermo: Queen Caroline remained till the 11th of February, when St. Cyr had crossed the frontiers; but on the evening of that day, not without a risk of being seized by her own subjects of the French faction (and in the capital they were very numerous), she fled with her daughters on board ship, and sailed for Sicily to join her husband. On the application

of Ferdinand IV., Admiral Lord Collingwood had despatched a small squadron, under Sir Sidney Smith, to give such aid and assistance as should be practicable. Sir James Craig soon collected his troops in the neighbourhood of Palermo, and for a considerable time the court owed its safety entirely to the presence of our petty army and two or three of our ships. On the morning of the 14th of February the advanced guard of the French appeared on the heights which overlook Naples. On the 15th, the garrisons in the city and forts having previously surrendered, Joseph Bonaparte entered Naples, and took up his abode, as king, in the palace from which the Bourbons had so lately fled. Previously to his ignominious flight, Ferdinand had despatched his two sons, the hereditary Prince Francis and Prince Leopold, into the Abruzzi and into Calabria, to rouse the hardy native population of those mountainous countries. There was no want of loyalty in the peasantry; but more than half of the Neapolitan nobility and proprietors were at this moment either indifferent to the cause of the Bourbons or inclined to favour the cause of the French; the poor people had no arms, ammunition, or other necessities; and the royal princes had nothing to give them save compliments and white cockades. A little later the French found Calabria the fiercest and most destructive country they had ever entered; but this was when the population had been driven to despair, and after supplies and ammunition had been thrown among them from Sicily. For the present no stand could be made. The two princes fled over to Sicily, and the French general, Regnier, subdued, or seemed to subdue the whole of Calabria, with the exception of a few towns. The English had gained possession of the rocky island of Capri, which commands the Gulf of Naples, and some Sicilians, under the command of the Prince of Canosa, occupied Ponza and other islands off the coast. In advancing from Rome, Massena and St. Cyr had not been able to reduce Gaeta, a formidable fortress on the Neapolitan coast, which happened to be garrisoned by some trustworthy troops, chiefly foreigners, in the pay of the Bourbon king, and commanded by an officer of honour and courage, a Prince William of Hesse-Philipstadt. Sir Sidney Smith threw succours into the place, battered the works of the French besiegers, landed English sailors as he had done at Acre, and inflicted several severe blows upon Massena's forces at various parts of the coast. The siege of Gaeta promised to be a long affair. When first summoned by the French, the German prince told them that Gaeta was not Ulm, and that he was not Mack—and the French felt the truth of the assertion.

In Calabria, General Regnier, after three days' desperate and bloody fighting, carried the walled town of Maratea, into which a great number of the Bourbon partizans had thrown themselves.



GAETA.—From a view by J. D. Harding

The castle capitulated on the next day; but as it was pretended that these Bourbonists were not regular troops, but only partizans and insurgents, they were butchered in cold blood. Leaving Maratea in flames, the French advanced to the siege of Amantea. Amantea could not be taken by the French; Reggio was retaken from them; the castle of Scylla, which had surrendered to the French, was invested. Regnier was compelled to halt, and then to retreat towards Monteleone. By this time, the British troops in Sicily had been reinforced, and the command of them transferred to Sir John Stuart. On the entreaties of the queen, which were seconded by his personal feelings and his own ardent wishes, Sir John agreed to cross over into Calabria. All the force he could take with him, including artillery, did not amount to 5000 men;¹ and of these above a third were Corsicans, Sicilians, and other foreigners in British pay. On the 1st of July, Sir John Stuart effected a landing in the Gulf of Sant' Eufemia, not far from the town of Nicastro, to the northward of Monteleone, and between that city and Naples. Apprised of this disembarkation, General Regnier made a rapid march, uniting, as he advanced, his detached corps, for the purpose of attacking the British without loss of time, and of driving them into the sea, or back to their shipping. Instead of encamping on the beach, to have the co-operation of shipping, Stuart marched some distance along the beach, and then struck boldly inward to meet Regnier. All the artillery that

Sir John had brought with him from Sicily consisted of ten four-pounders, four six-pounders, and two howitzers; and from this formidable artillery, scarcely a shot seems to have been fired except as

a signal, or for measuring distances. The battle of Maida was a battle of bayonets. The French advanced with a quickened step, and with their wonted cheers. They were veterans, thoroughly trained, and looking martial and fierce with their mustachios; the British line consisted in good part of young and beardless recruits. It was the boast of the French, and the boast had grown louder since the encounter with the Russians at Austerlitz, that no troops in Europe would stand their bayonet charge. The fact was now to be proved, though not in an equal contest; for,

to have an equality, Stuart ought to have had veterans to oppose to veterans. But such men as we had disproved the boast. They gave one true British hurrah, and rushed on with their bayonets levelled. Some few of the French really stayed to cross bayonets (a rare occurrence in war); but these were overthrown or pushed back by the superior physical strength of their adversaries; and the rest of them became appalled, halted, fell back, and recovered arms. The French officers were now seen running along the line, resorting to those extraordinary efforts which French officers are expected to make at every crisis; but nothing they could do could encourage their men, or lead them back to the points of the British bayonets; and as the British advanced upon them, the 1^{re} Légère broke their line, fell into irremediable disorder, and endeavoured to flee back to the hills. But it was too late—they had got too close—they were overtaken by a most dreadful slaughter. Being thus completely discomfited on his left, Regnier, who had been galloping about the field, storming and cursing like a madman, began to make a new effort with his right, in the hope of recovering the day. He threw horse and foot on Stuart's left; but only to see them beaten in a trice. He made a fruitless essay to turn our flank, and this was the last feeble struggle that Regnier made; and after it was nothing but flight, confusion, *débâcle*. A Frenchman, a man of genius, the wittiest and one of the best prose writers of modern France, was attached to the service of the boastful French general at the time, and was too noble a fellow

¹ Sir John Stuart, in his despatch, states his total number, rank and file, including the royal artillery, at 4795.

to cover over the defeat with falsehood and invention.¹ He wrote to his friends that bulletins and *Moniteurs* might say what they liked; but that the plain truth was, that Regnier had been most thoroughly beaten—had been well thrashed by Stuart—*bien rossé*. "This adventure," says he, in writing to a French artillery officer at Naples, "is a very sad one for poor Regnier! The French fought nowhere. All eyes are fixed upon us. With our good troops, and with equal forces, to be defeated in such a few minutes! This has not been seen since our revolution."² This writer does not state the amount of Regnier's loss; but another French officer, who was in Calabria some time after the battle, admits that he left 1500 men dead or wounded on the battle-field. Sir John Stuart, in the despatch to his government, dated from the camp on the plain of Maida, July the 6th, or two days after the affair, says that above 700 bodies of their dead had been buried upon the ground; that the wounded and prisoners already in his hands (among whom were General Compère, the colonel of a Swiss regiment, and a long list of officers of different ranks) exceeded 1000; and that the peasantry were hourly bringing in fugitives, who had dispersed in the woods and mountains after the battle. By the official return of the assistant adjutant-general, the loss of the British amounted to one officer, three sergeants, forty-one rank and file killed; eleven officers, eight sergeants, two drummers, 261 rank and file wounded. Sir John declares that no statement he had heard of Regnier's numbers placed them at less than 7000 men, when they began the action. Regnier, we know positively, had entered Calabria with 10,000. A part of the force he first brought with him had been detached to distant points, and some few hundreds had already fallen under the knife of the vindictive, infuriated Calabrians; but, on the other hand, there had been a constant influx of reinforcements: and, upon a comparison of various French and Italian accounts, it appears quite certain that Regnier descended from his wooded heights with from 6000 to 7000 fighting men.

General Verdier, who was occupying Cosenza, an important town a few miles to the north of Maida, with a French brigade, was driven out of the place by the insurgents. Every fort along the coasts of the Tyrrhenian Sea, with all the French depôts of stores, ammunition, and artillery, prepared for the reduction of Calabria and then for the attack of Sicily, became the prey of Sir John Stuart's little army; and on the shores of the Ionian Sea, to which the French had

retreated, Cotrone, situated between Catanzaro and Matera, was reduced to capitulate by the 78th regiment—a part of Stuart's force which was carried round by sea—and by a small squadron of ships, under the command of Captain William Hoste, who was assisted by some Sicilian gunboats, and by some of the armed Calabrians. On the 4th of August, Regnier reached Cassano; on the 7th he was joined by Verdier, who retraced his steps from Matera; and on the 11th these two wandering fugitive generals effected a junction with Marshal Massena, who then assumed the supreme command in the Calabrias, assuring King Joseph that in one month he would reduce those two provinces to submission and loyalty to him. But though the great Marshal—the darling child of Victory, as they called him—brought with him a fresh army of 6000 or 7000 men, and remained much longer than a month in that wild country, he did not fulfil his promise. Fortresses were recovered, towns were taken and burned; the more level or open parts of the provinces were kept in subjection; but to subdue the fiery furious mountaineers, or even to secure constantly the highroads which led from the capital, was found to be impracticable. It took Massena's successors five long years, and it cost the French army, from first to last, 100,000 men to quench the flames of this ardent Calabrian insurrection—and then it was that sort of peace which proceeds from solitude and extermination.

If, instead of less than 5000 men, Sir John Stuart had had with him 10,000, he might have cleared Upper Calabria, as he did Lower Calabria, of the last Frenchman in it. Backed by the Calabrians alone, he might have hurled Regnier and Verdier, the great Marshal Massena and all, down the precipices of the Sylla Mountain, or have destroyed them at the edge of the province, in the passes of Campotanesse. With 30,000 men he might have swept Naples and the whole of Southern Italy clear of the French, and have caused the greatest embarrassment to Bonaparte, who had weakened his army in the north of Italy in order to collect the greater force for the war with Prussia. Almost immediately after the battle of Maida the white flag of the Bourbon was actually raised in nearly every part of the kingdom. The mountaineers of Basilicata and Capitanata, of Principato-Citra and Principato-Ultra, of the wild and lofty pastoral regions of the Molise, flew to arms; a daring partizan, named Picciolo, raised nearly the whole population of the Abruzzi; and Fra Diavolo, a half-brigand half-Bourbon partizan, scoured the Terra di Lavoro, and the garden plains that lie behind Naples, penetrating at times almost to the gates of the city. The intruded King Joseph lost

¹ Paul Louis Courier.

² Letter dated Cassano, the 11th August, 1806, in *Mém. des Correspondances*, &c.

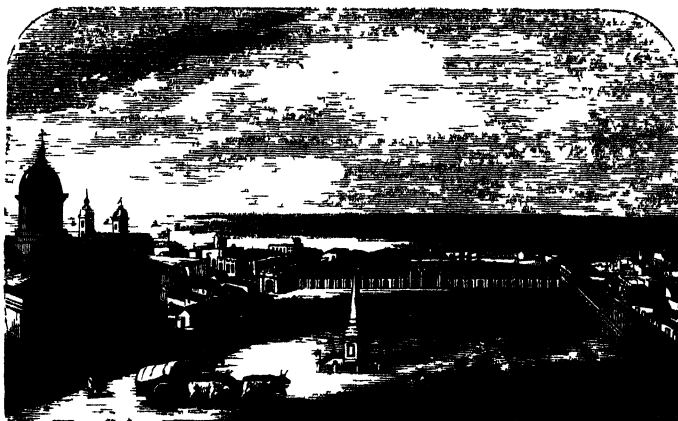
heart completely. In his council of state it was anxiously discussed, whether he ought not to flee to the frontiers of the kingdom, collect there the army of Calabria, and all his other troops save a few garrisons, and await there the arrival of another army from France. But it was not the half of the Italian peninsula, but the vaster peninsula which embraces Spain and Portugal, that was destined to be the great battle-field of Britain. With less than 5000 men, Sir John Stuart could not follow up his brilliant success. His little army was reduced by the malaria fevers; he had neither time nor the necessary means to attempt organizing and disciplining the very disorderly Calabrians; and, after clearing the lower province of the enemy, and throwing some small garrisons into the castle of Scylla, and one or two other places he had captured, Sir John embarked the rest of his forces, and returned to Sicily, which the French long continued to threaten with invasion.

With admirable exertions Sir Sidney Smith collected some more supplies and succours, and sent a second convoy to the besieged Gaeta. Everything went well so long as he was

there, and the brave governor of the fortress was in a state to do his duty; but the presence of the British admiral was required at Palermo—where the court thought itself in danger so long as he was absent—at Messina, at Reggio, along both coasts of the Calabrias; Prince Hesse-Philpstadt received a mortal wound on the ramparts where Sir Sidney had so often stood by his side; the command fell to a Colonel Storz, who had bravery and skill, but infinitely less authority than the prince; that origin of all evil in war, a council, was created: and then, collectively, the superior officers of the besieged agreed to do what, perhaps, not one of them would have done singly—to beat a parley and capitulate. Massena said that the fall of Gaeta was equivalent to a successful campaign.

The Cape of Good Hope, which the Addington administration had given up so prematurely, was recovered in the month of January, by Sir David Baird with 5000 land troops, and Sir Home Popham with a small fleet. Tempted by very inaccurate reports of the wealth and weakness of the Spanish colonies on the Rio de la Plata, Sir Home Popham, it is said, without the slightest authority from the government at home, ventured to carry his whole naval force to South America,

and induced Sir David Baird to allow General Beresford to accompany him with a portion of the land force which had conquered the Cape. Having touched at St. Helena, Popham and Beresford arrived at the mouth of La Plata early in June, and on the 24th of that month landed the troops at some distance from Buenos Ayres. The whole force disembarked, including marines, did not exceed 1600 men. Some Spanish troops, who attempted to dispute their passage, were dispersed by a single volley; and on the 27th of June, favourable terms of capitulation having been granted to the inhabitants, Beresford entered the city without resistance.



THE GREAT SQUARE BUENOS AIRES —From a camera sketch by Major Kretschmar

The news of the capture of Buenos Ayres was received with transports of joy by our trading community, and by that part of the cabinet and country which clung to the paltry idea of making war for what they termed British objects, or exclusively national interests. The cabinet, on first learning Sir Home Popham's wild enterprise, had sent out orders to recal him; but, as these orders did not reach the admiral in time, as the conquest had been made with so much ease, as 1,000,000 dollars remitted by him was looked upon as a valuable consideration, and as the popular joy and commercial exultation were so great, ministers now sanctioned the whole scheme, and resolved to keep what had been gotten without their will. But, before people at home had finished rejoicing for the conquest, the conquest was no more, and the capturers were captives. As soon as the Spaniards and the colonists became generally aware of the smallness of Beresford's force, they began to concert measures for his expulsion. A popular insurrection was organized in the heart of the city; emissaries were sent to excite the hardy country people to arms; and, when everything was ripe for action, M. Liniers, a Frenchman in the Spanish service,

crossed the river in a fog on the 14th of August, and landed above Buenos Ayres with more than 1000 fighting men, whom he had brought from Monte Video and Sacramento. Other armed levies joined Liniers, who now advanced against the city. Then, within the walls, the inhabitants rose upon Beresford, who attempted to retreat to the ships, but was prevented by the bad state of the weather. After a desperate action in the streets and great square of the town, in which they were exposed to a fierce and destructive fire from the windows and balconies, and the house-tops, the English capitulated and laid down their arms. Sir Home Popham, who had the good fortune to be on board ship at the time, then blockaded the Rio de la Plata. He then proceeded to make an attack on Monte Video, but his ships could not get near enough to batter the walls. In the month of October, successive reinforcements having arrived from the Cape of Good Hope and from England (where the cabinet ought to have foreseen Beresford's fate), he landed a body of troops at Maldonado, drove the Spaniards from the Isle of Goriti, and took up good anchoring-ground and quarters on shore to await the arrival of more reinforcements.

Returning from his Austrian conquests, Bonaparte had entered Paris in triumph in the month of January. Before this time he appears to have determined to put crowns upon the heads of all his brothers except Lucien. It was on the 30th of March that he invested his brother Joseph. On the 5th of June he proclaimed his brother Louis King of Holland, thus transforming, by a stroke of the pen, the Batavian republic into a kingdom dependent on France. In giving Louis his investiture, he told him that, though he was going to reign over the Dutch, he must never cease to be a Frenchman; that his hereditary dignity of constable of the empire must constantly remind him of the duties he owed to the Emperor of the French—in other words, poor Louis was told that he must do whatever his brother should command.

The Confederation of the Rhine had elected the Emperor Napoleon to be their "Protector." By a secret treaty, which was made public about the end of July, the Kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg, the elector arch-chancellor of the Germanic empire, the Elector of Baden, the Grand-duke of Berg and Cleves (Murat), the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, and ten other petty sovereign princes, separated themselves from the Germanic empire, and united in a distinct confederation, to be guided by its own diet and under its own primate. This primate was declared to be the elector ex-chancellor of the empire; but the Emperor Napoleon was to have the right of naming this primate's successor. All these German

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states were to be bound to one another and to France by an alliance offensive and defensive. In case of another coalition and continental war, they were all to act together, France engaging to furnish 200,000 men, Bavaria 30,000, Würtemberg 12,000, Baden 8000, Berg and Cleves 5000, Darmstadt and the other states 4000 each. This arrangement went to array 100,000 German troops on the side of Bonaparte and against the liberty and independence of Germany. Other states were invited to join the confederation.

Bonaparte felt himself humbled by the concessions he had been obliged to make to Prussia, and he retained a bitter recollection of the uneasiness her undecided line of conduct had several times caused him during his last campaign. He calculated that a great deal might be gained by going to war with her; and he doubted whether, if ever so much disposed to remain at peace with her, she would not take an early opportunity of appealing to arms. He knew that there was, and long had been, a strong war or anti-Gallican party at Berlin, headed by the Queen of Prussia and Prince Louis, the king's cousin—a party who had all along deplored the mean, shuffling conduct of their cabinet. Hence Bonaparte was induced to give an underhand encouragement to the propagation of slanders and invented stories, injurious to the character of her Prussian majesty, and offensive beyond measure to the feelings of the king, her husband, by whom she was tenderly and almost romantically beloved. These calumnies against the Queen of Prussia were the more atrocious, as they were directed against an interesting and beautiful young woman, exemplary in her private conduct, and high-minded, and enthusiastically patriotic in her political aspirations.

On seeing the effects of the Confederation of the Rhine, which almost surrounded her with hostile states, or with neighbours devoted or subjected to France, Prussia had some reason to complain. Bonaparte answered her murmurs by making the *Moniteur* talk of Prussia as a secondary power, which was assuming a high tone not warranted by its population and extent, or by its actual position. A part of the victorious army which had fought at Austerlitz had been left beyond the Rhine, to preside over the organization of that new confederacy, or to live at free quarters among the rich trading Hanse-towns, which had lost their trade, and were fast losing all their wealth. According to the treaty of Presburg, all these French corps ought to have evacuated Germany. Bonaparte, if he did not absolutely refuse to withdraw his troops from beyond the Rhine, certainly left them just where they were, and denied that Prussia or any other power had a right to complain of their presence.

It even appears that he reinforced those troops the very moment Prussia began to murmur. At the beginning of September he collected his great captains around him in Paris—Soult, Augereau, and Bernadotte, who had been serving in Germany, and Murat, who had been residing for a season in his grand-duchy of Berg, and he consulted with them as to the best means of commencing and conducting a campaign against Prussia, so as to render it as rapid and decisive as his last campaign against Austria.

In a note delivered to Talleyrand on the 1st of October, General Knobelsdorff said, and said truly, "that the king his master saw around his territories none but French soldiers or vassals of France, ready to march at his signal;" and he peremptorily required that the French troops should forthwith evacuate the territory of Germany. To this Bonaparte made answer, in the haughtiest tone of defiance, that for Prussia to provoke the enmity of France was as senseless a course as to pretend to withstand the waves of the ocean! On the 9th of October the King of Prussia, who had put his army in motion, issued a long manifesto from his head-quarters at Erfurt. This was the war-note; there was no formal declaration of hostilities on either part. But, before the signal was given, Bonaparte, having quitted Paris on the 25th of September, was on the Rhine, and quite ready to begin operations. He had, in fact, been in a state of readiness ever since the beginning of August; for at that time his army of Germany, then under the supreme command of Berthier, was extended from Baden to Düsseldorf, and from Frankfurt to Nüremberg—the main body being in a manner already in position, and only waiting the arrival of the reserve.

The Emperor of Russia had refused to ratify a disgraceful treaty which his minister D'Oubril had really signed separately at Paris during Lord Lauderdale's negotiations, and was again in the field, though far away beyond the Vistula. The Prussians have been taxed with the same fault which the Austrians had committed in 1805, in not waiting for the arrival of the Russians in Germany. But, by the time it became known at Berlin that the Emperor Alexander had refused to ratify the treaty of peace with France, Bonaparte was fully prepared to commence operations against Prussia; and his cunning negotiator, General Sebastiani, having been despatched to Constantinople, had got up a "very pretty quarrel" between the Ottoman Porte and Russia—a quarrel which led to the sultan's abandoning his former alliances with England and Russia, to the hasty contracting of a new alliance with France, and to an actual war between the Turks and Russians, which commenced in November, and

gave occupation to a large part of the czar's army. The cabinet of Berlin has been also censured for not waiting for pecuniary aid and other succours from England; but our cabinet, neither before the crisis nor after it, showed any great alacrity or liberality: the succour from England, like the arrival of armies from Russia, seemed distant and uncertain.

On the intelligence that Prussia had taken possession of Hanover, and had closed her ports to the British flag, Fox had recalled our ambassador from Berlin—an embargo had been laid upon all Prussian vessels in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland—and the Elbe, the Weser, and the other German rivers had been again declared in a state of blockade. At the first symptom of the political change in the cabinet of Berlin, our government had professed a readiness to renew friendly relations; they had instantly removed the blockade of the ports and rivers, which had caused much inconvenience to Prussia and the whole of the north of Germany; and they despatched Lord Morpeth on an embassy to his Prussian majesty. But Lord Morpeth, who did not quit London until the 1st of October, did not reach the Prussian head-quarters at Weimar until the 12th, when the two hostile armies were almost in presence of each other.

The force which Bonaparte brought into the field was numerically superior to the Prussian army by nearly one-third; as he advanced, he had in his front and on both his flanks none but friendly states; the armies of the Confederation of the Rhine were ready to co-operate with him; and he had in his rear, behind the Rhine, an immense force in disciplined troops, as he had anticipated a whole year's conscription, or raised in 1806 the levies which by law ought to have been raised in 1807. Prussia, on the other hand, had only one reluctant ally, the Elector of Saxony, who evidently would have behaved now towards Prussia as Prussia had behaved towards the coalition in the preceding autumn, if the Prince of Hohenlohe had not marched into the country at the head of a division of the Prussian army. One or two of the petty states, expecting subsidies from England, which did not arrive, professed a perfect neutrality.

In one particular the Prussians followed pretty closely the fatal example of the Austrians in 1805; they extended their line of operations far too much, being almost incredibly oblivious of the very simple and never-varying tactics of their adversary. On the 6th of October, Bonaparte had collected his columns about Bamberg; and on the 8th (four days before Lord Morpeth's arrival at Weimar), he commenced a variety of skilful and successful but very simple movements, which

ended in his turning the Prussian left, in his gaining possession of most of their magazines, and interposing between their main body and the city of Berlin.

The French were now posted along the river Saale from Naumburg to Kahla, with their centre at Jena. The Prussians were ranged between Jena and Auerstadt. The road to Dresden, the capital of Saxony, lay as open to the French as the road to Berlin. The Duke of Brunswick, the commander-in-chief of the Prussian army, called in his outposts, which had been imprudently scattered in all directions, and concentrated, as much as it was possible, the masses of his left at Auerstadt. The Queen of Prussia, mounted on horseback, rode along the splendid lines, to encourage by her presence the 50,000 fighting men collected on that point. On the 14th of October the fine Prussian army was defeated, and the ill-amalgamated Prussian monarchy, the work of the great Frederick's whole life, was absolutely shattered by the double battle of Auerstadt and Jena. Except Blücher and Lestocq, who kept some regiments together, and fought bravely with them, the conduct of the Prussian generals, after the day of the double battle, seems to have been about equally void of spirit and of ability. The way in which several of the fortresses were surrendered exposes some of them to very dark suspicions. Spandau, Stettin, Küstrin, Hameln, Nieuburg, Magdeburg, all surrendered without attempting the least resistance.

On the 18th of October, Marshal Davoust, with nothing to oppose him in Saxony, took quiet possession of the city of Leipsic. The Elector of Saxony, who had so reluctantly joined Prussia, immediately made overtures to Bonaparte for a separate peace, and a beginning was soon made to that close un-German alliance which gave the elector a kingly crown, with a vast accession of territory, chiefly torn from the Prussian monarchy, and which bound Saxony to Bonaparte for seven long eventful years.

Still keeping uppermost in his mind his war against English commerce, Bonaparte despatched Marshal Mortier to occupy the free trading city of Hamburg, and seize all British goods and property there. Berlin became a sort of lay Vatican, whence the Emperor of the French hurled his thunderbolts at our broadcloth and calicoes. The well-known Berlin decree was issued on the 21st of November. It was simple and concise enough:—The British Islands were to be considered in a state of blockade by all the Continent. All correspondence or trade with England was forbidden under the severest penalties. All articles of English manufacture or produce of the British colonies were declared to be contraband.

Property of every kind belonging to British subjects, wherever found, was declared lawful prize. All letters to and from England were to be detained and opened at the post-offices.

The King of Prussia had fled for refuge into the fortress of Königsberg, on the Pregel. Out of the wreck of the army, General Lestocq was enabled to assemble there a few thousand men for the protection of his sovereign. But the main reliance of Frederick William was on the Emperor Alexander, who was now in Poland and advancing towards the Vistula. In Poland, the Russian emperor was standing on unfriendly ground, for the seizure and partitions of that unhappy country had excited, if not the great body of the people, the majority of the nobility and upper classes to direct hostility or mortal hatred against the three partitioning powers; the feeling, for evident reasons, being more vehement against Russia than against Prussia and Austria. Bonaparte, who had long had a great number of Poles in his army—fugitives from the army of independence of Kosciusko, or men otherwise victims of the last unfortunate Polish war—had often entertained them with prospects and hopes of re-establishing Poland as an independent nation, and of restoring them, and their brothers in exile and poverty, to their native country, their confiscated property, and their lost places and honours. With these delusive visions he had completely dazzled many of these Poles, and had created in them an enthusiastic attachment to his person and his fortunes. He now applied to the patriot Kosciusko for the high sanction of his name. But Kosciusko, who had constantly declined entering his service, saw clearly through Bonaparte's selfish designs, was proof to every temptation, and would not quit his retirement. As he was living in France, an excuse was needful: he stated that the effects of his numerous wounds, and his general bad health, prevented him from sharing in the fatigues of war. But to his confidential friends the single-minded patriot said, that liberty was not to be expected from the French, who were enslaving all nations: that Bonaparte was a conqueror devoured by ambition, and a thorough despot, whose character and conduct precluded confidence: and that all the conqueror now wanted was to make the Poles serve his present projects. The French, he said, had often talked and written a great deal about the wrongs of Poland, but had never done anything to redress or relieve them. In spite of this refusal, Bonaparte ordered the exciting proclamation, giving assurances of liberty and independence to the Poles, to be inserted in the *Moniteur* with the high sanction of Kosciusko's name and signature attached to the spurious document. And now—on the 1st of

November—as he was preparing to pour his grand army into Poland, he made General Dombrowski issue that proclamation, and other addresses, wherein the Polish nation was told that Kosciuszko was speedily coming to fight with them for the liberation of their country, under the shield and protection of the Emperor of the French. Few knew the secret, and very few of the Poles had the prudence and foresight of Kosciuszko, or a fragment of his capability for the inductive process which had convinced him of Bonaparte's intentions. A great part of the country was electrified by the addresses, and in a tumult of joy at the rapid advance of the victorious French columns. All Prussian Poland was in a blaze; the Russians, who had advanced

Poland, and took possession of the city of Warsaw; but on the approach of the French he found himself under the necessity of evacuating that capital. Bonaparte entered Warsaw in triumph, in the midst of the acclamations of the Poles; and there, on the 11th of December, while the columns of the grand army successively crossed the Vistula, he signed his separate and most advantageous peace with the Elector of Saxony. That elector, like the Electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg, was transformed into a king, and his army, instead of fighting for the independence of Germany, was joined to the army of the oppressor and marched against the Russians.

The Russians retired due north in the direction of the Niemen, as if intending to cross that river and draw their enemy into the wide country beyond it. But this wise design, which was really entertained, was abandoned, and Beningsen halted at Pultusk, on the little river Naren, at the distance of only a few days' march from Warsaw. The position was well chosen, with the river on one side, a wood on the other, and an open plain in front. After some skirmishes and affairs of outposts, a bloody battle was fought on the 26th of December. The approach of night put an end to one of the most terrible of combats in which the French had ever found themselves engaged, and in which they are said to have lost nearly 8000 men in killed and wounded. The Russian loss was estimated at



POLISH SOLDIERS.—FROM CHOPIN, L'Univers Pittoresque

into those provinces with the design of crossing the Vistula and succouring the King of Prussia, found a new enemy upon their hands—a furious insurrection gathering all round them. From nearly all parts of Poland enthusiastic volunteers—men who had fought under Kosciuszko, or who were inspired by the recollections of his exploits—rushed to join General Dombrowski, who, as early as the 16th of November, had formed at Posen four good Polish regiments. This miscalculating, blind national enthusiasm was at its height when Bonaparte, after levying enormous contributions at Berlin, advanced and established his headquarters at Posen. He received deputations and numerous addresses from the credulous patriots, all entreating him to restore their country to its ancient independence. In his replies the conqueror adopted that mysterious, oracular style which was familiar to him, and which had often been made to pass for supernatural intelligence, or for the voice of destiny. Beningsen, the Russian commander-in-chief, occupied a part of Prussian

5000. In the darkness of night the French began their retreat to the Vistula; and they moved off so rapidly that on the next morning the Cossacks could not discover a rear-guard anywhere in the neighbourhood. Bonaparte went into Warsaw with his guards, leaving the rest of his army on the right bank of the river, in Praga, which is but a suburb of Warsaw, and in the villages round about. He had announced by bulletins that the war would be at an end before New-year's Day; but now he found himself condemned to inactivity, and even to winter-quarters. He waited the arrival of reinforcements, and the organization of his Polish recruits. The Russian army was again in want of almost everything except guns, muskets, bayonets, ammunition, Cossack spears, courage, loyalty, and resolution; it was as poor and as unprovided as it had been in Moravia the winter before, and the treasury of the czar was in no condition to supply the deficiencies. The resolute way in which the young czar had torn to pieces D'Oubril's treaty

and had adhered to the coalition, the firm stand which his armies had made, and were actually making, demanded whatsoever succour and assistance England, his ally, and the real head of the coalition, could afford to give. The prolongation of this war, which had already drawn Bonaparte so far from France, must cost the French enormous sacrifices, and might be expected to terminate in some terrible catastrophe, and in the destruction of the conqueror, if not in the country between the Vistula and the Niemen, in the vast plains of New Russia beyond the Niemen. The lengthened struggle would at least have impeded that consolidation of the French system in Germany, which left such enormous resources in the hands of the Emperor of the French. Yet when Alexander applied to the British government for a supply of money, all that he got was a beggarly subsidy of £80,000. To this untimely parsimony of "All the Talents" are mainly attributable the lamentable reverses of the Russians early in the following spring. To this niggardliness Europe may almost be said to owe seven years more of a destructive war.

Nearly four months before the battle of Pultusk, the brightest of "All the Talents" had been removed from office and from life. Soon after the rising of parliament Fox grew worse. His disease was dropsy, which would not yield to the repeated operation of tapping. He expired at Chiswick House, in the afternoon of the 13th of September, as the Tower guns were firing for the capture of Buenos Ayres. He was in the fifty-eighth year of his age, or eleven years older than Pitt. "How speedily," exclaims Wilberforce, "has he followed his great rival!" His death was considered as equivalent to the death of his party. "I look upon what has been called Mr. Fox's party," says Horner, "as extinguished entirely with him. His name alone kept the fragments together, after the party had been long ago broken to pieces." This fact, however, did not immediately appear. The cabinet which Fox had aided in forming retained possession of office; his nephew and pupil, Lord Holland, was brought into it as lord privy-seal, and Fox was succeeded in the foreign department by his friend Lord Howick, who was more identified with the Foxite policy than almost any other public man. The other ministerial changes were simply these:—Mr. T. Grenville became first lord of the admiralty, in lieu of Lord Howick; Tierney, president of the board of control, in lieu of Grenville; and Sidmouth, who had held the privy seal, now given to Lord Holland, became president of the council, in lieu of Earl Fitzwilliam, who resigned. Thus Lord Holland was the only new member brought into the cabinet.

As parliament was not sitting, there were no

angry invidious debates on the merits of Fox, the sort of funeral to which he was entitled, or the wording of his epitaph. The ministry took it upon themselves to give him a public funeral in Westminster Abbey. On the 10th of October, all that remained of Fox was carried to the Abbey in great state, and deposited in a tomb immediately adjoining the monument of the Earl of Chatham, and within eighteen feet of the grave of Pitt.

The mixed cabinet had continued to complain of the coldness or want of confidence of the court. Hoping to gain greater strength in the House of Commons by a new general election, they proceeded to the sudden and unexpected measure of a dissolution of parliament, which had sat but four sessions.

The new parliament assembled on the 19th of December, and was opened, not by the king in person, but by commission. The royal speech dwelt principally upon the calamitous war in Prussia, and upon the conduct of our government in respect to that power. It said that Prussia had found herself at length compelled to adopt the resolution of openly resisting the unremitting system of aggrandizement and conquest; that neither this determination nor the succeeding measures had been previously concerted with his majesty, nor had even any disposition been shown to offer to our government any adequate satisfaction for those aggressions of Prussia, which had placed her and England in a state of mutual hostility; but that nevertheless his majesty had not hesitated to adopt immediately such measures as were best calculated to unite their counsels and interests against the common enemy. Great praises were lavished on the good faith of his majesty's allies, the King of Sweden and the Emperor of Russia; and it was declared that our alliance with Russia afforded the only remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe. This confession ought to have been followed up by the voting of a proper subsidy; a liberal supply of money might yet have reached Poland in time to turn the scale in favour of the Russians; but nothing of the sort was proposed, and when the Emperor Alexander made fresh applications, he was met with an absolute negative.

On the 22d of December, the thanks of both houses were voted to Major-general Sir John Stuart, to Brigadier-general Lowry Cole, to Brigadier-general W. D. Ackland, to the officers under their command, and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers for their bravery and good conduct. If the French made too much of their victories, we certainly made too little of ours. "All the Talents" continued to act as though they were ashamed of the glory of our arms; nor did the orators in opposition to

them exert any extra spirit, or display any superior eloquence on this occasion. Except Windham, who spoke out like an Englishman, all the cabinet seem to have been as cool as if they had been discussing a beer bill or a pig-iron duty. In praising the heroes of Maida, Windham said: "He praised them with his whole heart; he praised them also with his understanding." Maida, he said, might be put upon a level with Crecy, Poitiers, and Azincourt. It had dissolved a spell—it had been obtained in the face of Europe—it had proved to the world, in a manner not to be concealed or disguised, that French troops are inferior to British troops. If England had accomplished nothing more than this, still the battle of Maida was worth ten times the labour and sacrifice it had cost us.

A.D. 1807. When parliament re-assembled after the Christmas recess, there were debates in both houses on Fox's unfortunate negotiations for peace. As by the admission of all parties war must now continue, efforts were necessary (and efforts far greater than any that were made in this session of parliament, or by this ministry), to give an increase of power and a proper direction to our military forces. The most liberal supplies were voted. The sum of £11,305,387 was devoted to the regular army, including pensions, half-pay, the military college, the military hospitals, &c. The sum of £4,203,327 was devoted to the militia, fencible corps, volunteers, &c. The ordnance had in all £3,321,216. At first the number of men to be employed for the sea service for the year 1807, including 29,000 marines, was fixed at 120,000 men; but to this number were almost immediately added 7600 sailors and 2400 more marines. The total of the money devoted to the navy for the year was £17,400,337.

Wilberforce had placed his main dependence upon Fox, but the death of that minister seems to have given additional zeal to Lord Grenville for the abolition of negro slavery. On the 2d of January his lordship brought in a bill for the total abolition of the African slave-trade. In reply to a question put by the ex-chancellor, Lord Eldon, Grenville distinctly said, that the bill extended to the *African trade only*. This bill was now carried through both houses by large majorities, and on the 25th of January it received the royal assent.

Ministers had already felt that the ground was sliding away under their feet. The dissolution and the general election had given them no accession of strength; they could command no great majority, except on the negro slave question, and even there Wilberforce's friends and the party called the Saints had more influence than ministers, while they were hostile to minis-

ters on almost every other point. The fault may not have been all their own; but "All the Talents" had certainly disappointed the nation at large. That fatal three and a half per cent. clapped on the income and property tax was very mischievous to them. In other quarters their untimely parsimony towards Russia, and the now fast-coming news of defeats and losses sustained by the forsaken or neglected czar, created a violent ill-feeling against them. Many even of those who acknowledged their merits in other respects, were of opinion that they had been clamouring too long against the war to be in case to carry on that war with spirit—that they were not the men to fight the ship—and they had proved to a demonstration that they were no more able to make peace than their predecessors had been.

Both Fox and Grenville, though so deeply pledged to the Roman Catholics, had accepted office without making any stipulation that Catholic emancipation, or some extensive concession tending to that point, should be made a cabinet question. It is quite certain that George III. would have consented to no such stipulation; but the party or parties who knew his unchangeable resolution on this point ought not to have taken office at all if they had been then determined to press the Catholic claims upon him so soon after getting possession of the cabinet. It does not appear that they were at this moment driven forward by any pressure from without, or by any extraordinary appeal or eager impatience on the part of the Irish Catholics. Yet, on the 5th of March, Lord Howick moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament. Spencer Perceval, who, as well as his friends Sidmouth and Ellenborough, had of late been closeted several times with the king, instantly rose and opposed the motion. The bill, however, was brought in and read the first time; and that day week was fixed for the second reading. But the second reading was subsequently postponed from the 12th to the 18th of March. It appears that in order to effect a compromise with the king, ministers offered to withdraw the bill altogether, and that his majesty refused any compromise. On the 17th March, Lord Howick announced that the second reading must again be postponed. Explanations were scarcely needed, for the house knew that negotiations had been going on at Buckingham House for several weeks. "Ministers," says Sir Samuel Romilly, "had determined not to resign, but to be dismissed from their offices." They were dismissed on the 25th of March. Between the 26th and 31st of March the following appointments were announced:—The Duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury;

Lord Hawkesbury, secretary for the home department; Canning, secretary for foreign affairs; Lord Castlereagh, secretary for war and the colonies; the Earl of Chatham (Pitt's elder brother), master of the ordnance; Spencer Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer and under-treasurer of the exchequer; Earl Camden, lord president of the council; Earl Bathurst, president of the board of trade, with George Rose for his vice; and the Earl of Westmoreland, keeper of the privy seal. On the 1st of April, Lord Eldon was sworn lord high-chancellor, and the Duke of Richmond was made Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. On the 3d of April, Lord Mulgrave was named first lord of the admiralty, and the Honourable Robert Dundas, president of the board of control. On the 8th of April, Lord Melville was sworn of the privy council. This was the day on which parliament met after the fortnight's adjournment. The remaining offices were filled up in the course of a few days after this. Among other appointments, George Rose became treasurer of the navy in lieu of Sheridan.

Between the 25th of March and the 8th of April the new ministers appear to have done all they could to excite a cry in the country against Popery. The Duke of Portland, the nominal head of the cabinet, being chancellor of the university of Oxford, wrote to it to request a petition to parliament against Catholic concessions: the Duke of Cumberland, chancellor of the university of Dublin, wrote two letters to that university for the same purpose; and in the last of these letters he plainly intimated that it was the wish of the king that this should be done. Harry Erskine, the witty brother of the ex-chancellor, said it was a pity that poor Lord George Gordon did not live in these times, when he would have a chance of being in the cabinet instead of being in Newgate. Spencer Perceval, who had vacated his seat by accepting office, told the electors of Northampton that it was a duty in the people as well as in the sovereign to resist the inroads of Popery; that he himself had quitted a lucrative profession and accepted his new office in order to stand by his sovereign at this important crisis. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, of which, as of nearly every other religious society, Wilberforce was a conspicuous and active member, lent the aid of its publications in keeping up the "No Popery" cry. The days of Lord George and the London riots seemed really coming back again.

A motion made in the commons by Mr. Littleton, to express the deepest regret at the late change of administration, was defeated by a vote for passing to the order of the day, the numbers being 244 against 198.

It was understood that a dissolution was to

take place, but it was not supposed that it would be before the end of May and the regular close of the session. But an immediate dissolution was decided upon on the 24th of April, although kept a profound secret until the 26th. The object no doubt was to take advantage of the cry of "No Popery." This unlucky parliament had existed only four months and seven days. Tremendous and almost unprecedented were the efforts made both by the ins and outs at the new general election. On both sides immense electioneering purses were made up and emptied in the old way. On the whole the new ministry gained immensely by the dissolution and general election. In the new parliament, which met on the 22d of June, their majorities were found to be large and sure. An amendment to the address on the opening speech, censuring the late dissolution of parliament, was rejected in the lords by 160 against 67, and in the commons by 350 against 155. The business which was transacted was of little interest, except as showing on the divisions the great strength which the new administration had obtained. The prorogation took place on the 14th of August; the king's speech, delivered by commission, was hopeful and cheering.

The military operations of the year had been nearly all devised by the Grenville cabinet. Although Sir Home Popham had been brought to a court-martial, and censured for his disobedience, and although the leaders of that cabinet did not entertain a favourable opinion of the bold enterprises in South America, reinforcements had been forwarded to General Beresford; and an armament had been sent to the Rio de la Plata, under the command of General Sir S. Auchmuty, convoyed by Admiral Sir C. Stirling, who superseded Sir H. Popham. On the 18th of January the troops were landed near Monte Video. A sally made by the Spaniards, who were 6000 strong, was repelled with great slaughter; the town was forthwith invested; and on the 2d of February it was taken by storm, with a loss to the British of 560 in killed and wounded. Before intelligence had yet reached England of the re-capture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, Brigadier-general Craufurd was sent on a wild expedition for the reduction of the vast American province of Chili. Craufurd had only 4200 men, and the naval force which accompanied him under Admiral Murray was proportionally small. The expedition had not been gone long ere the government learned—not that Sir S. Auchmuty had stormed and captured Monte Video, for there was not time for that intelligence to arrive—but that Buenos Ayres had been lost, and Beresford obliged to capitulate. Instantly orders were sent after General Craufurd to tell him not

to conquer Chili, but to go to the Rio de la Plata. These orders overtook Craufurd while he was at the Cape, and in pursuance of them he altered his course, and made the best of his way for the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. Craufurd was a brave and experienced soldier, and so was Auchmuty; but they were only brigadier-generals, and, as the force gradually collecting in that latitude was becoming considerable, it was considered that an officer of higher rank ought to take the general command. Unless they had taken General Mack out of the fortress into which the Emperor of Austria had thrown him, the British government could hardly have made a worse choice. General Whitelocke had attained to high rank in the army with scarcely any service beyond parade duty and an attendance of palace-guards. He was a handsome, well-spoken man, and, like Mack, had had the knack of making people who were no soldiers themselves believe that he was a great one, and a very consummate general. It was said at the time that he owed his appointment to the present command to the personal favour of George III.; but it should appear that ministerial and all manner of suffrages were united to procure him this advancement. With 1600 more land troops, General Whitelocke left England in the month of March, to take the command-in-chief of all the British forces on the Rio de la Plata, and reduce the whole province of Buenos Ayres, at the very least. He arrived near Monte Video towards the end of May. By this time nearly 12,000 excellent British troops were collected on the Rio de la Plata—brave, active, and only wanting a proper general to command them. But Whitelocke, like Mack at Ulm, appears to have lost his head as soon as he reached the South American shore. At first, he seemed to think that with such an army he could conquer the whole of Spanish America; but then, in a very few days, he pretended it was too difficult an enterprise to conquer even a single town. On the 28th of June he landed nearly 8000 men about thirty miles to the east of Buenos Ayres. He took about the worst roads which could have been selected, and he separated his little army into different divisions, subjecting them to the risk of being cut off among rivers and bogs, or being decimated in their passage through defiles and thick woods. If the Spaniards had been an active and enterprising enemy, it may be doubted whether this carpet-knight would ever have reached the walls of Buenos Ayres. The inundating rains which set in periodically at the end of June, or the beginning of July, swelled the rivers, and rendered them almost impassable; and Whitelocke appears to have obtained no information as to the places where the rivers were fordable, or as to any

other particulars connected with the nature of that excessively difficult country. All operations were conducted in the dark. It was not until the 3d of July that Whitelocke brought his exhausted and famishing troops up to Buenos Ayres. On the 5th he made a blind mad attack on the place, and lost 2500 men. On the 6th, he began to treat with Liniers, who still commanded the Spaniards. The definitive treaty was signed at the fort of Buenos Ayres on the next day, the 7th of July, by General Whitelocke and Rear-admiral Sir George Murray, and by Liniers and two Spanish generals. Hostilities were to cease on both sides of the Rio de la Plata; the British were to retain possession of the fortress and place of Monte Video, which Sir Samuel Auchmuty had stormed and taken before Whitelocke's arrival, for the space of two months; but at the end of that time these buildings were to be delivered up to the Spaniards, with all their artillery, &c. All prisoners whatsoever were to be mutually restored; Whitelocke's famishing army was to be supplied with provisions, and to be assisted in re-embarking and crossing over to the north side of the Plata river, with its arms, stores, equipage, &c.

The popular indignation at home was so excessive that if Whitelocke had arrived in England in the month of September, with the officer who brought home his despatches, he would have run some risk of being torn to pieces by the people. He had committed faults enough, but these were all exaggerated, and others were invented for him by ignorance, malevolence, and an uncritical and unexamining fury. Many can still remember the rage excited by the report that, before sending his men to be slaughtered in a hopeless street-fight, he ordered all the flints to be taken from their muskets. The name of *Whitelocke* was universally adopted as a synonym for *white-feather*. Many believed him to be the most perfect compound of coward and traitor that had ever been known among Englishmen. It was said to be owing to his favour at court and in other high places that his trial was so long delayed. There might be other grounds for this procrastination of justice; but it was not until the 28th of January, 1808, that he was brought before a general court-martial, held at Chelsea Hospital; and even then such numerous adjournments were allowed to take place that the trial was not concluded until the 18th of March. The mass of the nation certainly thought the sentence too mild which condemned him to be cashiered in the most disgraceful manner; but not a few thought that the ministers under whom he had been employed, and under whose general and insane orders he had acted, ought to have been called to a severe account.

In a very opposite direction, another armament despatched by the Grenville administration led to no very honourable result. Towards the end of November, 1806, when our diplomatists at the Ottoman Porte had been circumvented by the French, and had failed in their endeavours to prevent Sultan Selim from engaging in a war with the czar (an event which acted as a capital diversion in favour of Bonaparte, by obliging the Russians to keep a large army on the Lower Danube), Admiral Louis appeared off Tenedos and the coast of Troy with three line-of-battle ships and four frigates. It was an ancient rule, recognized in treaties with the Porte, that no ships of war, with their guns on board, were to be allowed to pass either the Straits of the Dardanelles or the Straits of the Bosphorus. Nevertheless Admiral Louis sent through the Dardanelles a ship of the line and a frigate. The Turks, who certainly wished to avoid hostilities with the English, let the two ships pass their tremendous batteries in the straits without firing at them, and allowed them to come to anchor without molestation off Constantinople. While this single ship of the line (the *Canopus* of eighty guns) and this single frigate lay thus, with their broadsides towards the seraglio, or palace of the sultan (a most vain and impotent menace), some attempts at negotiation were renewed on shore; but the active, able, and intriguing Sebastiani was an overmatch for our ambassador, Mr. Arbuthnot, who had several of the qualities of an old woman, and who was at this time suffering under the depressing influences of a slow fever. The victories which Bonaparte was then obtaining gave a great weight to Sebastiani's diplomacy; and all that Admiral Louis could do was safely to carry off the English and Russian ambassadors. It was then resolved to try what might be done by the presence of a greater force; and, at last, on the 10th of February of the present year, Sir John Duckworth, a favourite admiral of the "All Talents" administration, arrived off Tenedos with some more ships of the line and two bomb-vessels. This force, being united to that of Admiral Louis, made up a squadron of eight line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and two bombs. On the 19th of February, favoured by the wind, Duckworth entered the terrible strait, and passed all the batteries and castles with scarcely any loss or injury. A Turkish squadron, consisting of a 64-gun ship, four frigates, four corvettes, two brigs, and two gun-boats, was destroyed by Sir Sidney Smith. Instead of hastening to Constantinople, which he might have done, as the wind continued favourable, Duckworth lingered in the Sea of Marmora several days, and then, instead of anchoring before the panic-stricken capital, he brought up at the Princes' Islands, at the distance of ten miles,

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where he lost several more days. In the meanwhile the Turks recovered from their panic, and under the able direction of Sebastiani and other French officers put their city in a very formidable state of defence. Some bombastic and ridiculous letters were despatched to the Porte; but the Turkish ministers could not now be bullied. On the 1st of March, after making an idle flourish before the walls of Constantinople, Sir John bore up for the Dardanelles. He repassed those straits with very little loss of men on the 3d of March; but some of his ships were a good deal damaged by the enormous stone-shot which were fired by the Turks, and which, in some instances, weighed 800 pounds. And thus ended the famed expedition to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus. It had broken the spell by which the passage of the Dardanelles had been guarded for so many ages; but the result of the whole was little more than a brilliant bravado, followed by a series of wretched and dishonouring blunders.

From Tenedos, where he left a Russian squadron under Siniavin to blockade the Dardanelles, Sir John hastened down to the mouths of the Nile, to co-operate in a still more imbecile expedition which had been planned by "All the Talents." Ever since the evacuation of Egypt by the British troops, that country had been the scene of anarchy and civil war. There had been a rumour that the sultan had entertained the notion of a treaty, by which Egypt was to be given up to the French as the price of Bonaparte's assistance against the Russians on the Danube, in the Crimea, and in the other vast regions round the Black Sea, which the czars had successively torn from Turkey; but the French could neither keep, nor so much as take possession of Egypt so long as Britain maintained her superiority at sea. The landing of a British army in Egypt might indeed serve as a present diversion highly favourable to our ally the Emperor Alexander, who, while outnumbered and hard pressed by Bonaparte between the Vistula and the Niemen, was obliged to keep an army of 30,000 or 40,000 men on the Danube; but to effect this desirable object our ministers ought to have sent 15,000 or 20,000 men, instead of a diminutive force which was not capable of contending with Mehemet Ali, and which was crushed and disgraced without so much as the marching of an oda of janizaries from Constantinople, or from any part of European Turkey, or from Asia Minor, or from Syria.

From 4000 to 5000 men taken from our army in Sicily, and placed under the command of Major-general Mackenzie Fraser, were landed near Alexandria by the 20th of March. The ancient capital capitulated immediately. But though they had taken Alexandria, our poor soldiers found that they had taken it only to

starve in it. Provisions were scarce—the neighbouring sands supplied nothing—and the open country beyond remained in possession of Mehemet Ali's fierce Albanians, who cut off all supplies. A column was detached to Rosetta, but it insanely engaged in the narrow crooked streets of that town; and instead of provisions General Fraser received a list of 400 killed and wounded—a sad reduction to a force so small as his. By the end of July, Fraser was in a hopeless condition. On the 22d of August, on the near approach of some of Mehemet's columns, he sent out a flag of truce, announcing that, if the pacha would deliver up all the British prisoners taken at Rosetta, El Hammet, and elsewhere, the army under his command should immediately evacuate Egypt. This was readily agreed to; and on the 24th of September what remained of the British army set sail for Sicily.

Irritated by all these hostile proceedings, the sultan had declared war against Britain, had seized all British property or merchandise in his dominions, had concluded a close alliance with the French, and had sent an ambassador into Poland to follow in the train of the triumphant Bonaparte, who duped him with fine promises so long as it suited his purpose, and then left Turkey to defend herself as she best might against the Russians. But before our troops quitted Egypt Sultan Selim had ceased to reign, and his chief ministers and advisers had been savagely massacred by the revolted janizaries. Sebastiani regretted this sudden revolution, for Selim had showed every disposition of steadiness and attachment to the alliance with Bonaparte; but as soon as he was deposed, Sebastiani cultivated a close friendship with Cabakchy-Oglou, the violent and brutal man who had overthrown him, and through Cabakchy's means the French influence at the Porte remained undiminished.

One little expedition which took place under the Grenville administration, and which demonstrated that they too had a hankering after petty conquests and unhealthy colonies, was attended with complete success. On the first day of the year the Dutch island of Curaçoa was reduced.

The first expedition sent out by the new ministry was accompanied by some painful circumstances, but with a triumphant success, at least, to our arms. The terrible chastisement which the Danes had received at the hands of Lord Nelson had not promoted any friendly feeling towards England. They had professed to remain neutral; but, even more than before that chastisement, they had favoured the French. A woful experience had taught England and her allies how little Bonaparte respected the neutrality of any country that was weak, when it suited his purpose to violate it. The predominant idea of

that conqueror now was to enforce what he termed his "continental system;" to carry into effect, in every maritime state of Europe, his Berlin decree, in conformity with which all ports were to be closed against the British flag and trade. Russia and Prussia, by events which will be explained hereafter, when we have finished the narrative of our own military and naval operations, had been compelled to accede. The Hanse-towns, with all the rivers of the north of Germany, Holland, and its outlets, were occupied by French troops. Sweden could not long offer any valid opposition; but the system would be incomplete in the north of Europe unless Denmark, who holds the keys of the Baltic in her hand, and whose trade and enterprise and mercantile marine were very considerable, should be, by negotiation and treaty, or by military force, brought into it. It was known to our cabinet that there had been negotiations of a secret nature, and it was equally well known that Bonaparte would not hesitate to employ force if negotiation failed. The north of Germany was swarming with his troops, and with the troops his brother Louis had brought into Hanover from Holland; an entire *corps d'armée* was lying not many days' march from that frontier of Denmark where the heroic and unfriended Blücher had been compelled to lay down his arms. There was no army in Denmark at all capable of resisting these French forces: the country was indubitably Bonaparte's so soon as he might choose to take possession of it, and with the country he would gain a fine fleet and well-stored arsenals and dock-yards. If Britain could have relied on the friendship of Denmark, there was no relying on her weakness. If the court, the cabinet, and the country had been devoted to us, instead of being alienated from us—if, instead of an evident leaning towards France, which had lasted for many years, there had been a high and resolute spirit of patriotism, with the determination to resist foreign interference and dictation, we could not have relied upon the ability of the Danes to oppose the mighty will which had overthrown a great military power like Prussia almost at a single blow, which had, for the time, subjugated Russia as well as Austria, and which had involved in a vortex all the old principalities and powers of Europe. A capital part of the case reduced itself simply to this—if we did not make sure of the Danish fleet, Bonaparte was sure to get it. The great law of nature, the instinct and duty of self-preservation, recommended the step we took. Our government rushed to its object without a declaration of war against Denmark, because such a declaration would have defeated our object, and have at once thrown the Danes, their fleet, and their country into the hands of the French.

It was utterly impossible for the prince royal to keep his ships and arsenals out of the clutches of our mortal foe, who avowedly intended to avail himself of the subjugation of the Continent in making the most strenuous efforts for creating a new French navy, and for bringing into action along with it all the fleets of Europe. Bonaparte had too thoroughly rent the book of the law of nations for any British minister in his senses to count upon one of its torn pages. The enemies of the conqueror had already suffered too severely from binding themselves by laws which were less than gossamer to him. The uncontrollable rage which he felt and expressed on learning the daring blow which had been struck at Copenhagen clearly evinced his intentions as to Den-

mark and her fleet, and the bitterness of his disappointment at finding the prize seized before he could clutch it.

Early in the summer a powerful expedition was fitted out in our ports, with a secrecy and promptitude highly honourable to the new ministry. A fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, with upwards of forty frigates, sloops, bomb-vessels, and gun-brigs, and 377 transports, was prepared and got ready for sea; and about 27,000 land troops, of which more than one-half were Germans in British pay, were embarked. The command of the fleet was intrusted to Admiral Gambier, and the command-in-chief of the army to Lord Cathcart, who had the good fortune to have under his command Major-general Sir Arthur



THE CASTLE OF CRONBURG AND TOWN OF ELSINORE: the Entrance to the Sound, with the British Fleet and Transports
From a drawing by Captain Cockburn, of the Royal Artillery.

Wellesley, already renowned by his exploits in India. On the 26th of July, Gambier set sail from Yarmouth Roads. By the evening of the 9th of August, all the transports were safely collected round the admiral, in Elsinore Roads, and Lord Cathcart had arrived with the troops from Stralsund. The crown prince was with the main body of the Danish army at Kiel, in Holstein. That army was from 20,000 to 30,000 strong; but, from the station which he occupied in the passage of the Great Belt, Commodore Keats kept it completely in check, or at least prevented its crossing over to the island of Zealand for the protection of the capital. Mr. Jackson, who had resided for some years as British envoy in the north of Germany, was sent over to Kiel to attempt an amicable arrangement with the crown prince, on the basis of his delivering up the Danish fleet to the British admiral, on the solemn assurance that it should be restored at a general peace, or at the conclusion of the war between

France and England. The answer was an angry and indignant refusal. Contrary winds kept the British fleet stationary in Elsinore Roads until the morning of the 15th, when, at a very early hour, the men-of-war and transports weighed, and worked up to the Bay of Vedbek. Here Admiral Gambier and the bulk of the fleet anchored, while a small squadron proceeded higher up the sound to make a diversion. On the morning of the 16th, a part of the land troops were disembarked at Vedbek without opposition. The fleet then weighed, and made all sail for Copenhagen. On the evening of the 17th, Admiral Gambier, with sixteen sail of the line, came to anchor in Copenhagen Road, about four miles to the north-east of the Trekroner, or crown battery, which had fired with such terrible effect into Nelson's ship. By the 21st, the island of Zealand was completely surrounded by the British ships, which prevented all ingress or egress; on the 22d, General Macfarlane's division, having

been landed the preceding evening, joined the army, and encamped in the rear of head-quarters; and in the course of the 23d, Lord Rosslyn, who had landed with another division of troops in Kjöge Bay, joined the main army and covered its centre. On the 29th, Sir Arthur Wellesley marched to Kjöge, where some of the Danish troops and militia had taken up a strong entrenched position, with the view of molesting the besiegers in their rear. These Danes were completely defeated and dispersed, Sir Arthur taking upwards of sixty officers and 1100 men, ten or fourteen pieces of cannon, and a quantity of powder and other stores. The Danes in Copenhagen attempted several sorties, but they were each time driven back with loss. On the 1st of September it was found necessary to detach Commodore Keats to blockade Stralsund; for that place was already in possession of the French, who might have made some desperate attempt to send across reinforcements to the island of Zealand. So great had been the necessity of rapid and decisive movement—so short the time which would have been necessary for the location of an imposing French force in Copenhagen. On the evening of the same day, the 1st of September, the army having nearly finished its gun and mortar batteries, the two British commanders-in-chief summoned the Danish major-general to surrender the fleet. The Dane requested time to consult the crown prince his master. Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart refused to allow him any such delay; and on the 2d, all the British land batteries opened upon the town, and our bomb-vessels began to throw some shells into it. It was a terrible night; the city and the space immediately round it looked like a volcano in a state of eruption. The British continued their bombardment without any intermission till eight o'clock on the morning of the 3d; they suspended their fire till the evening, and then, though they again continued it throughout the night, they fired with less vigour, wishing to avoid inflicting a greater mischief on the poor inhabitants than was necessary; but, on the morning of the 4th, seeing no symptoms of surrender, they renewed the bombardment with more fury than ever. Without counting the bomb-vessels afloat, about fifty mortars and howitzers, and twenty 24-pounders, well placed in land batteries, rained shot and shell into the devoted town, which began to burn and blaze in all quarters. On the evening of the 5th the Danish governor consented to the surrender of the fleet; and Major-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, Lieutenant-colonel George Murray, deputy quartermaster-general, and Sir Home Popham, were appointed to settle the few and simple remaining conditions of the capitulation. By the morning of the 7th of September

the articles were signed and ratified. On the 8th, the British troops entered the town and citadel, and the sailors instantly began to get the Danish fleet ready for sea. So great was the rapidity with which they worked, and so well were the Danish stores arranged in the warehouses, that in nine days fourteen sail of the line were towed out from the inner harbour to the road, and got ready for sea. Within the space of six weeks three more ships of the line, with the frigates and sloops, were got ready, and the arsenal and its storehouses were completely cleared. There were three 74's on the stocks; two of them were taken to pieces, and the best of their timbers were embarked; the third ship was destroyed, as were a rotten old sixty-four and two or three old frigates. This left in the possession of the captors seventeen ships of the line, one 60, two 40, six 46, and two 32-gun frigates, fourteen corvettes, sloops, brigs, and schooners, and twenty-five gun-boats. The most valuable part of the seizure consisted of masts, spars, timber, sails, cordage, and other naval stores. The quantity was so immense that, exclusive of the stores which were shipped on board of the British and Danish men of war, ninety transports, measuring more than 20,000 tons, brought away full cargoes. The ordnance brought away is stated at 2041 long guns, 202 carronades, and 222 mortars.

Mr. Jackson, before taking his final leave, made some more diplomatic overtures, but in vain. A declaration of war followed on the part of the crown prince, who had a formidable French army at his elbow, and an alliance with the Emperor of Russia in perspective. On the 4th of November the British government ordered reprisals to be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of Denmark. But it had not waited so long to invade and possess itself of Danish territory. On the 4th of September, three days before the governor of Copenhagen finished his capitulation, Vice-admiral T. Macnamara Russel and Captain Lord Falkland captured the small Danish island of Heligoland in the German Ocean. The place was a perpendicular unproductive rock, with a barren sandy flat at the foot of it: its entire circumference did not exceed three English miles, and it was subject to such rapid waste by the beating and washing of that stormy sea that there appeared a chance of its being some day washed away altogether. But there were circumstances which rendered the bare inhospitable spot of exceeding great value to England at that moment. It was situated off the mouth of the Elbe, and at the distance of only twenty-five miles from the mouths of the Weser and the Eyder; it could scarcely be better placed as a depôt for British manufactures, colonial produce, and other goods, which could be smuggled up

the mouths of the neighbouring rivers, and conveyed into the interior of the Continent; and, at the same time, it afforded a safe asylum in those dangerous waters to the English men-of-war and cruisers, which were now shut out from every port in the North Seas, except those of Sweden. Heligoland, too, served as an admonitor: it constantly reminded the mariners and coast-dwelling people of those northern regions, that there was an element which did not own

the sway of Bonaparte; and the French could hardly look seaward from their conquests in Oldenburg and Hanover without seeing the British flag floating over that near rock.

In the month of December, the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John's, and Santa Croce surrendered, without resistance, to a squadron commanded by Sir Alexander Cochrane and a small military force under General Bowyer.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1807—1808

GEORGE III.

Recapitulation of events that led to the bombardment of Copenhagen—Operations of Bonaparte's grand army—The Russians resume hostilities—Battle of Eylau—Indecisive nature of the conflict—Russia disappointed of aid from the British government—Victory of Bonaparte over the Russians at Friedland—Mutual wish of the French and Russian emperors for peace—Their meeting at Tilsit—Their treaty of amity—Disappointments of Poland and Turkey through the treaty of Tilsit—The seizure of the Danish fleet occasioned by the treaty—Hopeless struggle of Sweden against France—The Swedish king dethroned—Erection of the kingdom of Westphalia by Bonaparte—He appoints his brother Jerome its king—Portugal overrun and occupied by the French—Bonaparte's Milan decree against British commerce—His occupation of Tuscany—Entrance of his troops into Rome and imprisonment of the pope—Opening of the British parliament—The royal speech—The budget—Miserable condition of the Spanish court and government—Bonaparte's aggressions on Spain—He places his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne—Hazardous nature of his attempt on Spain—Dissuasions from it disregarded by Bonaparte—Insurrection of the Spaniards—Its sanguinary character—The junta established by the insurgents—Proclamation of George III. in favour of the Spanish cause—Aid sent to it from the British government—Deficiencies of the Spanish armies—Defeat of the Spaniards at Rio Leco—Total defeat of a French army at Baylen—King Joseph retreats from Madrid—Successful defence of Saragossa—Defect of military skill among the Spaniards—Arrival of Sir Arthur Wellesley in the Peninsula—Revolt against the French in Portugal—Wellesley marches for Lisbon—His victory over the French at Roliça—His victory at Vimeiro—Causes of its not being successfully followed up—Convention of Cintra—Advantageous terms conceded to the French—They are conveyed from Portugal—Unpopularity of the convention of Cintra in England—A board of inquiry appointed to report on it—Its verdict—Sir Hugh Dalrymple made the scapegoat of the inquiry.



ME must proceed briefly to recapitulate the operations of the grand army, and the other proceedings of Bonaparte, which were mixed up with nearly all our transactions, and had led directly to several of our measures besides our attack upon Copenhagen.

We left the Emperor of the French comfortably quartered in the city of Warsaw. The Russians, after gaining the terrible battle of Pultusk, retired to Ostrolenka, where they found better winter-quarters, and where they were joined by the *corps d'armée* of Prince Galitzin, who, on a distant point, had defeated a French division on the same day on which the battle of Pultusk was fought. The critical situation of the King of Prussia, cooped up in Königsberg with only a few thousand men, did not allow Beningsen to take a long repose. He resumed offensive operations with great spirit, spreading

his Cossacks over the whole country near the Vistula, and making many prisoners. This forced the French from their winter-quarters into the field—a field covered with snow and ice, and swept by pitiless winds. On the 25th of January, a terrible conflict took place near Mohrungen, and, though they claimed a victory, the French suffered a decided reverse. A diversion was effected in favour of Königsberg; and the brave and faithful Lestocq was enabled to relieve and throw reinforcements into Gaudentz, an important town on the Vistula, below Warsaw, which still remained in possession of Prussian troops. Towards the end of the month of January, the Russians, who were in want of everything, became clamorous for battle, and their able general, against his better judgment, led them into it, or rather allowed them to meet it, on the 8th of February, at Eylau, in the circle of Königsberg. Bonaparte had actually on the field 85,000 men, including 16,000 cavalry; Ben-

ingsen, who had been obliged to detach some of his troops, had only 75,000 men, counting the Prussian division of Lestocq, of which a part was not in line when the battle began; in artillery the Russians were superior, having 460 guns to oppose to about 380; but in cavalry they were very inferior, and the nature of the country was favourable to charges of horse. The bloody battle, which began at daybreak, in the midst of a snow-storm, lasted till ten o'clock at night. The Russian infantry had stood like stone ramparts, or like walls of brass: the Prussian columns of Lestocq, properly commanded by an honest, loyal man, a patriot and a hero, behaved as well as ever Prussian troops had done under Frederick the Great. The French had utterly failed in all their attacks, and in some of their retreats they had betrayed nearly every symptom of demoralization. The corps of Augereau had been put to a panic flight and cut to pieces; the corps of Davoust, one of the largest and finest of the army, had been pushed off the field by an inferior number of Prussian bayonets; and from 10,000 to 12,000 French soldiers had quitted their colours in the evening, under pretence of looking after the wounded. The loss on both sides had been tremendous: in the absence of regular authentic returns it has been roughly stated at 50,000 killed and wounded; but it should appear that of this number above 30,000 were French. The grand army had lost twelve of its eagles, and was certainly in no humour to attempt the recovery of them.

The best testimony as to the real effect of the battle of Eylau was borne by Bonaparte himself. Four days after the conflict he despatched a courteous message to the King of Prussia, proposing a suspension of hostilities, and hinting that, if his majesty would make a separate peace with him, he might be induced to forego all the advantages he had gained by the double battle of Auerstadt and Jena, and to restore nearly the whole of his dominions; and on the 19th of February he evacuated Eylau, and retreated to his old line on the Vistula, being followed by clouds of Cossacks, who took many prisoners, and made a great booty.

The Emperor Alexander, now in want of money to continue the war, applied to the British government to negotiate for him a loan of six millions sterling, and make him an immediate advance on account: it is said that the security he offered was not bad. If he had offered no security at all, the money ought to have been raised and sent to him; but the "Talents" ministry thought fit to decline the transaction, and thereby they gave a mortal offence to the czar, and almost paralyzed his exertions in the common cause. From this moment Alexander seems to have

doubted the sincerity and generosity of Great Britain, and begun to think of a separate treaty for himself. In the course of the months of February and March, he made repeated and urgent application for a British army to co-operate with the Swedish forces in Pomerania. Lord Howick, then in office, wrote a chilling letter to the emperor, and told him that he must not look for any *considerable land force* from Great Britain. This was poor encouragement for the Russians, who had so recently strewed the field of Eylau with 20,000 of their killed and wounded. A fortnight after the date of Howick's note, the ministry of which he formed a part was no more. The rival party, who succeeded to the management of affairs, remitted £500,000 to the court of St. Petersburg; but this was not money enough, and the Tory cabinet sent out no troops until it was too late, and the force they sent was contemptibly small. In the month of July, after the great battle of Friedland had been fought, our German legion, about 8000 strong, was landed in the isle of Rügen, near Stralsund. Our ministers, too, were so slow in sending 160,000 muskets to Königsberg, that an immense body of Prussian militia were unable to march for want of arms—that these muskets did not arrive until the middle of June, when they came just in time to fall into the hands of the French, who took Königsberg a few days after the carnage at Friedland.

The Emperor Alexander sent such inconsiderable reinforcements to Beningsen, that that army was never even raised to its original computation of 90,000 men. But, by the month of June, Bonaparte, who had been allowed time, and who had called up troops from Germany and the Rhine, had 200,000 men on the Vistula, and between that river and the Niemen. The Prussian general, Kalkreuth, surrendered in Dantzic on the 27th of May. The great battle of Friedland was fought on the 14th of June near the river Aller, only a few miles from the field of Eylau. It was not a battle of bayonets, but one of artillery. After a brave contest the Russians were worsted by Bonaparte's well-served and tremendous batteries; and as night approached they began to retire behind the Aller, crossing that river by a ford, and carrying with them all their artillery and baggage. It appears they did not lose so much as a single gun or a single tumbril. The French had suffered too severely to attempt to follow: many of the regiments of the grand army were reduced to less than one-half—whole companies had disappeared to a man. The Russian general slowly retired to Tilsit, on the Niemen, destroying all the bridges, and falling back upon his reserves. He was joined by 15,000 or 20,000 infantry, who were closely followed by a

multitude of irregular cavalry. But Bonaparte and Alexander both eagerly and equally wished for peace. A suspension of hostilities was agreed to; and, on the 25th of June, the two emperors met on a raft in the middle of the Niemen, at a short distance from Tilsit. The young czar appears to have been dazzled by the brilliant and insinuating Corsican. The two took up their residence in the town of Tilsit, where the treaties of peace were finally concluded—that with Russia being signed on the 7th, and that with Prussia on the 9th of July. Frederick William was restored to about one-half of his former territories, as far as the Elbe; but all the principal Prussian fortresses, and all the seaport towns, were to remain in the hands of the French till the general peace, or until Britain should be reduced to submission. The portion of Poland acquired by Prussia in the partition of 1772 was disunited from that kingdom, and erected into a separate territory, to be called the grand duchy of Warsaw, but to be held, not by a Polish prince, or a republic of Poles, but by the King of Saxony, that faithful ally of Bonaparte. Russia made no sacrifices; on the contrary, she obtained a part of Prussian Poland. But there were secret articles to the treaty, by which France allowed Russia to take Finland from Sweden, and Russia on her part promised to close her ports against British vessels. Throughout both treaties the means of giving effect to the Berlin decree, and of totally excluding the commerce of Britain from the Continent, were kept steadily and constantly in view.

Loud were the lamentations raised by the Polish patriots and dupes, who had kept on dreaming about the reconstruction of their once great nation under a native prince and a free and happy constitution. Nevertheless the Polish officers who were gathering fame (such as it was) by following the French eagles, and who were getting crosses and ribands to tie to their button-holes, and plenty of money to spend, professed great gratitude for the creation of the Warsaw duchy, and believed, or affected to believe, that at some not very distant day Bonaparte would keep all his promises, reconstructing Poland, and making it again the great power of the North.

The Turks had at least as much reason as the Poles to complain of the treaty of Tilsit: they had been tempted and dragged into the war by the most solemn promises that Moldavia and Wallachia, with all their territories on the left bank of the Danube, should be secured to them, and by the fond hope of re-obtaining, through the assistance of French arms and French negotiations, the whole of Bessarabia and of the Crimea, of all that the Russians had taken from them since the beginning of the reign of Peter the Great; but now all that they really got was a

temporary suspension of hostilities, with the withdrawal of the Russian troops from the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia.

When it was far too late, Mr. Canning despatched Lord Leveson Gower to reconcile the irritated czar, and bring him back to that close alliance with Britain which had been broken by British folly, faction, slowness, and want of timely liberality. Alexander would not even grant an audience to the noble envoy; and his lordship returned to England with the painful convictions that Russia had taken her part, that she had entered very deeply into the projects of France, and that she had agreed to place at the temporary disposal of Bonaparte her own fleet of nineteen or twenty sail of the line, and to allow him to obtain, by fair means or by foul, the fleet of Denmark and the eleven or twelve sail of the line which belonged to Sweden. When the news of our attack on Copenhagen, and our seizure of the Danish fleet, reached him, Alexander joined chorus in the outcry that was raised by France, although it is said he secretly rejoiced in the event, as the means of lowering French ambition, and favouring his own purposes of northern aggression and supremacy.

Almost entirely abandoned by Britain, who had brought down the 8000 men landed in the isle of Rügen to assist in the Copenhagen enterprise, and threatened with immediate hostility by her late ally and nearest neighbour, Russia, the poor kingdom of Sweden was left in a most perilous situation. Even after the peace of Tilsit, the enthusiastic Swedish monarch kept his ground at Stralsund, and issued spirited addresses to the great Germanic family, calling upon them, in God's name, to shake off their ignominious bondage. Marshal Brune was sent against him with a mixed army of Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Bavarians, and other un-German Germans. A terrible battle was fought in Pomerania, about eight miles from Stralsund. The French, or rather their allies, were beaten to pieces. The days of Gustavus Adolphus and of Charles XII. seemed to be returned; but, alas! Brune was reinforced from different nations or countries, until his army amounted to 70,000 men; while the King of Sweden—who could no longer draw a man or a musket from his own dominions, and who had now little reason to hope for any proper succour from England—saw his small army dwindle down to 8000 or 10,000 men. On the 19th of August, he evacuated Stralsund, destroying his magazines, spiking his cannon, and smashing their carriages, and throwing them into the ditches. Early on the 20th, he and his troops were safely landed on the island of Rügen, where various fortifications and field-works were erected. His majesty soon crossed the Baltic to Stockholm. Almost as soon

as he was gone, the troops he left in Rügen discovered that the island was not tenable; and early in the month of September they capitulated to the French general, who obtained easy possession of all the other Baltic islands on the German coast. The crown of Gustavus was by this time in jeopardy. He had been steady and faithful to the coalition into which England had drawn him, and his reward was to be dethronement and the expulsion of his dynasty.

In the meanwhile Bonaparte, after more than a ten months' absence, had returned to Paris. Having stripped the Elector of Hesse-Cassel of his dominions, because he had not joined him in the war against Prussia, and having despoiled the Duke of Brunswick of his dominions, because his father had joined Prussia against the French, the conqueror created, out of these and other countries and districts, including the greater part of Hanover, the so-called kingdom of Westphalia, whose existence had already been recognized in the treaties of Tilsit, both by Russia and by Prussia; and on the 18th of August he gave investiture to his brother Jerome, who took up his residence at Cassel, and began to establish such a government and court as the world had never before seen.

Shortly after this the *Moniteur* announced that "the house of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe." Our old ally the Prince-regent of Portugal having refused to enforce the Berlin decree against England, Junot was sent with 30,000 men to take possession of Portugal. By an infamous and imbecile treaty signed at Fontainebleau on the 9th of October, Spain not only allowed a free passage through her territories, but also engaged to assist Junot with an auxiliary force, supply him with provisions, &c. The French general entered Lisbon without opposition on the 30th of November, and began immediately to disarm the inhabitants, to levy contributions under the bayonet, and to treat the country as a conquest of France. The prince regent and his court had fled in English ships for Brazil; and 18,000 Portuguese had abandoned their homes and their country rather than submit to the French yoke. And, while Spanish troops were co-operating in this work of spoliation and iniquity in Portugal, the Spanish court and royal family broke furiously out into unnatural quarrels which threatened a civil and family war, and which, by exposing the weakness and profligacy of the government, offered to Bonaparte temptations difficult to be withstood even by a less grasping and more conscientious ruler.

On the 16th of November, Bonaparte quitted Paris to visit Milan and Venice. He had many objects in this journey to his Italian kingdom; but he particularly aimed at the completion of

his so-called continental system, determining to close every port in Italy to the British flag, and hoping to induce Austria by fear and by negotiation to enter into the league against the commerce of Great Britain. On the 17th of December, being at Milan, he issued his celebrated Milan decree, declaring all merchant vessels, of whatsoever nation, which should submit to the British orders in council, to be lawful prizes to the French. Forthwith a number of merchant vessels belonging to the United States of America were seized and confiscated in the ports of Italy, in the ports of France, and in the other harbours of Europe which the French occupied, upon the ground that they had submitted to the British orders in council, and by so doing had infringed the law of nations, and injured the interests of the whole civilized world. This step might seem to have been calculated to draw immediately down upon him a declaration of war from the American republic; but he was tolerably well acquainted with the strong French sympathies and the strong English antipathies of that people, and he hoped from the first to make his Milan decree, and his seizures and confiscations of American property, the means of driving the United States into a war against England.

Having summoned the Queen-regent of Etruria and her infant son into his presence, he signified to her that she must instantly resign Tuscany, or the kingdom of Etruria, for that new kingdom of Northern Lusitania which had been carved out of Portugal by the treaty of Fontainebleau. Although this Spanish princess appears to have foreseen that her son would never get those dominions in Portugal, she could offer no resistance, and could venture on no remonstrance against the absolute will of this maker and unmaker of kings. Forthwith Tuscany, with all its ports, was occupied by French troops; and, in the month of June following, the country was formally annexed, not to the kingdom of Italy, which Bonaparte pretended to be building up, with a view to the unity of that fair peninsula, but to the French empire, of which it was made to form three new departments. There now remained in all Italy only the seaports of the Roman states, on the Adriatic and Tyrrhenian Seas, open to the British flag; and these he determined to close immediately. French troops were sent to occupy Civita Vecchia, and guard the mouth of the Tiber; and on the Adriatic side a strong garrison was thrown into Ancona. The poor pope, who had been so compliant and submissive, appealed in vain to the rights of neutrality, to the rights of nations, to the more sacred laws which had supported in former times the heritage of St. Peter. Not satisfied with seizing the cities, fortresses, and harbours, Bonaparte in-

sisted on the pope declaring war against England! Pius VII. replied that he was a sovereign of peace, and that he could not declare war against any Christian power. Ever since the treaty of Tilist, the conqueror had claimed to be Emperor of the West. He said that, as the successor of Charlemagne, he was Emperor of the West, King of Italy, and Suzerain of the Pope; that the English were heretics, and therefore enemies of the Holy See, and that the donation of territory by Charlemagne to Rome had been made for the defence of the Holy Church against its enemies; that if the pope did not comply with his wishes, he, Napoleon, would resume Charlemagne's grant. In February, 1808, General Miollis entered Rome, occupied the castle of St. Angelo, and shut up the pope as a prisoner in the Vatican. More French troops were brought from Tuscany and from Lombardy into the Papal States; and on the 2d of April, 1808, Bonaparte, by one of his sweeping decrees, annexed the Marches, or Adriatic provinces of the pope, to his kingdom of Italy. The magistrates and ecclesiastics of those provinces, being called upon to take the oath of fidelity to their lawful sovereign, Napoleon, King of Italy, refused almost to a man; and this led to midnight arrests, to sudden transportations to state-prisons and fortresses in the Apennines and Alps, and, in the rude regions of Dalmatia, to popular discontents and insurrectionary, to military tribunals and bloodshed.

A.D. 1808. The British parliament was opened on January 31st by commission. The speech delivered for the king dwelt at great length upon foreign affairs, and mentioned nearly every country in Europe as in a state of hostility to England. Some light was thrown upon the system conceived by Bonaparte for uniting all the navies of Europe against us. It was shown how he had counted upon obtaining the fleet of Portugal, as well as the fleet of Denmark. Parliament was informed that the order in council, with which his majesty had retaliated for Bonaparte's Berlin decree, must be followed up by other measures of greater rigour, which would require parliamentary aid to give them full effect. The increased produce of the taxes and duties, in spite of the war and the Berlin and Milan decrees, was dwelt upon as a proper subject of congratulation. In both houses the addresses were carried without a division.

On the 5th of February the chancellor of the exchequer (Spencer Perceval) moved that the orders in council should be referred to the committee of ways and means. The opposition immediately declared that we ought not to attempt retaliating by any such measures; that the orders in council, unjust in themselves, would do us

much more mischief than the Berlin and Milan decrees; that they went to violate both the law of nations and the municipal law of England. On the other side it was maintained by ministers that we had a perfect right of retaliating upon the enemy his own measures; that, if he declared we should have no trade with any nation, we had a right to declare that he should have none. They also insisted that, if neutrals acquiesced in restrictions imposed by one belligerent, the other belligerent was warranted in considering such neutrals as a party to those restrictions.

In opening the budget for the year, Mr. Perceval stated the amount of the supplies at about £43,000,000 for England, and £5,700,000 for Ireland, and the produce of the war-taxes at £20,000 000. Among the ways and means were a loan of £8,000,000, and additional taxes to the amount of more than £300,000. The events rapidly passing in Spain, the occupation of Portugal, the threatened invasion of Sicily, which was only preserved from the grasp of the French by the presence of British forces, the obligation of succouring the King of Sweden, who had been brought to the brink of ruin by our alliance, all called for an increase to the number of soldiers and sailors. The number of seamen voted for the service of the year was 130,000. In the army, the regular infantry establishment, which in 1807 had been 109,000, was raised to 132,000. The whole establishment of the army was stated by the secretary-at-war, Lord Castlereagh, at not less than 300,000 men.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 4th of July. The greater part of the speech delivered by the lord-chancellor turned upon the Spanish nation, which had already risen against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and which was therefore no longer to be considered as the enemy, but as the ally of Great Britain.

The blindness, the imbecility, the mad intestine rage of the Spanish court, and of the factions that directed or distracted its councils, continued down to the last moment, and were the means of allowing Bonaparte to secure, not only the command of the principal roads of the country, but the possession of some of its best and strongest fortresses, before he threw off the mask, and told the Bourbon dynasty, as he had told the house of Braganza, that it had ceased to reign. After the passage of Junot into Portugal, other French divisions had entered Spain, as friends, and had seized by stratagem St. Sebastian, Pamploña, and Barcelona. These movements, which were not justified by the treaty of Fontainebleau, astonished and terrified Godoy; but that favourite of royalty, who had equal influence over the queen, whose paramour he was, and

king, whom he dishonoured, had been some time engaged in mortal strife with Prince Ferdinand, the heir to the crown, and dreaded much more the vengeance of the prince than the occupation of the country by the French; and seeing no hope of resistance to the might and will of Bonaparte except through an appeal to the nation at large, with whom Ferdinand was popular and himself odious to the last degree; and hoping that a ready compliance and submission would secure him the all-potent protection of the conqueror, Godoy removed the few Spanish troops that were near the frontiers, and ordered the commanders of fortresses to open their gates and receive the French as friends and allies.

An insurrectionary movement took place at Aranjuez on the 20th of March, when Godoy was thrown into prison, Ferdinand was proclaimed king, and Charles was easily induced to abdicate. Upon this revolution the Corsican child of revolution founded a pretence for interfering. He invited father, mother, son, and favourite to meet him at Bayonne. Charles and his queen went readily, but Ferdinand hesitated. Hereupon Bonaparte looked about him for an adroit kidnapper, that should, by force or by fraud, bring the prince into France. The choice naturally fell upon that notorious head of gendarmerie and secret police, Savary, who had presided over the murder of the Duke D'Enghien; and by his solemn asseverations of his master's honourable and friendly intentions, Savary gradually decoyed the weak prince from stage to stage, until he was beyond the Spanish frontier. A scene of duplicity and dishonesty, of indecent and most unnatural recrimination ensued between that disinterested arbiter, Bonaparte, the old king, the queen, and her son, which has scarcely a parallel in history. Charles resumed his character of king, stigmatizing Ferdinand as a rebellious son; the queen joined in reviling him at the expense of her own and her husband's honour; and Ferdinand, overwhelmed by insults and threats, renounced his claim to the crown of Spain on the 6th of May. After this renunciation the spiritless prince became a close state-prisoner in France. Charles likewise resigned all his royal rights "in favour of his friend and ally, the Emperor of the French;" and this part of the precious game was completed by Bonaparte's issuing a decree, whereby he appointed his "dearly beloved brother Joseph Napoleon, King of Naples and Sicily, to the crowns of Spain and the Indies." By a subsequent decree, he named "his dearly beloved cousin Joachim Murat, Grand-duke of Berg, to the throne of Naples and Sicily."

Advice had not been wanting to warn Bona-

parte of the perilous nature of his Spanish enterprise, and to prevent his rushing into that war which he himself afterwards called "that wretched war, the cause of my ruin!" Even Fouché, his police minister, and the man of whom he stood in most awe, pleaded strongly, but in vain, against the whole enterprise. The presumptuous conqueror replied that the character of the Spanish government was contemptible, that Charles IV. was imbecile, that Godoy was a scoundrel and unpopular, and that one good volley of French artillery would scatter the common people and the monks who led them on or excited them. He knew at the moment, or at least he afterwards seemed to admit, by the vast military preparations he made, and by the great precautions he took, that the fiery peasantry of Spain would not be so easily subdued or scattered; but his present object was simply to beat down the objection and opposition of Fouché, to whom he also exhibited the dazzling nature of the temptation which lay before him through the vices of the Spanish government, and the footing he was obtaining in the country, by means of the iniquitous treaty of Fontainebleau and the marching of his troops into Portugal. "My stake," said he, "the stake I play for, is immense! I will continue in my own dynasty the system of Louis XIV. and the Bourbons, and unite Spain for ever to the destinies of France. Remember, the sun never sets on the empire of Charles V.!"

Talleyrand also endeavoured to turn the wily man away from his project. The persuasive tone, the extensive information, the marvellous political sagacity of this minister, must have prevailed with almost any other sovereign; but they were thrown away upon one whose successes had driven him mad. Bonaparte complained of the pertinacity of Talleyrand; and Talleyrand now began to speak privately of Bonaparte as one who could not be served, because he would not listen to any advice that was contrary to a preconceived notion or to a cherished system. In a discussion on the affairs of Spain the Emperor of the French lost all respect for the high-born and able minister who had served him so long and so well, lost all command of his temper, and called Talleyrand "traitor" to his face. But that imperturbable, impassive face betrayed no more emotion than one of the marble statues in the Tuilleries garden. Talleyrand looked placidly out upon that garden and its statues from the window above; but when he went home he shrugged his shoulders and said, "This is the beginning of the end!" (*C'est le commencement de la fin.*) On the 9th of August, 1807, just eighteen days before the conclusion of the treaty of Fontainebleau, which was but a preparatory step to the greater but not more iniquitous Spanish

scheme, Talleyrand either voluntarily resigned or was dismissed from office; and Champagny, who was immeasurably inferior to him in all qualities except that of passive obedience, was put into his place. From this moment nearly all political wisdom and moderation disappeared from the councils of Bonaparte, who had been far more indebted to Talleyrand than French or any other historians seem inclined to allow.

The flames of insurrection—commencing at Madrid on the 2d of May—soon spread to New Castile, to Old Castile, to Navarre, to Andalusia, to Valencia, to Catalonia, to the Biscayan provinces, to every province and district in Spain; and they raged almost in every town excepting those occupied by strong French garrisons. From every part of that Peninsula there proceeded an earnest prayer for English assistance; and this aid was very soon granted them. In vain the native Spanish ministers, and other authorities whom Bonaparte had appointed to aid his brother in the task of government, issued manifestoes to assure the people that they would gain immensely by these political changes, that the French aimed at nothing but the good of their country, that their holy church and their ancient usages would be respected, revered; in vain these unnational Spaniards sent out agents to make converts, and get up a party for King Joseph; their manifestoes were spit upon and torn to pieces, their agents wherever they were detected by the people were slaughtered, and they themselves, ministers and high functionaries, or grandees, as they were, could not show their faces outside of the walls of Madrid, unless they were shielded by a body of French troops. After Murat had taken his departure, the management of a large party of the French army fell to Savary and other men who had little of his soldier-like magnanimity, who encouraged rather than checked the fury of the troops, exasperated by the frequent deaths of their comrades, cut off singly or in straggling parties; and who adopted as a principle that so unfriendly and stubborn a people was to be subjugated only by fire and sword. As in Calabria, cruelty begat cruelty, excess, excess: from the beginning of the conflict between the French and Spaniards to the end of it, it was a war of wild beasts; nor could the British officers ever convince the Spanish peasantry that they ought not to torture and then butcher the treacherous kidnappers of their king, the unprovoked invaders of their country. It was utterly hopeless to talk to them of the usages of civilized warfare. They were not civilized; and never was a more maddening provocation given to a naturally fierce people than that which was given to the Spaniards by the treacherous manner in which their country was invaded, and in the ruthless

way in which the war was very soon carried on by the French.

Even before a terrible explosion at Madrid, in which the streets were cleared by the French with grape-shot, and temporary tranquillity restored by wholesale executions, a popular insurrection had broken out in Toledo, where men once made good sword-blades, and still knew how to use them. When the intrusive King Joseph crossed the frontiers, surrounded by a French and Italian army, he found no Spaniard to welcome him, or say, "God bless you." At Vittoria the townspeople seemed disposed to prevent his entrance, and would certainly have fallen upon him but for his artillery and troops. He entered Madrid on the 20th of July, and on the 24th of that month he was proclaimed king. But by this time a local Spanish government was established at Seville, which took to itself the title of "Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies," renewed the oath of allegiance to Ferdinand VII., issued a formal declaration of war against the usurper Joseph, called upon all Spaniards between the ages of sixteen and forty-five to flee to arms, summoned some veteran Spanish troops, at the camp of St. Roque, under the Rock of Gibraltar, to march to Seville; and ordered General the Marquis of Solano to attack and seize a French squadron of five sail of the line and a frigate, which had taken refuge in the harbour of Cadiz from the pursuit of the English. Solano hesitated, incurred the fatal suspicion of being a French partizan, and was murdered by the people of Cadiz. Nearly at the same time, and on account of the same suspicion, Count d'Aguilar was butchered by the people of Seville. Don T. Morla, who succeeded to the Marquis of Solano's command, seized all the French ships, and made prisoners of all the officers and crews, having refused English assistance. Before receiving the summons of the Seville junta, and even before the formation of that governing body, General Castaños, who commanded the army of Andalusia at St. Roque, had adopted the resolution of resisting the French, and applied (not vainly) to English officers for aid and assistance.

On the 4th of June, the birth-day of George III., a proclamation was issued from the queen's palace at Buckingham House, stating that his majesty, having taken into consideration the glorious resolution of the Spaniards to deliver their country from the tyranny and usurpation of France, and the assurances his majesty had received from several of the provinces of Spain of their friendly disposition towards England, he was pleased to order that all hostilities against Spain should immediately cease. On the 9th of June, Admiral Lord Collingwood, who

had been watching Toulon, came down to Gibraltar with two ships of the line, being attracted thither by intelligence he had obtained of the rapid progress of the Spanish insurrection, and by letters he had received from Sir Hew Dalrymple, the governor. On the 10th, Collingwood went through the straits to Cadiz, to take the command of the whole of the fleet assembled there, and to give such encouragement and such supplies as he could spare. He carried with him Major Cox, whom Sir Hew Dalrymple had selected to reside as confidential agent at Seville. Collingwood, who admired and loved the good parts of the Spanish character, was not blind to its defects; and though he had great hopes that this universal rising would be attended with important results, he very clearly foresaw that numerous and great errors would be committed, and that the struggle would not end quite so soon as men of more hope and less knowledge and experience seemed to imagine. When the war of independence began, the organized Spanish force was roughly estimated at 127,000 men of all arms; but of this number 15,000 men were far away, serving and shivering under the banner of Bonaparte, in Holstein and other regions of the Baltic; and nearly 20,000, concentrated in Portugal, were obeying the orders of Junot. Of the 92,000 or thereabouts that remained, not less than 30,000 were mere militia; but about 11,000 were Swiss infantry, with all the discipline, steadiness, and bravery for which Helvetic troops have always been celebrated. Thus the number of native regular troops actually on foot on the soil of Spain did not exceed 61,000 men; and these, for the most part, were but indifferently officered by off-shoots of the Spanish aristocracy, who were impatient of fatigue and of subordination, and who, speaking generally, and with due honour to the exceptions, possessed but few essential military qualities. There was another capital deficiency; in the whole Spanish army there was not a single staff deserving of the name—their staffs were sticks. These troops were widely dispersed in different parts of the kingdom; but the largest body among them happily chanced to be on the southern side of the Sierra Morena and in Andalusia. In addition to the 30,000 militia, there was a sort of local reserve, called *Los Urbanos*, or *Urban Militia*, a most irregular and motley force, but which, though not worth much in the field, could supply the place of better troops in the towns. At the same moment, or in the month of May, the French army, exclusive of the 30,000 men in Portugal with Junot, was about 80,000 strong; but not more than 70,000 were capable of service in the field, the rest being in the hospitals or in the depôts. There were some of Bonaparte's best men, im-

perial guards and veteran regiments of the line; but the much larger number was made up of conscripts, Swiss, Italians, Poles, and even Portuguese, whom Junot had forcibly levied. But at Bayonne, ready to march into Spain at any moment, was an army of reserve, under General Drouet, more than 20,000 strong; and, close in the rear of this army of reserve, other French corps were collected. The French army, too, like the Spanish, was at first scattered over a wide extent of country.

Upon entering into Catalonia, General Duhesme found himself involved in a destructive partizan war, waged by the indomitable peasantry of the mountains. It fell to the lot of Marshal Bessières to fight the first battle that was fought against the Spanish patriots. With far more enthusiasm and valour than prudence, the old Spanish general, Cuesta, with his raw levies and a few Walloon regiments, and without any cavalry, risked a general action at Rio Seco, a few leagues from Valladolid, and sustained a complete defeat: this was on the 14th of June. But on the 22d of July the French general, Dupont, who had attempted to penetrate into Andalusia, and who had been completely surrounded and worsted in several combats, by the Andalusian army of Castaños and by clouds of armed peasants, was compelled to lay down his arms. From 18,000 to 19,000 were thus made prisoners, with their artillery, baggage, and all they had. It was long since the French had sustained so signal a disgrace. The news of this battle of Baylen and of Dupont's surrender flew like lightning to the Spanish capital, diffusing a joy and triumph which was not to be repressed by the presence and the oppressions of the French. A council of war was called by Joseph, and then and there it was determined to abandon Madrid, to retire behind the Ebro, and to establish court and head-quarters in the city of Vittoria, which lies at a conveniently short distance from the French frontier. The intrusive king had not been a fortnight in his new capital when he was thus compelled to flee from it. The retreat of the French from Madrid began on the 1st of August; but General Castaños did not enter that city until the 23d. Among the many important results of the affair of Baylen and the flight of King Joseph, was the raising of the memorable siege of Saragossa. This ancient capital of the kingdom of Aragon, though miserably fortified, had resisted 15,000 Frenchmen for the space of two months, and had inflicted on them a terrific loss. The Spanish women had fought like heroic men; and the fair Augustina, the far-famed maid of Saragossa, had served on the batteries. When the French general, Verdier, thinking the town more than half taken, had sent to propose

a capitulation, Palafox, the governor, had replied, "Guerra al cuchillo!"—War to the knife!

Nor was Duhesme more successful in the siege of Gerona. Assisted by Admiral Lord Collingwood, the Catalans foiled all this French general's efforts, and reduced his army to a wretched state of disorganization. Marshal Moncey also failed in his operations in Valencia. But the Spanish general, Serbelloni, imprudently risking a battle in the open field with badly disciplined troops, sustained a complete defeat. These details will be sufficient to convey a notion of the manner in which the war was carried on by the Spaniards so long as they were left to act in the field by themselves. Notwithstanding the affair of Baylen, which raised their self-confidence to a giddy and dangerous elevation, and some other encounters in which, mainly through the advantages of ground and other local circumstances, they had a decided advantage, it was on the whole very clearly demonstrated that there was little military genius among the Spanish commanders, that a Spanish army could not yet contend in the open field with veteran French troops, and that *all* the Spaniards fought best when covered by walls and strong stone houses. But by this time British bayonets were glittering on the shores of the Peninsula; and General Sir Arthur Wellesley was preparing to enter upon a career far greater and more glorious than his Indian one had been.

The French had rendered themselves as odious in Portugal as in Spain. A national rising, which commenced at Oporto, spread rapidly into Tras os Montes, Minho, Beira, and Algarve. The people and students of Coimbra, enthusiastically flew to arms, submitting to the junta of Oporto as the legitimate government; the people of Alemtejo followed the example of the people of Algarve, and both were supported by a body of Spanish troops which crossed the frontiers at an opportune moment. Junot, whose head was never very clear, became completely bewildered, and his subordinates only increased the popular fury by the indiscriminate massacres they committed. The Portuguese called upon their ancient allies. On the 1st of August, General Wellesley landed near the town of Figueira. On the 5th, General Spencer joined him from Cadiz, with about 4000 men, thus raising the entire force under Sir Arthur's command to 13,000 foot and 400 or 500 horse.

The French forces at this time in Portugal consisted of from 16,000 to 18,000 men; but, deducting the garrisons of Elvas, Peniche, Setubal, and other places, there remained only about 14,000 men for the defence of Lisbon and its approaches. Their communications were cut off from their countrymen in Spain; for, since the surrender of Dupont, the Spanish patriots were

masters of Andalusia and Estremadura; and in Old Castile the French corps under Bessières had not advanced farther than Benavente, being observed by the Spanish army of Galicia. A clear stage was therefore left for the contest in Portugal between Wellesley and Junot, whose respective disposable forces were nearly equal, except that the French had the advantage of a considerable body of cavalry, an arm in which the English were almost entirely wanting. On the 9th of August Sir Arthur began his march southward for Lisbon. On the 16th the French general, Delaborde attempted to make a stand at Roliga, but he was soon driven back with loss of men and guns. The French troops had been told that the English soldiers were nought, and that their general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, was but a s-poy-general, who might beat Indian sultans and rajahs, but was altogether incapable of contending against French commanders, who had risen out of the revolution, and had been trained under the Emperor Napoleon; but the precision of movement, the unflinching steadiness, the regularity and the quickness of their firing, undeceived them, and displayed the real qualities of British infantry; while all those who understood anything of the business of war saw a high directing mind, and felt that the sepo-general was a great master in the art of war. Steadily pressing forward, Sir Arthur reached Vimeira on the 19th, and was there joined on the 20th by Generals Anstruther and Ackland, with two brigades freshly arrived from England. This raised his force to about 17,000 British, besides 1700 Portuguese. But Junot, by calling in his garrisons, had now a force numerically equal or nearly equal to this, and he retained his superiority in cavalry, as also in artillery. But what was of more consequence than all, just at this critical moment Sir Arthur Wellesley was superseded in the chief command by a very inferior personage, Lieutenant-general Sir Harry Burrard.

As soon as it was resolved at home to raise the British army in the Peninsula to 30,000, ministers gave the chief command to Lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, as acting governor of Gibraltar, had so promptly aided Castaños and the Spanish army of Andalusia; and they appointed Sir Harry Burrard to be Sir Hew's second in command, leaving Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, who had just returned from a fruitless expedition to the Baltic, and who was now on his way to the Peninsula, and Lieutenant-generals Sir Arthur Wellesley, the Honourable John Hope, Lord Paget, and Mackenzie Frazer to command respective divisions of the army. Wellesley was thus reduced from first to fourth. Accidents, and the order in which the new-appointed generals arrived made a bad scheme worse. Sir Harry

Burrard arrived first; on the evening of the 26th he came to Maceira Bay near Vimeira. Sir Arthur immediately went on board, and reported to Sir Harry the situation of the army and his own intended plan of operations, which was to continue marching along the coast-road as far as Mafra. No plan could have been better; no reinforcements were wanting, the British, without counting either the Portuguese regulars or the insurgent peasantry for anything, being rather superior in number to the French in front of them, and elated by the success they had obtained at Roliça. There was probably not a man or an officer in the army but was anxious to advance. Sir Harry Burrard, however, thought differently, being of opinion that no further advance ought to be made till the arrival of the reinforcements under Sir John Moore. But the enemy in the

clined assuming the command, or any way interfering with Sir Arthur Wellesley's disposition till the enemy was repulsed. But then, when the French were running off, almost in a *saute qui peut* disorder, when Major-general Ronald Ferguson on the left was close upon them, when General Hill was ready to spring forward by a shorter road than the French could take upon Torres Vedras (which must have cut them off from Lisbon, and perhaps have obliged them to lay down their arms), and when General Wellesley would have followed up his victory by a general and rapid movement forward, Sir Harry Burrard demurred, thought it unwise to hazard the fortune of the day upon what he considered a perilous throw—thought it advisable not to move any farther, especially on account of the superiority of the French cavalry—thought it best of all

to suspend offensive operations, and to wait in the position of Vimeira until the arrival of Sir John Moore. Accordingly General Ferguson was ordered to desist from pursuit, General Hill was called in; and the French officers, to their great astonishment, were allowed to rally their men, and make good their retreat to the always admirable position of Torres Vedras. On the next day, the 22d, Sir Hew Dalrymple, arriving in a frigate from Gibraltar, landed in Maceira Bay, and superseded Sir Harry Burrard, as Sir Harry had superseded Sir Arthur Wellesley. Thus, owing to the unwise arrangements of our



VIMEIRA.—From Landmann's Historical and Military Observations on Portugal

meantime was bringing the question to a speedy issue. With 15,000 men and with generals far abler than himself, Junot advanced from Torres Vedras, and at ten o'clock in the morning of the 21st of August, he fell upon the British at Vimeira. In two hours the affair was decided, and Junot's 15,000 men were completely routed by about one-half of the British force. The French left on the field 1800 killed and wounded, many prisoners, and fourteen cannon. The first British brigade, by a masked movement, had got two miles nearer to Torres Vedras than was any part of the French army, and the whole of that army, moreover, was in the greatest confusion. There was abundant time and an admirable opportunity to annihilate Junot; but Sir Harry Burrard had landed, and had brought with him the depressing, nightmare-like influences of senility and irresolution. Sir Harry had been present on the field during part of the engagement, but he had de-

own government, and to chances which they ought to have foreseen, the army, within twenty-four hours, had successively three commanders-in-chief! The time for prosecuting the victory was gone before Sir Hew Dalrymple came ashore; and popular clamour was guilty of great injustice towards Sir Hew both with regard to the battle of Vimeira and the convention which followed it.

In the course of the 22d General Kellermann appeared at the British head-quarters, with a flag of truce, to propose in the name of Junot an armistice, preparatory to a convention for the entire evacuation of Portugal by the French, with their arms and baggage. The terms were discussed between Kellermann and Sir Hew Dalrymple; Sir Harry Burrard and Sir Arthur Wellesley both being present. In the end the suspension of arms was agreed upon to terminate at forty-eight hours' notice; and Sir Hew directed General Wellesley to sign this agreement. On

the 23d, Sir Hew and the army made a forward movement from Vimeira to Ramalhal, near Torres Vedras, but within the boundary stipu-

This, with the arrival of Sir John Moore and his 20,000 men in Maceira Bay, startled Junot, who at one moment had thought of defending the strong position of Torres Vedras, and at another of crossing the Tagus, and throwing his forces into Elvas. On the 29th, the term for the suspension of hostilities having expired, Sir Hew moved his head quarters to Torres Vedras, from which the French had withdrawn. On the 30th, Junot at last signed the treaty, and the definitive convention was ratified by Sir Hew Dalrymple, at Torres Vedras, on the 31st. Sir Arthur Wellesley was not present at this final ratification, having moved to the left very early in the morning, and being now at Sobral with his division.



TORRES VEDRAS —From Vivian's Scenery of Portugal and Spain

lated by the armistice which he had ordered Sir Arthur Wellesley to sign

Junot still talked very high, and endeavoured to gain time, but on the morning of the 27th instructions were sent to Colonel George Murray at Lisbon to break off the negotiation if Junot should be found obstinate, and to tell him, that in no case the armistice would be prolonged for a more extended period than twenty four hours

We have his own words, in various forms, for the assurance of the fact, that, after the fatal orders of Sir Harry Burrard on the field of Vimeira (orders with which Dalrymple had nothing to do, as he was many miles off at sea in his frigate), he approved of a convention allowing the French to evacuate Portugal; that he felt that the favourable moment for pushing upon the French had been lost, that, if they could not be



GENERAL VIEW OF LISBON from near Almada —From a drawing by William Tebbin

brought to evacuate the country by sea, they might either defend themselves desperately within Lisbon, or cross to Elvas and Almeida, which, being places regularly fortified, would have required regular and long sieges, during which the British army could not have been made available in Spain, where the presence of a part of it was

earnestly desired by some of the Spaniards, and whether the British government was very eager that some corps should go as quickly as possible.¹ It was not against the convention itself, but against the monstrous folly which made it necessary, and against some particular clauses of, and

¹ See Colonel Gurwood, *Wellington Despatches*.

omissions in the definitive treaty, that he was indignant. He wrote to Lord Castlereagh that the treaty had been altered, but not as he thought it ought to have been; that ten days after the battle of Vimeira the army was not farther advanced than it could or ought to have been on the night of the 21st; that matters were not prospering; that he felt an earnest desire to quit the army; that he had been too successful with this army ever to serve with it in a subordinate situation.

The forts on the Tagus were taken possession of on the 2d of September by the British troops, and the port of Lisbon was then opened to our shipping. On the 8th or 9th, one of our corps marched into Lisbon, in the midst of popular acclamations and rejoicings, to secure tranquillity, during the embarkation of the enemy. Transports being collected, the French presently began to depart; and except their last division, detained by orders from England, they were all sent off before the end of September.

Both long and loud was the popular vociferation in England against the whole of the convention, misnamed of Cintra. No measure, indeed, was ever more universally reprobated, or less understood or inquired into. Nor was this a merely popular outcry; soldiers, and statesmen, and secretaries of state, shared in the violence, and both court and cabinet swelled the chorus. At first all were blamed, and no exception was made in favour of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The government appointed a board of inquiry, consisting of four generals and three lieutenant-generals. Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard were recalled, in order to be examined by this board, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had already asked and obtained leave to return home, was also examined at his own desire. The court of inquiry assembled in the great hall of Chelsea College on Monday, the 14th of November, and continued sitting, with adjournments, until the 27th of December. The final report stated that

however some of the members of the court might differ respecting the fitness of the convention, they were unanimously of opinion that "unquestionable zeal and firmness appeared throughout to have been exhibited by Lieutenant-generals Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, Sir Arthur Wellesley," &c.

But neither the ministry nor the court, neither the parliament nor the people, assented to the very inconclusive award of the board of inquiry. All, or nearly all, now agreed as to the honour that was due unto Sir Arthur Wellesley, and in the opinion that, if Sir Harry Burrard had not interfered with him on the field of Vimeira, there would have been no convention, but an unconditional surrender on the part of Junot. But there was much less fairness in allotting the dishonour or the blame. We know not to what prejudices or influences in high quarters it was owing that an undue portion of censure and severity fell upon Sir Hew Dalrymple; we only know the facts that Lord Castlereagh and the king both declared themselves strongly against him, that ministers turned him out as a scape-goat, and that a very severe censure was addressed to him in his majesty's name. Sir Harry Burrard, who was a hundredfold more censurable, immediately resumed the military command of the London district, which he had held before he was sent to Portugal.

After the sitting of the court of inquiry, Sir Arthur Wellesley, whose sharp, concise answers before the board showed the clearness of his head and the firmness of his heart, resumed the duties of his office as chief secretary for Ireland, seeming determined to devote himself entirely to home politics and administration. He went over to Ireland in December; and when parliament assembled in January he returned and took his seat. But most men felt that his more fitting place would be at the seat of war, and the disastrous occurrences in the Peninsula soon strengthened this conviction.

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1808—1809.

GEORGE III.

Sir John Moore appointed to the command of the British army in Spain—He is joined by Sir David Baird—Incapacity and disasters of the Spaniards—Moore misled by erroneous representations—Conference between Bonaparte and the Emperor of Russia at Erfurt—Bonaparte repairs to Spain—The Marquis Romana and his troops extricated from French service—Bonaparte's successes over the Spaniards—He enters Madrid—He replaces Joseph on the throne of Spain—Sir John Moore advances under false intelligence—His rapid retreat—His arrival at Coruña—Battle of Coruña—Death of Sir John Moore—Safe embarkation of his army—Despondence occasioned in England by the Spanish campaign—The war establishment increased—Charges of Colonel Wardle against the Duke of York as commander-in-chief—The inquiry into the proceeding at the Horse-guards—The duke resigns office—He is succeeded as commander-in-chief by Sir David Dundas—The British war in Spain continued—Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed to the command of the British army in Spain—State of the war at his arrival in Portugal—His remarkable passage across the Douro—He dislodges Soult from Oporto—Soult's disastrous retreat into Spain—Sir Arthur Wellesley enters Spain—His successful advance—His victory over the French at Talavera—He retreats across the Tagus—Sir Arthur raised to the peerage as Viscount Wellington—A British expedition sent to Holland—Its capture of Flushing—Abortive results of the expedition—Flushing evacuated by the British—A diversion effected by a British army in Italy—The Calabrians rise against Murat—They are aided by the British—Operations of the British troops and insurgents on the coast of Naples—They capture the islands of Procida and Ischia—Their capture of Zante and other islands—British captures in the West Indies—The war of Austria against France—Bonaparte enters Vienna—Battle of Aspern—Peace of Schönbrunn—Its conditions—Rome annexed by Bonaparte to the kingdom of Italy—The pope carried off a prisoner to France.



FEW days after the battle of Vimeira despatches arrived in Portugal from Lord Castlereagh, containing the appointment of Sir John Moore to the command of the British troops to be employed in Spain. On the 6th of October, Sir John received more explicit instructions, the secretary-at-war informing him that his army of 20,000 men was to be employed in the northern provinces of Spain, "to co-operate with the *Spanish armies* in the expulsion of the French from that kingdom." Lord Castlereagh also intimated that an additional corps of 10,000 men under Sir David Baird was about to sail for Coruna. Marching through Portugal in the worst of weather, over execrable roads, and with no proper guides, Sir John Moore crossed the boundary between that kingdom and Spain on the 11th of November, and on the 13th he reached Salamanca.

In the meantime Sir David Baird with his 10,000 men had reached the northern coast of Spain. Sir David had anchored at Coruña on the 13th of October; but to his great surprise, the supreme junta of Galicia refused to allow his troops to be landed; and he was informed that the assent of the central government, or junta now sitting at Madrid, must be obtained previously. This unfriendly treatment proceeded from Spanish vainglory and conceit, and from the prevalent notion that their own troops could drive the French beyond the Pyrenees without

the assistance of foreign auxiliaries. It took a deal of beating to drive this conceit out of them. For fourteen long days Sir David Baird's 10,000 men were kept cooped up in the transports in the harbour of Coruña. At last a courier arrived from the dons at Madrid, who, after mature deliberation, thought fit to grant leave to the army to land. Baird had been sent on this expedition without specie, and Moore had been supplied only with £25,000. He was, however, under the necessity of transmitting £8000 to Baird to enable him to move from Coruña.

Before Moore began his march from Coimbra, he was assured that the French, weak in numbers and in organization, were lying behind the river Ebro, menaced by superior Spanish armies, that were all elated with success, and quite capable of preventing any advance of the enemy; but on the very day after his arrival at Salamanca he got accounts of the defeat of the Conde de Belveder in front of Burgos; and two nights after this, news was brought to him that the Spanish general, Blake, had risked his army and lost it at Espinosa, on the borders of the Asturias. Thus two of the armies with which he had been ordered to co-operate were already no more; no communication reached him from Castaños; none were transmitted him from the Spanish government at Madrid; and the ingenious author of *Whistlecraft* seems to have continued his doze on the banks of the Manzanares. Mr. John Hookham Frere, our accredited minister at Madrid, was a man of wit and genius, but absent-

minded, constitutionally indolent, and assuredly never meant by nature for a diplomatist. He miserably misled the general in the field, being himself misled and duped by the prating Spanish politicians of Madrid, and by the not over-honest members of the central junta. Everything corresponding with this bad beginning, the expedition of Sir John Moore could not prove otherwise than unfortunate. By this time the British government had supplied Spain with 200,000 muskets, with ammunition in proportion, with clothing, and with 16,000,000 hard dollars; Mr. Frere had delivered 2,000,000 dollars for the sole use of the Spaniards in the north, among whom Moore now found himself; yet our general could derive no assistance from these people. The Spanish armies in other parts were in a state of destitution and nakedness, and were lying scattered all about. "These provinces," said Sir John, "are not armed; and, as to enthusiasm, I have seen no marks of it."

While Moore was thus desponding at Salamanca, Bonaparte in person was crossing the Pyrenees, with 70,000 more men.

In the month of September the Emperor of the French had repaired to Erfurt to hold conferences with the Emperor of Russia. The subjects of their conferences were carefully concealed; but it was generally understood that the question of Spain and the fate of Turkey were agitated, without reference to any other principle than that of the advantage and aggrandizement of the two emperors. It should also seem that it was understood between them that Alexander should not interfere in the Spanish question, and that Napoleon should allow him in return to encroach on the trans-Danubian provinces of the sultan; for, shortly after this meeting at Erfurt, Russian troops were again poured into Wallachia and Moldavia. The two emperors wrote a joint letter to the King of England, inviting him to a speedy pacification, but laying down no basis for negotiation, and offering no conditions for our allies. To this doubly imperial, but really insignificant epistle, not George III., but Mr. Canning, his secretary for foreign affairs, replied in two spirited notes, one addressed to the Russian, the other to the French minister for foreign affairs. From Erfurt Bonaparte hastened back to Paris, and there told his senate that he and the Emperor of Russia were irrevocably united in the bond of alliance. This was on the 18th of October. On the 25th he opened the session of the *corps législatif*, and told that soulless body that he was going in person to take charge of the Spanish war, and drive the English out of Portugal. He used a style which he had already worn threadbare, but which he could not use too often—"The hideous presence of the English leopards

contaminates the continent of Spain and Portugal. I go to place myself at the head of my armies, to crown my brother at Madrid, and to plant the French eagles on the ramparts of Lisbon!" Two days after this he set out for the Pyrenees. Troops had been for some time collecting on that frontier; for, still anticipating his vital resources, Bonaparte had called out two conscriptions. The very *élite* of his immense army was now to engage in this momentous struggle. Before they arrived in the country which was destined to be the grave of most of them, a small army of native Spanish veterans and patriots was wafted to the shores of the Peninsula in English ships. At the time when Spain and her resources were entirely at the disposal of Bonaparte, Manuel Godoy had sent General the Marquis de la Romana, with 15,000 men, to serve the French on the shores of the Baltic, or wherever else the conqueror might choose to employ them. These Spanish troops were quartered in Holstein, Schleswig, Jutland, and the islands of Funen, Zealand, and Langeland, when Mr. M'Kenzie, an agent employed by the British ministers, opened a communication with Romana by means of a Catholic priest. The Spanish general was incensed at the iniquitous proceedings at Bayonne; his soldiers were equally indignant; and all were most heartily sick of their exile in Denmark and those Baltic regions. A plan was ingeniously concerted and most ably executed. The marquis, with from 9000 to 10,000 of his men, after being aided by Admiral Sir R. Keats, got safely on board our Baltic fleet, commanded by Sir James Saumarez. Touching at England, where the marquis received a most enthusiastic welcome, he proceeded to San Andero, and there landed his men, who were equipped from the English stores, and were then sent in divisions to join Blake's army in Biscay.

On the 8th of November, Bonaparte arrived at his brother's head-quarters in the city of Vittoria, and took the entire direction of the campaign. On the 23d of November was fought the battle of Tudela, in which the armies of Castaños and Palafox were quickly thrown into disorder, put to flight, and savagely slaughtered by the French cavalry. Plundering the towns through which they passed, and shooting every Spaniard they caught in arms (Bonaparte having given an express and standing order to that effect), some of the French columns marched forward to drive out the central junta and take possession of Madrid.

Having done nothing when they had time to do it, the central junta now precipitated measures in the most hurried and confused manner, issuing a multitude of orders, some of which were not understood, and very few of which were at-

tended to, partly through the despair which seemed to have fallen upon the Spanish people, and partly through the shortness of time that was allowed them. On the 29th of November, Bonaparte had his head-quarters at a village upon the outer skirts of Somosierra. On the 30th the principal pass was carried, the 6000 Spaniards entrenched at Sepulveda fleeing before a charge of Polish lancers. On the morning of the 2d of December, Bessières, with the French cavalry, came within sight of Madrid, and took possession of the heights; and at noon on the same day, being the anniversary of his coronation, the Emperor of the French arrived. The town was immediately summoned. There was a great noise and a show of resistance; but early in the morning of the 4th of December, Don T. Morla, who was both a traitor and a coward, and who had played upon the credulity of Mr. Frere, came forth with a capitulation, and Madrid surrendered. Joseph Bonaparte entered that capital in the tail of the French army; but, though all seemed quiet and submissive, he dreaded insurrection and assassination; and, while his brother went to look after Sir John Moore, he retired, well-guarded, to the royal palace at St. Ildefonso.

The situation of the English general was critical in the extreme. On the 28th of November, Sir John received vague intelligence of the unexpected dispersion of all the Spanish armies, and of the rapid advance of Bonaparte with overwhelming forces upon Madrid. As there appeared no longer any army in the north of Spain with which he could combine, he prepared for a retreat into Portugal. But Mr. Frere continued to urge his advance, grossly misstating the French force, and representing the Spaniards at Madrid as full of resolution and heroism.¹ Two Spanish generals arrived at Salamanca to assure Moore that the army of San Juan was in excellent case. But, before these two generals and a letter from Morla came to hand, the French were undisputed masters of the capital; and the army of San Juan existed nowhere except upon paper, for the troops had fled pusillanimously, and had murdered—at Talavera—their own general, reputed the best officer in the Spanish service. There is every reason for believing that Don T. Morla's letter, which was dated on the 2d of December, the very day that he actually began negotiating terms for surrendering Madrid, was dictated by some of Bonaparte's people, or was written and

sent to serve that conqueror, by drawing the British army into a snare. Continuing in his moral stone-blindness, Mr. Frere took into his confidence a certain French adventurer and spy, named Charmilly, who had secret relations with the traitor Morla, and even sent him to Sir John's cantonments. In the end, Moore was induced to believe that Madrid, instead of having surrendered without firing a gun, was really standing a siege; that the Spanish generals were concentrating their scattered forces, and that the French army was far less considerable than had been reported. On the 6th of December he wrote to Sir David Baird, who had retreated as far as Villafraña, to concentrate his troops and return to Astorga. "I mean," said Moore, "to proceed bridle in hand; for if the bubble bursts *we shall have a run for it.*" And the bubble did burst. Advancing to Benavente, and then to the banks of the Carion with less than 24,000 men, Moore, on the 25th of December, found Bonaparte and 100,000 men closing upon him by four different routes. The French had fully expected to surprise and surround him; but notwithstanding his amazing rapidity, Bonaparte arrived twelve hours too late. On the 26th, Moore commenced his retreat for Coruña. On the 1st of January, Bonaparte had advanced as far as Astorga.

From the heights behind Astorga, A.D. 1809. the Emperor of the French could discover the now confused rear of the retreating British army; but he was exceedingly wroth that Moore, by his rapid movements, should have escaped him; and circumstances had arisen in a distant part of the world which prevented his enjoying the satisfaction of pursuing the most cordially hated of all his enemies. Despatches arrived from Paris and from other places, which left no doubt as to the intention of Austria to take the field against him; and therefore, on the 2d, intrusting the pursuit of Moore to Soult, he turned away from Benavente to Valladolid, whence he travelled with almost incredible speed to his own capital, cursing all the way the efficiency of English policy, alliances, and subsidies, to which solely he attributed the war with which he was now threatened in Germany and Italy. But even after his emperor's departure Soult had 60,000 men and ninety-one guns to put in the track of Moore; and he lost no time in precipitating these masses through Galicia. His cavalry was very soon close upon the British rear; and

¹ *Parliamentary Papers.* "Mr. Frere had come out to Spain impressed with false notions of what was passing in that country, and tenaciously clinging to the pictures of his imagination, he resented the intrusion of reason and spurned at facts. The defeat of the Conde de Belveder at Gamonal—a defeat that broke the centre of the Spanish line, uncovered the flank and rear of Castaños's army, opened a way to Madrid, and rendered the concentration of the British divisions unsafe if not impos-

ible—he curiously called the 'unlucky affair of the 10th at Burgos.' After the battle of Tudela, he estimated the whole French army on the side of Burgos and Valladolid at 11,000 men, when they were above 100,000! and yet, with information so absurdly defective, he was prompt to interfere with, and eager to control, the military combinations of the general (Sir John Moore), which were founded upon the true and acknowledged principles of the art of war."—*Napier.*

the whole of that army, from excessive privation and suffering, from the murmurs and misconduct of many of the officers, and from the despondency generally induced by such a retreat, was becoming every day demoralized. They had hardly any provisions with them; they could obtain little or nothing except sour wine, in that famine-stricken country; the roads were wretched, and covered with deep snow; when it did not snow it rained in torrents; the cold on the mountains was intense; and many of the sick, and many of the women and children who had been allowed to follow the army in spite of Sir John's orders, lay down by the roadside and died. Yet, wherever or whenever the French came up to fight, the British formed in good order and beat them off. At last, on the 13th of January, Moore got sight of the sea and of Coruña; but his evil star was still predominant; a fleet of transports, in which his army could have been quickly embarked in safety, was not there, but detained by contrary winds at Vigo, and there were only a few small vessels in the harbour. He, however, pressed forward to the town and put his wearied troops into quarters. The town of Coruña was weakly fortified, and commanded on one side by some heights. Some general officers thought that even now the campaign must end in a convention. But such thoughts were far from the mind of Moore, who strengthened the weak side of the town, occupied the citadel, put the worst of his sick on board the few vessels in the harbour, and made the best dispositions to fight the French and secure his embarkation by a general action. In the evening of the 14th, the transports hove in sight; but it was now impossible to think of embarking without fighting a battle, or abandoning a great portion of the army as a rear-guard; for Soult had come up, was crowning the hills, and his light troops were skirmishing close outside the town. In the course of this night and following morning, the remainder of the sick, the dismounted cavalry, and fifty-two pieces of artillery, were safely embarked, Moore retaining on shore only eight English and four Spanish guns for action. During the night of the 15th, Soult

with great difficulty established a battery of eleven heavy guns, on some rocks which closed the left of his line. At one o'clock in the afternoon of the 16th, he began his attack on the right wing of the British with about 20,000 men. Moore had only 14,500 under arms—all foot soldiers and full of ardour. Sir John rode up to the 42d, and said, "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" At these words the 42d rushed forward, driving the French before them. Early in the fight Sir David Baird had his arm shattered with grape-

shot, and was forced to quit the field. Not long after, at a point where the battle was raging very fiercely, Sir John Moore was struck on the shoulder and left breast by a cannon-ball. He fell from his horse, and was soon carried by some weeping Highlanders to his lodgings at Coruña. The battle continued until the French fell back in confusion, leaving the ground thickly strewn with their killed and wounded. Soult had consumed nearly all the ammunition he had brought up with him. Sir John Hope, upon whom the command devolved, thought it best to avail himself of the present disorder of the French, and get his own army on board the transports during the night; and this difficult operation was effected without delay and without confusion. The arrangements for embarkation had all been previously made by Moore, and they were complete and admirable. Before the troops began to embark, their beloved leader was dead. At



SIR JOHN MOORE¹

midnight the mortal remains were carried to the citadel by Colonel Graham, Major Colborne, and the aides-de-camp. A grave was dug by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-de-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured, as the Spaniards never use any; so the body was never undressed, but wrapped up by the officers of his staff in blankets and a military cloak. Towards eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th some firing was heard in the distance. The simple funeral rites were then hastened, lest a serious attack should be made, which would oblige the officers to quit the body and prevent

¹ From the statue in bronze, by John Flaxman, R.A., erected by his fellow-citizens, in George Square, Glasgow.

their paying the last sad duties to their chief. The officers of his own staff bore the body to the grave, which the soldiers had dug on the rampart: the funeral-service was read by the chaplain, and then the earth was thrown in, and the grave closed by the soldiers.

When the morning dawned, the French, discovering that the British line had quitted its position, pushed forward some battalions to the heights of Santa Lucia; and, about noon, they got up some cannon to a rising ground near the harbour, and fired at the transports. At two o'clock in the afternoon General Hill's protecting brigade embarked under the citadel. During that night and the following morning General Beresford, who kept possession of the citadel, sent off all the sick and wounded whose condition admitted of their being removed: and about noon on the 18th this rear-guard got into the boats and reached the fleet in safety. The inhabitants had undertaken to maintain the town, but it appears that the French made no effort to attack it, or to interrupt the embarkation. The enemy were no doubt kept in awe by the presence of some English line-of-battle ships. When all were on board, the admiral made the signal for sailing, and the transports, under a strong convoy, sailed for England.

In the battle of Coruna the English lost from 800 to 1000 men, the French from 2000 to 3000. Our troops had never fought better.

Thus ended the retreat to Coruna, and the first campaign of the English in Spain (during the present war; for the exploits of Lord Peterborough and General Stanhope in Queen Anne's time must not be forgotten). Our greatest captain has said that he could discover only one error in Moore's campaign—his not sufficiently providing for retreat when he advanced against Soult.¹

The great Whig organ in the north had not waited till now to cast discredit upon the war in the Peninsula and our interference in it; to declare despondingly that, after all, we must expect to fight the battle with Bonaparte on our own shores; that Ireland must be torn from us, and that even the most unsuccessful war which France could carry on in this commercial country must be attended with the most dreadful of consequences. The same organ or luminary had, at the beginning of the struggle, delivered the discouraging oracle that the Spaniards could not be

aided, but must be defeated and for ever subdued by the tremendous power of the French emperor; that it would be madness in the English to think of assisting them, and a wickedness of the worst sort to endeavour to form another coalition against the French; that army after army would be poured through the Pyrenees until all Spain was one field of blood; that nothing could resist the vigour and unity of Bonaparte, and the discipline of his veteran soldiers, &c. &c.* The defeats and errors of the Spaniards, the retreat and death of Moore, and other obvious facts, had prepared many minds for the reception of these dark omens; and a large portion of the parliamentary opposition were disposed not only to censure our management of the war in the Peninsula, but also to maintain that no management or skill whatsoever could enable us either to defend Portugal and Spain, or to inflict any blow by land on our invincible foe. All these parliamentary prophecies may be read, by those who have the patience to read them, in the debates of the times. We say *times*, for they were not only issued now, but continued to be issued for years, and almost down to the eve of the brilliant day when Wellington drove the last French corps down the French side of the Pyrenees. The majority for ministers who entertained better hopes was found, however, to be considerable. Five days before the meeting of parliament—on the 14th of January, when Moore's retreat was known, and when Spanish affairs bore so gloomy an aspect—Mr. Canning signed the treaty of amity and alliance with the Spanish insurgents, binding his country, which was not hitherto bound by any treaty, to support the cause to the utmost of its power; and never to acknowledge any other King of Spain than his Catholic majesty Ferdinand VII., his heirs, or *such lawful successor as the Spanish nation itself should acknowledge*. This was a species of political heroism, let the hopes our ministers entertained about the new Austrian war be what they might.

The noble secretary-at-war lost no time in urging the necessity of increasing our military force. By two acts greater activity was given to enlistment in the militia, and that force was carried to its full number; the vacancies left by the bill of last session for allowing the militia soldiers to volunteer into the line were filled up; and from 20,000 to 30,000 regular troops, which had been doing garrison or coast duty, were added to the corps disposable for foreign service. An active system of recruiting for the line was commenced at the same time. Some additions were also made to the navy; and in this year the number of cruising line-of-battle ships in commission was 127, being the maximum during the war. Above

¹ The modest words of the great captain are these:—"In Sir John Moore's campaign I can see but one error: when he advanced to Sahagun he should have considered it as a movement of retreat, and sent officers to the rear to mark and prepare the halting-places for every brigade. But this opinion I have formed after long experience of war, and especially of the peculiarities of a Spanish war, which must have been seen to be understood; finally, it is an opinion formed after the event."

* See *Edinburgh Review*, vols. ix. xii. xiii.

£27,000,000 were voted for the army and ordnance, and nearly £19,000,000 for the navy. The total amount of supplies for the year for Great Britain and Ireland was £53,862,000. Among the ways and means it was necessary to raise a loan of £11,000,000. The loan was contracted for at a lower rate of interest than money had ever been before borrowed at on the public account: ministers quoted this as proof of public credit and prosperity.

Early in the session a subject was introduced which excited extraordinary interest, and which, for months, caused nearly all other public matters to be forgotten by the people. Mr. Wardle, a Welsh gentleman and colonel of militia, who had married a Welsh lady of considerable fortune; who in earlier days had been distinguished by his high Tory zeal, and by the eagerness with which he offered to carry his Welsh militiamen into Ireland to put down the rebels, had lately changed his political creed, and had cultivated a close acquaintance with Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Folkestone, and other members of the extreme opposition party. On the 27th of January he affirmed in the House of Commons that everything was wrong and rotten at the Horse-guards; that the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief, suffered himself to be swayed by one Mary Anne Clarke, who had been carrying on a traffic in commissions and promotions. Not satisfied with blaming the easiness of temper of the royal commander-in-chief, Wardle insisted that he was a partaker in the benefit and profit arising from these pecuniary transactions. This was a fine theme for the opposition orators in parliament, and for the ballad-singers in the streets. An inquiry was instituted, and Mrs. Clarke was examined at the bar of the House, where she displayed infinite malice, infinite impudence, and a great deal of promptitude and wit. It was not proved, unless we admit the evidence of this woman, and a single story of her friend, Miss Mary Anne Taylor (whose brother was married to Mrs. Clarke's sister), that the commander-in-chief ever knew of her getting money even for her own use by the favours which he dispensed at her intercession; but that he had yielded to that intercession, and had granted a few commissions, promotions, and appointments to persons recommended by Mrs. Clarke, was proved and established by ample and good evidence. Testimonials of the highest value, as coming from the most competent judges, continued, however, to be given to the Duke of York's general management of affairs at the Horse-guards; and it was cogently urged that the numerous improvements which he had introduced into the army, and the point of excellence to which the army had attained since he had been its commander-in-chief, ought to cover and wipe away a few petty irregularities

and peccadilloes. It might be proved that the duke had his weaknesses; but no one could disprove the facts that he had been assiduous and most punctual in his attention to the business of the army, and that he had proved himself to be a good man of business. The army had never had a commander-in-chief with whom it was so well satisfied, or to whom it was so much attached:—take common soldiers, as well as officers of every class, and these feelings of satisfaction and attachment would be found in immense majorities. Such were the best arguments used in the duke's defence, and the truths on which they rest remain indisputable. The house, however, on the 19th of March only counted a majority of eighty-two upon a motion favourable to the duke; and hereupon his royal highness resigned. This terminated a discussion which occupied nearly a third of the whole session, to the grievous interruption of other business, and more grievous interruption of the progress of public morality.

It had been hoped, on the resignation of the Duke of York, that the system of the admiralty would be adopted at the war-office, and that the office of commander-in-chief would be put in commission. This had been the more confidently expected, as it would make several places, instead of one, and so far tend to increase the patronage of government. But, to the disappointment of sundry expectants, ministers made no alteration in the existing system, and that worthy, but old and pedantic and worn-out officer, Lieutenant-general Sir David Dundas, was appointed to succeed his royal highness. The army felt that it had sustained a grievous loss by this change, and before old Sir David had presided six months at the Horse-guards there was a universal clamour against him.

On the 15th of June, Sir Francis Burdett made a motion for a sweeping parliamentary reform. Nearly all the country gentlemen in the house had left town, and of the members that remained but few were inclined to enter upon this discussion at the fag-end of the session. Sir Francis had intended to make his motion the day before, but there had not been members enough present to make a house; and now, when the house divided, he found only fifteen to vote for him, while seventy-four voted against him. On the 21st of June the session was closed with a speech from the throne, again delivered by commissioners.

The Austrian war operated as a grand diversion likely to be highly favourable for the Peninsula, as it distracted the attention of Bonaparte, obliged him to withdraw his imperial guards from Spain, and prevented his sending reinforcements to that country so quickly as he would otherwise have done. The British government, undismayed by the unfortunate, but not inglori-

ous or discouraging result of Sir John Moore's campaign, and undeterred by the orators and writers who represented the attempt as the height of madness, resolved to persevere in sending assistance to the Peninsula, and to enter upon that war on a larger and a bolder scale. Spain, at that moment, did indeed seem prostrate and lost; and even Portugal, from which the French had been completely expelled, was, long before the rising of parliament, reinvaded by an army under Marshal Soult. But in a memorandum dated on the 7th of March, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had well examined the country during his short stay in it, delivered his decided opinion that Portugal might be defended, whatever might be the result of the contest in Spain; and that in the meantime the measures adopted for the defence of Portugal would be highly useful to the Spaniards in their contest with the French.

There could now be scarcely a doubt as to the proper person to be appointed to the supreme command of the armies in Portugal. If any such doubt had lingered, it ought to have been dissipated by Sir Arthur's memorandum of the 7th of March, by other suggestions he offered to ministers with rare brevity, clearness, and precision, and by the concurring opinions of the best officers in the British army. Men as well as officers, Portuguese as well as British, called loudly for his return to the Peninsula. In spite of the very illiberal and very unwise opposition of Lord Folkestone, and a few other individuals of that party, votes of thanks to Sir Arthur, and a resolution in approbation of the gallant conduct of the non-commissioned officers and privates who had fought at Roliça and Vimeira, were passed by both houses in the month of February. Towards the end of March, Sir Arthur Wellesley, having previously resigned his office of secretary for Ireland, as well as his seat in parliament, and having taken a long farewell of home politics, accepted the chief command of the British forces in the Peninsula. On the 15th of April he set sail from Portsmouth for Lisbon in the *Surveillante* frigate, which was

very nearly lost in a storm at the back of the Isle of Wight, the night after she quitted Spithead.¹ On the 22d of April he arrived safely at Lisbon, and took the command of the army, which had now been left for some time in the hands of Sir J. Cradock.

Soult, after the capitulation of the Spaniards at Coruña, had obtained easy possession of Ferrol, Bilbao, and all the most important places on the northern coast of Spain. Then he had proceeded towards Portugal, and, having entered that country by Braga, he had taken possession of

Oporto on the 29th of March, after a spiritless resistance of only two days. Upon the rapid advance of Soult, Sir J. Cradock had concentrated his forces for the defence of Lisbon. There were other discouraging circumstances; the French had reduced many towns and districts on the east of the Ebro; Saragossa, a second time besieged, was not so valorous or so fortunate as in 1808, but had been obliged to surrender at discretion on the 14th of February; and what was gloomiest of all, the Spaniards at Madrid, and in many other large cities and districts seemed to be quietly re-

signing themselves to the dominion of King Joseph. Still, however, there were some brighter glimpses—some few indications of Spanish patriotism and resolution; for no sooner had Soult evacuated Galicia than the people rose in arms, and several places in the Asturias and in the Biscayan provinces had been retaken by the patriots. Moreover, in Portugal, a body of regulars had been admirably disciplined in the English manner by General Beresford, to whom the Prince-regent of Portugal had given the chief command of all his troops. Beresford's Portuguese, being added to the British reinforcements, enabled Sir Arthur to take the field with an army of about 25,000 men. His first business was to dislodge Soult from Oporto; and to this end, and after leaving a division on the Tagus to guard the eastern frontiers against the French division or corps of Victor, stationed in Spanish Estrema-



SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY, K.B.—From a print published in 1810, after a picture by Robert Home.

¹ Note by Colonel Garwood, in *Despatches*.

leagues from the Spanish capital. These movements terrified Joseph, and gave great encouragement to the Spanish guerrillas. On the 22d of July, the combined armies of Sir Arthur Wellesley and

Cuesta attacked Victor's outposts at Talavera, and drove them in. On the 23d the British columns were again formed for the attack of the French position, as Sir Arthur wished to beat Victor be-



Oporto, showing the Bridge of Boas, and Troops crossing the Douro, 1809 — From a drawing by Henry Smith, Esq

fore he should be joined by Sebastiani, who was coming up from La Mancha; but old Cuesta was whimsical and perverse, and would not fight that day. At the midnight hour Marshal Victor retreated, in order to form the junction with Sebastiani. When Sir Arthur halted the British troops at Talavera, Cuesta seemed all of a sudden to be invaded by an irrepressible energy and activity; and, with remarkable arrogance, he singly dashed forward in pursuit of the French. He was soundly beaten at Torrijos on the 26th by Victor's rear-guard. Having been joined not only by Sebastiani, but also by King Joseph and Marshal Jourdan, who brought with them the guards and the garrison of Madrid, Victor retraced his steps and on the 27th attacked two advanced British brigades, which fell steadily back across the plain into their assigned positions in the line. This was about two o'clock in the afternoon; but the terrible battle of Talavera did not begin in earnest until it was dark—a darkness illuminated only by the flames from the cannon's mouth and the blaze of musketry. On the morning of the 28th, the battle was renewed by a desperate attempt on the part of the French to gain possession of the height on which the British left was posted, but the two strong columns that were thrown against it for this purpose were driven backward down the steeps with a terrible slaughter. After a long pause the enemy resumed their attacks at noon, which extended over the British left and centre; but in every quarter their desperate onsets were met, resisted, and baffled, chiefly by charges of the bayonet.

In the end the French were thoroughly discomfited. The British, reduced to less than

14,000 men, and exhausted by fatigue, were unable to pursue the enemy, and Cuesta's Spaniards, who had scarcely been engaged at all, were incapable of making any evolution. The combat, which began at night, was not decided until the following evening. Talavera was a double battle. Out of the 50,000 men, which they had on the field at the beginning of the combat, the French had lost 7000 in killed and wounded, an immense number of officers and two generals being among the killed. Out of the less than 20,000 British, 857 had been killed and 3913 wounded; 653 were reported missing; and two general officers, Major-general Mackenzie and Brigadier-general Langworth, were among the slain. The French also lost a considerable number of men as prisoners, and as they retired they left in the hands of the English seventeen pieces of artillery, with tumbrils and ammunition complete. Except at Albuera, the French never again fought so well throughout the rest of this war; and yet France confessed, in a hurried night-retreat, that she had been beaten and humiliated:—

“Far from the field where late she fought —
The tents where late she lay —
With rapid step and humbled thought,
All night she holds her way.
Leaving to Britain's conquering sons
Standards rent and ponderous guns,
The trophies of the fray,
The weak, the wounded, and the slain,
The triumph of the battle plain,
The glory of the day”¹

¹ *Battles of Talavera*, a poem General Sarrazin, who, like a good Frenchman does not like to confess too much, confesses that “the bloody day (*la sanglante journée*) of Talavera had spread terror in the French army (*avait répandu l'effroi dans l'armée Française*)”

In the course of the 29th of July, General Robert Crauford reached Sir Arthur Wellesley's camp from Lisbon, with the 43d, 52d, and 95th (rifles). The reinforcement altogether amounted to nearly 3000 men. This was the light brigade, which was ever after in advance during the peninsular campaigns, and which acquired military celebrity for its gallantry and quickness of movement.¹ But army upon army was gathering round the British. On the evening of the 3d of August, Sir Arthur learned at Oropesa that Soult's advanced posts were at Navalmoral, and consequently between him and the bridge of Almaraz, on the Tagus, thus cutting the line of communication with Portugal. The English general was now placed between the mountains and the Tagus, with a French army advancing upon each flank, and with his retreat by the bridge at Almaraz completely cut off. After the experience he had had of Cuesta and the Spanish army, he could not rely upon them in an open field of battle; and he could not, with 17,000 British, fatigued and famishing, hope to fight successively two French armies, each nearly three times stronger than his own. But there was still one—and only one—line of retreat left open to the British; for, a little below Talavera, the Tagus was crossed by the bridge of Arzobispo; and by this route, and by this bridge, Sir Arthur determined to retire immediately, before the enemy should have time to intercept him. It was a blessing that the Spaniards, who generally destroyed what they ought to have left standing, and left standing what they ought to have destroyed, had not blown up the bridge! The 2000 wounded, the artillery, the stores, were all carried safely over the Tagus; before evening the general took up an excellent position behind the right bank of that river; and then the British army was safe.²

¹ André Vieusseux, *Military Life of the Duke of Wellington*. The author of this admirable, brief, and correct compendium, served for some time in the Peninsula with the light brigade.

² "It was Wellington's great merit that he discovered from the outset that more than one sort of genius and of good luck was necessary in wrestling with Napoleon. Continental Europe had thrice entered the ring, and it had thrice received a fall; nor did it seem to have profited by the lesson. Numbers, courage, and discipline had not inclined the balance in its favour. The finest armies had been beaten, and the most renowned commanders had shown their inability to match him.

"It will be readily admitted that the great continental powers were endowed with resolution and patriotism; they were governed by statesmen of consummate ability, but they wanted a general. . . . They assumed the offensive as a matter of course, as if a beaten and demoralized army could face on equal terms an army flushed by victory. It was thus that Austria, in seeking to avenge Marengo, found Ulm and Austerlitz. Prussia, aiming at a great victory to wipe out Austerlitz, found Jena and Auerstadt. Russia, seeking to gain a great victory after Jena, found Eylau and Friedland. It was thus, again, that Austria once more entered the lists, in 1809, with a superb army, after having voted a levy *en masse* that brought all her able-bodied male population to the field of battle; she assumed the offensive on all hands, and this superhuman effort led her to Ratisben and Wagram!

By the 2d of September, Sir Arthur had his head-quarters at Badajoz, close on the frontiers of Portugal; and in a day or two a part of his army was sent across the frontier, and his sick and wounded were conveyed to the strongly fortified Portuguese town of Elvas.

Soult's army now went into cantonments in Estremadura and Leon, near the borders of Portugal; Joseph Bonaparte had got back to Madrid as soon as it had been possible or safe to do so; French moveable columns, not unlike the infernal columns which had formerly traversed the Vendée, now traversed various parts of Spain; the irregular guerilla warfare was carried on in many distant provinces and districts; some towns on the eastern coast, in Catalonia and Valencia, were taken by the French, while others held out, costing the besiegers an enormous sacrifice of life; but, from the middle of August till the middle of November, no actions took place in the field, of any importance, on the part of any of the scattered Spanish armies; nor was the repose of the British forces very materially interrupted until the month of May, 1810. But, on the 19th of November, the army of Andalusia—the largest that the junta had hitherto sent into the field—was destroyed by Mortier and Sebastiani in the battle of Ocaña; and this defeat drew after it the destruction of the army of the Duque del Parque, at Alba de Tormes, on the 28th of November. These reverses were entirely owing to the ignorance, presumption, and mismanagement of the Spanish generals.

On the 4th of September, almost as soon as the news of his remarkable battle reached England, Sir Arthur was raised to the peerage with the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley and Viscount Wellington of Talavera. He had now placed his army in cantonments on the line of the Guadiana,

"Amid this whirlwind of victories, one man alone scanned the situation with a steady eye, and measured the whole depth of the chasm. Wellington was aware that fortune could not change sides at a leap, and that it was only after repeated trials that you could win her favours. He saw at once that Napoleon was not to be beaten *à la Napoléon*—with his own weapons; that it was folly to stake all on one cast of the die, and to beard his colossal antagonist in his own stronghold; and that, before acquiring the art of gaining great victories, it was necessary to begin by learning to avoid defeats, and for a time to decline all engagements. This idea, simple enough in good sooth, was, as matters stood, a flash of genius. Men of the greatest ability both in theory and practice, in the cabinet and on the field, had groped about that idea for fifteen years without grasping it . . . All that Wellington did, said, and thought, from the first day that he held the supreme command, shows that he was under the sway of this master idea; that he had a clearly defined system; that he had chalked out for himself a course to follow, and that he adhered to it with all the stubborn tenacity of his race. After the campaign of Talavera, he renounced all direct co-operation and association with the Spanish army. On that occasion he had marched and fought a battle against his judgment, and notwithstanding his victory he was obliged to fall back. Thereupon he declared that he should never be caught doing the like again."—*The Duke of Wellington, his Character, &c.*, by Jules Maurel, p. 32.

to cover Portugal from Soult, who had established himself in Leon and Estremadura.

The declaration of war by Austria against France—which would not have been made at that moment without English encouragement and promises of aid—bound our government to attempt two great diversions in two very opposite parts of Europe—in Holland and in the south of Italy—and this in addition to the war we were carrying on in the Spanish peninsula, which gave occupation to 200,000 French. From the beginning of the month of May preparations were made for fitting out one of the greatest armaments that had ever issued from the ports of Great Britain; and by the end of July an army of 40,000 men was collected, and a fleet of thirty-seven sail of the line, two fifty-gun ships, three of forty-four guns, twenty-three frigates, thirty-one ship and brig sloops, five bomb-vessels, twenty-three gun-brigs, and about 120 sail of hired cutters, tenders, gunboats, &c.—in all 245 vessels of war—accompanied by about 400 sail of transports, was ready to convey, and co-operate with the army. Unfortunately the destination of this mighty armament could not possibly be concealed from the French, or from any other people that knew what was, and had long been in progress on the Scheldt. Not even Nelson and Trafalgar had made Bonaparte despair of disputing the sovereignty of the seas and invading England. Ever since the spring of 1807 formidable naval preparations had been carried on by France in those waters; and by the spring of the present year ten seventy-four gun ships were at anchor near the Calot Sand; nine ships of the line were on the stocks at Antwerp, most of them ready to be launched; and at the same place the keels of nineteen ships of war, large and small, were laid; while on the stocks at Flushing there were one seventy-four and three smaller vessels. Besides these there were, at Flushing, at Antwerp, and in the Texel, several sail of the line actually ready for sea. Ministers made an unfortunate selection of commanders for this expedition: the Earl of Chatham, to whom they gave the supreme command of the land forces, had scarcely anything to recommend him, except his being an amiable man, and connected with great men; and as for Rear-admiral Sir Richard John Strachan, it would be committing an injustice to the navy not to say that there were fifty officers, even among those who had the requisites of professional rank or grade, fitter than he for the command of the fleet.

On the 28th of July the grand armada—for such it might be called—set sail from the Downs. In the course of the following day, it was nearly all collected on the Dutch coast; and then began the differences of opinion between the land and

sea commanders, and the discovery that the fleet was not sufficiently provided with boats for landing the troops, ordnance, &c. The wiser part of the officers were for going on to Antwerp at once (Antwerp was not forty-five miles distant), to try a *coup de main* before the place should be put in a full state of defence; but the less wise were for beginning with Flushing; and this last opinion prevailed. Flushing, whose importance, as compared with Antwerp, was as ten to a thousand, was invested on the 1st or 2d of August; but so slow were our incapable commanders that nearly a fortnight elapsed before they got their batteries all ready, and commenced their bombardment in earnest. They began to bombard hotly on the 13th; and on the 15th, General Mounet, who commanded the garrison of Flushing, requested a suspension of hostilities. On the following evening the articles of capitulation were signed; and the garrison, amounting to about 6000 men, laid down their arms in front of the place. The ships that were afloat had fled at the approach of the English; those that were on the stocks, or in dock, were secured. The reduction of Flushing was the virtual termination of the campaign. On the 21st, and not sooner, the late Lord Chatham removed his head-quarters from Flushing to Veere; and on the 23d he went to Ter Goes, on the contiguous island of South Beveland, and talked solemnly of going to Antwerp. But before he could get there he must reduce Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, places strong of old, and of late years made much stronger. A great many batteries had been erected during the fortnight and more that he had been pottering at Flushing. And while he paused and pondered for nearly another fortnight, Marshal Bernadotte arrived at Antwerp, and from 40,000 to 50,000 regular troops, French, Dutch, and Germans, were collected in that neighbourhood, together with hosts of militia both from Belgium and from Holland. Add to all this, that 10,000 of the British troops had been left behind to keep possession of the island of Walcheren; that 3000 were on the sick list; that nearly all the provisions brought from England were eaten up; that the country we had seized could supply next to nothing: and we need not be surprised that a council of war, called together by the Earl of Chatham, on the 27th of August, should be decidedly of opinion "that it was not advisable to undertake further operations."

By the 4th of September every part of Zealand was evacuated by the English, except the island of Walcheren. On the 14th of September, Earl Chatham embarked for England with the greater part of the army, leaving Sir Eyre Coote to hold the command of the remainder, and to keep

possession of Walcheren, for the purpose of blocking up the Scheldt, stopping the egress of the Batavo-Gallic fleet, and keeping open an inlet for the trade of Great Britain into Holland! Before the Earl of Chatham took his final departure, 8000 men were on the sick list. And he had not been gone long when all the force he had left under Sir Eyre Coote began to disappear with alarming rapidity in the hospitals or in the grave. England considered herself bound to retain possession, so long as it could be of any use to our unlucky ally; and the Emperor of Austria solicited us to continue our operations in Holland down to the moment, and apparently even past the time, when, beaten again, and again losing all heart, he prostrated himself at his conqueror's feet. Dearly as it cost us, our occupation of Walcheren cost Bonaparte many exertions as well as anxieties. But at last, on the 13th of November, which was a month all but two days after the Emperor Francis had signed his degrading treaty of peace with the Emperor Napoleon in Vienna, his capital, orders were despatched to Lieutenant-general Don, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command, to evacuate Flushing, and take such measures as he might judge most effective for the destruction of the basin and of the naval defences of the island. The piers of the flood-gate of the basin at Flushing were blown up with gunpowder; the strong and costly pile-work on the east side was destroyed; the arsenal and magazines in Bonaparte's new dockyard were burned; but very little was done to damage the land fortifications of the place, lest the houses and property of the townspeople should be injured by the explosion. The 6000 prisoners who surrendered in Flushing had been shipped off for England long ago. The ships on the stocks were destroyed; but one fine new frigate was brought away, as were also the timbers of a seventy-four, which, being put together at Woolwich, produced in 1812 a good ship, which was called the *Chatham*, to preserve, we suppose, the memory of that earl's Walcheren exploits. These things and the fever were about all we brought back from this expedition, which cost us many thousands of lives and many millions of money.

Our diversion on the side of Italy cost no such enormous sacrifices, and yet it too was attended with some advantages to our allies; for it tended to deprive Bonaparte of the services on the Danube of his most brilliant and best cavalry general, his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, by virtue of Bayonne decrees now King of Naples. Our movements, moreover, along the whole extent of the Neapolitan coasts obliged Murat to reinforce his army in Calabria, to wear it out with long marches hither and thither, as the danger

seemed more imminent on this point or on that, and to keep on the shores of the Mediterranean and Adriatic both French and Italian troops which would otherwise have been employed against the Austrians in Upper Italy, and in the Tyrol or the Illyrian provinces. It is true that with all these stoppages Bonaparte contrived to beat the Emperor Francis, but his work would have been much easier and more speedy if even this our Italian diversion had not been made.

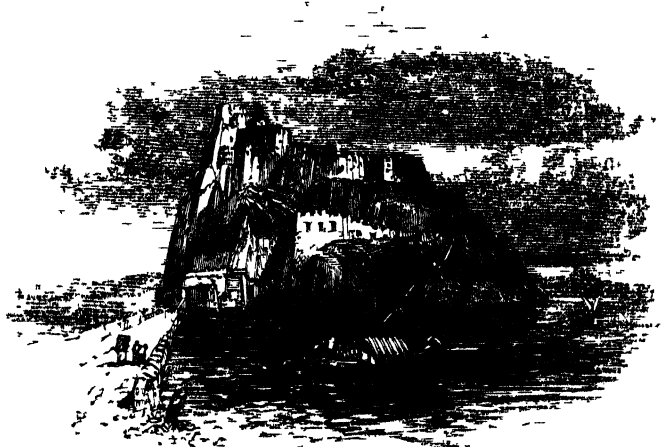
The crowned dragoon had signalized his accession to the Neapolitan Bourbon throne, on his arrival at Naples, by recovering from the English possession of the isle of Capri. Murat also recovered almost immediately several places in Calabria, and among them, the rock, town, and castle of Scylla, which in the course of two years had changed masters three or four times. But it was easier to take old castles and irregularly fortified towns than to subdue the fierce spirit of the Calabrian people. Bands of insurgents—all called by the French brigands or banditti—still kept the field, or lurked in the mountains and among the forests. As soon as one redoubtable chief was captured or killed, another sprang up to supply his place and avenge his fall. When the new war in Germany became known, and when intelligence reached the southern extremity of the peninsula, that the Austrians had beaten Eugene Beauharnais in the north of Italy, and had compelled the French to retire behind the Adige, the Calabrians were highly excited, and hoped that their deliverance was at hand.

On the 11th of June, Sir John Stuart, the hero of Maida, and now commander-in-chief of our forces in Sicily, embarked with 15,000 British troops. On the 13th, his appearance induced the enemy to abandon the greater part of their posts along the shore of Calabria Ulteriore; and the posts and works upon the line opposite to Messina, from which the French had long been threatening Sicily with invasion, were seized and destroyed by Lieutenant-colonel Smith. Arms and ammunition were landed, and sent up the country for the use of the insurgents, who took possession of some of the mountain passes, where they did great mischief to Murat's army, and who recovered several towns in the interior of the country, where they took sanguinary vengeance on the French, and their partizans and abettors. Two smaller expeditions, issuing from the port of Messina, landed 400 or 500 Sicilian soldiers and Calabrian refugees in the Gulf of Gioia, and 2000 or 3000 soldiers, regular and irregular, between Reggio and Palmi. A portion of these forces, assisted by a few of our troops, undertook the siege of Scylla; the rest carried on a loose guerilla warfare, which cost

Murat rather dear. At the same time flotillas of English and Sicilian gun-boats and other armed vessels ran along and scoured all the coasts of Calabria from the promontory of Scylla to the edge of the Gulf of Salerno, and from Reggio to the head of the Gulf of Taranto, operating simultaneously in the Tyrrhenian and in the Ionian Seas, threatening a dozen places in one day, capturing or destroying many of these places, making the French generals hurry now hither now thither, and spreading consternation in every town and station on both sea-boards.

In the meanwhile Sir John Stuart, having been joined by some Sicilian forces, which embarked at Palermo, nominally under the command of King Ferdinand's second son, Don Leopold, Prince of Salerno, had made straight for the Bay of Naples, to menace the capital, and seize some of the islands in its immediate neighbourhood. Nothing would have been more easy than to bombard Naples and batter it to pieces; nor would it have been a work of great difficulty with 15,000 British troops to have landed and driven Murat out of that city, for he had only some 11,000 or 12,000 regular troops collected there, and of these the greater part were Neapolitans, whose discipline was incomplete, and whose fidelity and courage were both exceedingly doubtful. But to destroy the city under the eye of the son of the old king would have been a particularly revolting act; and though 15,000 British troops might have taken, they could not have kept Naples in the case of the French beating the Austrians in Upper Italy; and several weeks before the arrival of our armament at Cape Miseno, the Archduke John, though not beaten by the French, had been compelled, by the reverses of the Austrian armies in other quarters, to abandon Upper Italy altogether. Besides, Sir John Stuart's plan was merely to create and keep up an alarm, and "to make such a movement, as, although it should produce no issue of achievement to ourselves, might still operate a diversion in favour of our Austrian allies." And a considerable body of troops, which Murat had recently detached from Naples as a reinforcement to Eugene Beauharnais, as well as almost the whole of a corps of 6000 men which he had sent into the Roman States to complete the seizure of the Papal dominions, which his brother-in-law, Napoleon, had ordered,

were precipitately recalled on the first appearance of our armament on the coast. On the 25th of June, 2300 men, including some Sicilian light infantry, a regiment of Corsican rangers, and a detachment of Calabrian Free Corps, were landed under the command of Major-general Macfarlane, in the island of Ischia. A chain of batteries, which the French had erected to fortify every accessible part of the shore, was easily turned; and then the batteries were successively abandoned. The castle, which is situated on the



III CASTLE OF ISCHIA.—FROM A DRAWING BY H. BUBBY

summit of a steep detached rock, surrendered upon terms of capitulation. The small but thickly-peopled island of Procida, close to Ischia, surrendered at the first summons; and this event contributed to the almost entire capture or destruction of a very large flotilla of heavy gun-boats. The two islands thus captured, with hardly any loss, are among the most beautiful and productive of all the islands that lie close in to the coast of Italy. But no permanent occupation had ever been contemplated; and, as it became evident that no diversion of ours could save Austria from her fate, Sir John Stuart dismantled the castles of Ischia and Procida, destroyed the batteries and all the other works, re-embarked his troops, and returned to Sicily.

While the French were alarmed, and fully occupied in the south of Italy, Admiral Lord Collingwood, who still retained the command-in-chief of our Mediterranean fleet—wearing out in hard service the last days of an honourable and most valuable life—recommended General Sir John Stuart to send an expedition against the islands of Zante, Corfu, and Cephalonia, which lie opposite to the Neapolitan coast, at the mouth of the Adriatic, and which, partly by force, and partly by an amicable understanding with the Czar

Alexander, had been seized and occupied by the French, who were also looking forward to conquests or occupations in the Morea, and in other parts of continental Greece. The expedition was undertaken with such secrecy that none of the people knew whither they were going. It was very successful. On the 2d of October the French commandant surrendered to Brigadier-general Oswald not only the whole of the island of Zante, but also the islands of Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo. The island of Santa Maura was reduced in the month of April, 1810; but Corfu remained in the hands of the French until the downfall of Bonaparte in 1814.

Our government had not even yet recovered from its delusion about the value of countless sugar-islands and West Indian colonies, nor opened its eyes to the sacrifice of capital and of human life contingent on these conquests and occupations. In 1807 we had taken the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix; in 1808 we had captured the French West India islands of Mariegalante and Desadea; and in the course of the present year we took possession of the French West India colonies of Cayenne and Martinique, as well as of a part of Spanish San Domingo, of which the French had gained possession. These petty, insecure, and costly conquests were also extended to the African coast, where we took Senegal from the French.

Austria had made astonishing exertions, and raised her armies to more than 400,000 men. The Archduke Charles commanded the army of Germany, the Archduke John the army of Italy. Bonaparte, by one of his rapid and skilful manœuvres, broke the line of the Austrians, gained the battle of Eckmühl, and obliged the Archduke Charles to retire into Bohemia. On the 12th of May the French entered Vienna. The Archduke Charles now collected his army on the left bank of the Danube: Bonaparte crossed the river to attack him, and the great battle of Aspern took place on the 21st of May. The battle remained undecided; but on the following day it was renewed with fury on both sides, when, in the midst of the action, Bonaparte was informed that the bridge in his rear, which communicated with the right bank of the Danube, had been carried off by a flood. Upon this he ordered a retreat, and withdrew his army into the island of Lobau, in the middle of the Danube. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was very great: Marshal Lannes, Duke of Montebello, finished his earthly career at Aspern; Generals Espagne and Saint Hilaire were also among the slain; and

an immense number of field-officers perished on the field or died of their wounds on the isle of Lobau. The visible discouragement of the men was good evidence that Aspern had in fact been a defeat to the French. Bonaparte remained six weeks copped up on the island of Lobau. Having re-established the bridge, and received reinforcements, he once more crossed over to the left bank of the Danube, and fought the battle of Wagram (6th of July), in which he defeated the Austrians: the loss on both sides was tremendous. Still the Austrian army was not destroyed or dispersed, and the Archduke Charles was for continuing the struggle. Other counsels, however, prevailed, and an armistice was concluded at Znaim, and this led to the peace of Schönbrunn, which was not signed, however, till the 14th of October. Napoleon had entertained some idea of dismembering the Austrian empire; he had even addressed an invitation to the Hungarians to form an independent kingdom under a native ruler; but this address produced no effect. Germany began to be agitated by a spirit of popular resistance against him; bands of partizans under Schill, the Duke of Brunswick, and others, had appeared; the Tyrol was still in arms, and he was not quite sure of Russia. The war in Spain continued with dubious success, and the English had landed at Flushing. He thought best, therefore, to grant peace to Austria on moderate conditions. Austria ceded Trieste, Carniola, and part of Croatia, Salzburg, Cracow, and Western Galicia, and several other districts, to the amount of about 2,500,000 inhabitants. The brave Tyrolese were abandoned to their fate. Hofer and others of their chiefs were seized by the French, taken to Mantua, and there shot. The Austrians, moreover, were bound to pay into the French exchequer, as expenses of war, 75,000,000 francs.

It was from the palace of Schönbrunn in Vienna that Bonaparte aimed his last thunderbolt at the head of the pope. In May, 1808, he had annexed, *for ever*, the best part of the Papal dominions to the mock kingdom of Italy; and his own generals and the Roman revolutionary party—about the most savage, atheistical, and intolerant of all the reformers of that day—had constituted Pius VII. a prisoner in the Vatican. At midnight the palace was surrounded by French troops and gendarmes; the walls were scaled, the inner doors were broken open; and between two and three o'clock on the morning of the 6th of July, the aged pontiff was seized and carried off a prisoner to France.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1809—1812.

GEORGE III.

Dissensions in the war department of the British cabinet—Changes in the ministry—The Marquis of Wellesley takes the office of foreign affairs—Sir Francis Burdett arrested for a libel against the House of Commons—Parliamentary measures—State of the war in Spain—Soult appointed to the command of the French army—Movements of the French and British armies in the Peninsula—The peninsular war concentrated upon Portugal—Massena sent by Bonaparte to oppose Wellington—Ciudad Rodrigo captured by the French—They take Almeida—Massena's tardy advance on Lisbon—Wellington defeats him at Busaco—Retreat of Wellington to Torres Vedras—Its strong entrenchments—Massena compelled to retreat from them—British successes in other quarters—Bonaparte marries the daughter of the Emperor of Austria—Louis Bonaparte abdicates the throne of Holland—Celebration of the national jubilee in Britain—Difficulties of the king—His domestic afflictions—A return of his mental malady unfits him for rule—The Prince of Wales installed as prince-regent—The Duke of York re-appointed commander-in-chief—Warlike operations in the Peninsula—Massena's calamitous retreat from Portugal—The French take Badajoz—Their defeat at Barrosa by Sir Thomas Graham—Unfavourable close of the campaign for the French—Victory of the British at Albuera—Dissension between the French and Russian emperors—Its causes—Bonaparte resolves to invade Russia—His disregard of the dissuasions to the enterprise—Lord Castlereagh re-appointed secretary for foreign affairs—Dissensions between the Tories and Whigs—Assassination of Mr. Perceval in the lobby of the House of Commons—His character—Resignation of ministers—The Earl of Liverpool appointed premier—New cabinet formed—Warlike operations in the Peninsula—Wellington recovers Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz from the French—The French repulsed in their attempts upon Tarifa—Wellington advances into Spain—His victory at Salamanca—His difficulties at Madrid—He is disappointed of reinforcements—His unsuccessful siege of Burgos—He retires upon Portugal—His own summary of his proceedings in the Peninsula—Military operations at Alicante—War between Britain and America.



THE untoward course of events on the Continent, the disastrous issue of the Austrian war, together with sundry other causes, produced violent dissensions in the British ministry, in a part of which there had never been much harmony. It is a capital defect in the construction of our cabinet, which confides the direction of war not to one, but to two ministers, the secretary of state for foreign affairs having nearly as much authority over generals in the field as the secretary-at-war. There had long been a jealousy, or a strong divergency of opinion, between Mr. Canning, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and Lord Castlereagh, the secretary-at-war. What one proposed in the cabinet the other almost invariably condemned; and each was constantly complaining of an invasion of his official authority by the other. On the 21st of September, when the country was resounding with outcries against the Walcheren expedition, the management of which was said to be disapproved of by the secretary for foreign affairs, a duel was fought between him and Lord Castlereagh. Mr. Canning was wounded below the thigh-bone, and Lord Castlereagh had a narrow escape. The two ministers had sent in their resignations before they went to Putney Heath. The Duke of Portland, the head of the cabinet (who was not altogether blameless

as to the causes which had led to the quarrel), also resigned, and died a few days thereafter.

The ministers that remained in office after these three resignations—with Lord Liverpool, the only remaining secretary of state, who had for some time to perform the duty of the home office, the foreign office, and the war office—were reduced almost to despair, scarcely knowing where to look for a new head and for two new colleagues. Their situation appeared at first so forlorn, that (on the 23d of September) official letters were addressed to Earl Grey, the now leader of the Foxite Whigs, and to Lord Grenville, informing them that his majesty had authorized Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval to communicate with their lordships for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration. To this invitation Earl Grey, who was in Northumberland, replied at once that he would not enter into any coalition with the ministers now in place. Lord Grenville, who was in Cornwall, replied that he would lose no time in repairing to town, and begged leave to defer all observations till his arrival. The day after his arrival in town he sent an answer conformable to that of Earl Grey.

Great hopes were now entertained by the adverse party that the ministry would fall to pieces altogether. It was said, as on some former occasions, that high offices and places went a-beg-

ging, and that none could be found to accept them. The only hope of the ministry now rested upon the Marquis Wellesley. Hints were thrown out that the marquis would not join any administration in which Mr. Canning was not included. But the marquis came home from Spain, being succeeded in his embassy by his brother Henry, and accepted, not the war department, which Canning had destined for him, but the office of foreign affairs, which Canning himself had vacated. Early in December the ministerial arrangements were completed, Mr. Perceval taking the place of the deceased premier, the Duke of Portland, thus uniting in himself, as Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington had done before him, the offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The loss of the Duke of Portland was little more than that of a name; but the loss of the eloquent pen and the still more eloquent tongue of Canning—the best debater, and on the whole perhaps the greatest orator now in parliament—was a most serious loss; and the secession of Mr. Huskisson, who resigned his seat at the treasury, was also felt and regretted. As if his previous domestic employment had particularly qualified him for the war department, the Earl of Liverpool was transferred from the home office to the office which Lord Castlereagh had quitted, becoming secretary of state for the department of war and the colonies, and being succeeded in the home office by the Hon. R. Ryder. Lord Palmerston became under-secretary-at-war in lieu of Sir James Pulteney. These were all the changes that were made.¹

A.D. 1810. The session opened on the 23d of January. The king's speech was again delivered by commission. It had cost ministers no small pains to draw it up; for, after

the battle of Talavera, there were few subjects for congratulation. Amendments, strongly condemning the ministerial direction of the whole war, and particularly the Walcheren expedition, were moved in both houses, but were rejected by great majorities.

By the publication of a libel against the House of Commons, and of a passionate and dangerous appeal from the authority of parliament to the excited people, Sir Francis Burdett incurred the displeasure of the house; and on the 5th of April it was carried by a majority of thirty-eight that he should be committed to the Tower under the warrant of the speaker. Sir Francis shut himself up in his mansion in Piccadilly, barring his doors and windows, and declaring that he would yield only to force. This led to a lamentable popular riot, in the course of which two men were killed and several more wounded. Since the No-Popery riots London had seen no such commotion as this, and since the days of John Wilkes no such idol as Sir Francis Burdett. The French newspapers announced that it was a revolution. But the end of it all was that the baronet was lodged in the Tower and kept there until the prorogation.

The supplies voted for the year amounted to £52,185,000, of which the Irish proportion was £6,106,000. The ways and means, which it was calculated would leave a surplus of £141,200, included a loan of £8,000,000, which was negotiated on terms even more moderate than those of the preceding year. No new taxes were proposed; and a favourable report was made of the commerce and general prosperity of the country. At the same time Mr. Perceval drew a striking picture of the state of commercial affairs in France, and of the effects produced by our orders in council. The orders in council had not done all the

¹ "We have arrived at the end of 1809. The critical moment draws nigh. Napoleon has just dictated peace to Europe for the third time. The Continent is quiet, and the empire has 1,000,000 men under arms, whom it can launch upon Spain, already half-conquered, and on Portugal, defended by 25,000 English troops. The British ministry experiences the deepest anxiety respecting the issue of the war and the fate of the army. Lord Liverpool, in the name of the whole government, consults Wellington on the propriety of continuing the war; he asks if anything is to be expected from it; and if he will become answerable for the safety of the army that is intrusted to him. These were terrible questions put at a terrible moment

"The ministers and the general who were thus about to stake the fortunes of England were only citizens in a free country. They governed and they fought before the face of a jealous, violent, and implacable opposition, that would not have pardoned the slightest check or the most trifling equivocation. They were acting in broad day light, under the fire of platform and parliamentary orators, and of the press. By no shift could they mask a defeat or stretch a victory. In bad as well as good fortune, there was nothing for it but to speak the plain truth, whether their object was to raise their own reputation or to justify their conduct. Every success claimed a fourfold victory—first, on the field of battle; secondly, in the house; thirdly, in the press; and fourthly, at the hustings.

"At this trying moment, and whilst the British ministry was asking Wellington what ought to be done, the opposition in-doors was attacking the victor of Talavera with a puerile violence, contesting his success and denying his talents; and the city of London was addressing to parliament a petition having for its object to summon Wellington before a commission of inquiry. But neither his friends nor his enemies suspected at that time who Wellington was. Even England only learned to know him late in the day; and there is a considerable portion of the British people who, up to the present time, remain ignorant of all that they owe him.

"Wellington answered the ravings of a violent opposition, and the vacillation of an uneasy ministry, with the quiet assurance of a superior man who knows what he is about, and who is resigned to stand alone in his opinion. 'You see,' he says to the Hon. J. Villiers, 'the dash which the common council of the city of London have made at me! I act with a sword hanging over me, which will fall upon me whatever may be the result of affairs here; but they may do what they please; I shall not give up the game here as long as it can be played.' 'I cannot expect mercy at their hands,' he writes to Lord Liverpool, 'whether I succeed or fail; and if I should fail, they will not inquire whether the failure is owing to my own incapacity, to the nameless errors to which we are all liable, to the faults or mistakes of others to the deficiency of our means, to the serious

mischief to the enemy; but Bonaparte's war system, and the working out of his "continental system" together, had contributed to destroy nearly all foreign trade in France and its dependencies.

A scheme for parliamentary reform, brought forward by Mr. Brand, was rejected by 234 against 115. The debate was chiefly remarkable on account of the strong opinions pronounced against radical reform by the moderate reform party, and on account of some very enthusiastic declarations in favour of the transatlantic republican system. The session of parliament terminated on the 21st of June.

At the beginning of the year the aspect of affairs in the Peninsula was far from bright. In the autumn of the preceding year, besides the defeats which we have enumerated, the Spaniards had sustained several signal overthrows. But the way in which the Spaniards had defended the old walls of Gerona gave better hopes; for, though that place had surrendered on the 10th of December, it had only yielded to famine after a six months' siege: though rent with three wide breaches, it had constantly repulsed its assailants, and had caused them a terrible loss; nor did those stanch Spaniards think they were starving until they had eaten up all their horses and mules.

Towards the close of 1809, Marshal Soult had been appointed chief of the staff and principal military adviser to King Joseph, in the place of Jourdan, who was recalled to Paris. It was the fate of all these marshals to be dissatisfied with the service, and to cause great disappointment and dissatisfaction to their emperor, in whose bosom, however, these unpleasant feelings continued to be mitigated by the opportunity afforded him of saying, "I cannot be everywhere," and of showing to the French people how much their glory and success depended upon him personally. Soult, however, commenced operations with vigour and with a unity of plan. Taking with him King Joseph, who could scarcely have been safe without him, the ablest of the French marshals marched upon the Sierra Morena, with the determination of crossing those mountains and subduing Andalusia, together with all that country of the south which had not yet been touched by the French arms.

As usual with them, the fugitive Spanish generals and the wandering junta seem to have taken

difficulties of our situation, or to the great power and abilities of our enemy. In any of these cases I shall become their victim, but I am not to be alarmed by this additional risk, and whatever be the consequences, I shall continue to do my best in this country.

"He replied to the formidable questions put to him by the ministry, by stating that the war was possible, and that Portugal was its proper theatre"—Maurel's *Wellington*, p. 86.

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no thought of what they were leaving behind them, provided only it was not coined money. As the French advanced from town to town, they found and collected large quantities of ordnance and military stores, which had come principally from England, and which any people but the Spaniards would have removed. The citizens of Seville had talked highly about defending their fine old town; but the city was too vast to be converted into a fortress; no preparations had been made; the assistance of British troops had



MARSHAL SOULT

been refused by the late junta; and so Soult entered Seville, not only without opposition, but in a kind of triumph. For some time the headquarters and the court of King Joseph were established in Seville. But Marshal Victor was hurried on to Cadiz, in the hope that he might make sure of that most important city. Although every man seemed required for the defence of Portugal, Lord Wellington had previously despatched three British and one Portuguese regiment for the defence of Cadiz. Other British forces, together with a fragment of the Spanish army which had escaped from the field of Ocaña, were brought down from Gibraltar, and other small corps were brought in from various places; so that it was calculated there were 18,000 Spanish troops for the defence of Cadiz and the Isla de Leon, besides the volunteers of the town and the British and Portuguese troops. The number of British alone soon amounted to 6000 men; and Lieutenant-general Graham, one of the bravest and best of our officers, was sent out from England to take the command of them. Both Soult and Joseph came down to the coast; and, by the 15th of February, the French army, which occupied the neighbouring country from Rota to Chiclana, was estimated at 25,000 men. The siege or blockade of Cadiz lasted more than thirty months, or from the 5th of February, 1810, to the 12th of August, 1812, when it was

finally raised, in consequence of the successive advantages gained by Wellington. In strictness of language it could neither be called a siege nor a blockade; but it gave constant occupation to French forces varying from 25,000 to 15,000 men, and it led to no inconsiderable loss in detail.

The two other *corps d'armée* which Soult had sent to the south-eastern coast encountered but few obstacles. Nearly the whole of Andalusia was overrun. Sebastiani entered Granada without resistance, and carried the old Moorish town of Alhama by storm. But in all the mountains which traverse or hem in the great country of Andalusia the entire population was in arms, causing constant trouble and frequent loss.

In Catalonia, O'Donnell, the best of the Spanish generals, kept up a more regular system of warfare against the French, being assisted by the nature of the ground, which was interspersed with numerous strong positions, and dotted by a good many fortresses, and also by the English squadron along the coast, and by the organization and daring spirit of the Catalonian militia, known by the name of Somatenes and Miguelets.

But all eyes were now fixed upon Portugal, and upon the British army there; for it was known that the great effort of the campaign, on the part of the French, would be made in that direction. The peace with Austria had enabled Bonaparte to send large reinforcements from Germany into Spain. During the winter Junot and Drouet had crossed the Pyrenees with two fresh corps; they were followed by a part of the imperial guards, and it was rumoured that the emperor himself was coming. By the beginning of the month of April, Ney, Kellermann, and Loison, with about 60,000 men, were in Old Castile and Leon, threatening the Portuguese frontier in that direction; and, as a prelude, they had besieged and taken Astorga, and had made their preparations for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. At the same time General Regnier was on the borders of Spanish Estremadura with about 12,000 men, menacing the frontier of Portugal on that side. Bonaparte, in the honeymoon of his marriage with the imperial Austrian, did not come, but he sent Marshal Massena, Prince of Essling, to take the command of the army in Old Castile and Leon, which now assumed the name of "the army of Portugal." Massena had obtained the name of the "Darling Child of Victory." Massena, from his earliest essays as a commander in the Maritime Alps and the Apennines, had been accustomed to mountain warfare; Massena, though with an evident injustice to Soult, was considered the greatest general and strategist, next to Bonaparte himself; so, assuredly, with superior forces, Massena could not fail in executing his emperor's commission, which was

simply this—to drive the English leopards and the sepoy-general into the sea. Massena himself had no doubt as to his success; for on quitting Paris he had said that he only required three



MARSHAL MASSENA

months to replace the eagles of the emperor on the walls of Lisbon. He arrived at Valladolid about the middle of May, and assumed the command, not only over the corps of Ney, Kellermann, and Loison, but also over those of Junot and Drouet. Massena had from 60,000 to 62,000 men when he first put himself in motion to meet Lord Wellington, and he was afterwards reinforced. His lordship had only about 24,000 British troops, and from 28,000 to 30,000 Portuguese regulars. Early in June, Massena commenced operations in earnest, by investing Ciudad Rodrigo, close on the Portuguese frontier. The Spanish garrison defended itself bravely till the 10th of July, when, a practicable breach being made, the French entered the place by capitulation. As the corps of Marshal Ney came thundering on after the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, it came in contact with our light division, which was commanded by General Craufurd, a very brave and an able man, but somewhat hot-headed and self-willed. Instead of falling in quietly and easily, as he had been ordered to do, Craufurd, eager for fame, halted repeatedly, and disputed the ground against a much superior force: he finished by effecting his retreat in a masterly manner by a bridge across the Coa, by repulsing the French in their attempt to follow him, and by costing Ney 1000 men in killed and wounded. But Craufurd himself suffered considerable loss, and Wellington could ill bear any useless reduction of his small British force. This fighting, however, gave Massena a specimen of the resistance he was likely to encounter in his march to Lisbon, and it delayed for a day or two some of the enemy's operations.

Marshal Massena found he could not advance quite so rapidly as he had calculated on doing. In the interval General Regnier quitted Spanish Estremadura, crossed the Tagus with his whole corps, and established himself at Coria and Plasencia; and General Hill, making a corresponding movement, had also crossed the Tagus to take post at Atalaya, from whence he could either be joined to Lord Wellington's army or could be thrown again in front of General Regnier. At last, on the 15th of August, the French broke ground before Almeida. This ancient but strongly fortified city was defended by a good Portuguese garrison, commanded by an English officer, Colonel Cox, who was prepared for a determined resistance. Lord Wellington brought his army nearer, so as to be able to strike a blow if the enemy should afford an opportunity. The French opened their fire on the 26th of August, and on the night of the 27th, in consequence of the accidental explosion of a magazine which contained nearly all the ammunition, and by which a large part of the town and defences were destroyed, the governor was obliged to capitulate. Lord Wellington was greatly disappointed, for he reckoned on the place detaining Massena till the rainy season set in. He seemed, however, provided for everything; and, strange to say, his famed opponent let nearly three weeks elapse after the reduction of Almeida before he seriously moved forward. This strange delay nearly brought on the rainy season, which the British general wanted, as the swelling rivers and streams, and the increasing badness of the roads, must greatly retard the march of the French columns. On the 15th of September the great French army began its march down the valley of the Mondego for Lisbon. Having called up the corps of Hill and Leith, Lord Wellington resolved to give Massena a check on "grim Busaco's iron ridge." The French made a fierce attack in the morning of the 27th, and were beaten and hurled back from the hills with terrible loss. Massena left upon the field of battle 2000 killed (killed chiefly by the bayonet), and from 3000 to 4000 wounded, besides one general and a few hundred men and officers prisoners. The loss of the allied army did not exceed 1300, of which number 578 were Portuguese—a very convincing proof that the men whom Lord Beresford had trained had gone well into action. In truth, mixed with British troops, the Portuguese had emulated their steadiness and valour; and from the date of the battle of Busaco, Wellington knew that they were to be depended upon. The British general had no intention of remaining where he was; his place of strength, his chosen inexpugnable position, in which Portugal was to be saved, was not in the Serra de Busaco or on the Mondego, but much

nearer Lisbon, and thither a good road remained open to him. By the 29th the whole allied army was in motion; and on the 30th it was collected on the left bank of the Mondego, and began its retreat towards the Tagus and the capital. The plan of defence which Wellington had formed and matured was still unbroken and entire, and so were his own hopes. He was never so confident as he was a day or two after he began this retreat. Massena followed him in one immense column. On the 7th of October the French van first caught sight of the chain of hills, behind which, at the distance of twenty-four miles, lay the city of Lisbon, where the marshal had promised to replace the imperial eagles. And now up, Lines of Torres Vedras, and show the lion in the middle path!¹

But those lines were already up; and everything was prepared to keep the French at bay,

"As famish'd wolves survey a guarded fold."²

We have mentioned the first conception of this grand defensive scheme, which had more or less occupied the mind of Wellington ever since the campaign of 1808. It had been indispensable to conceal the great project, and to mystify the French as to its existence; and this had been done with astonishing address. Even when most actively engaged in directing the construction of the works, Wellington had the art to make not only the enemy, but also the people of the country, believe that he intended nothing serious there; and it is said that, in order to keep up the illusion, he sometimes spoke of the plan, even to officers of his own army and about his own person, as a thing which had flitted through his head, but which had been abandoned. And even when Massena received better information, he remained in the belief that the works thrown up were little more than field-works, which might easily be turned or overpowered by his own batteries, and that so extensive a line was not defensible by such a force as the British general commanded, but must have several weak points, at some one or two of which, a concentrated, sustained attack, costing perhaps a few thousands in killed and wounded, must eventually succeed. For a complete notion of the lines of Torres Vedras³ the reader must consult military and scien-

¹ "But in the middle path a lion lay!"

Walter Scott, *Vision of Don Roderick*.

² Ibid

³ The "Lines of Torres Vedras" consisted in a double chain of fortifici posts—comprehending a vast number of batteries, redoubts, and various field-works—erected across the peninsula which intervenes between the lower course of the Tagus and the shores of the Atlantic. The high grounds by which the peninsula is there crossed render the locality well suited for defensive purposes, and the natural advantages which it possesses were strengthened, under the directions of Wellington, with the most admirable military skill.

Of the two lines of defence, the first extended from Alhandra

tific books, and Wellington's own despatches. These lines were constructed upon the two serras, or ranges of mountains that cross the peninsula on the south-eastern extremity of which Lisbon is situated. The first line was about twenty-nine, and the second twenty-four English miles in length. These lines were secured by breast-works, abattis, and stone walls with banquettes and scarps. Not an opening nor interstice, through which a mountain goat could pass, but was blocked up or guarded. About 100 redoubts or forts, containing altogether more than 600 pieces of artillery, were scattered along these lines.

Within the foremost of these lines Lord Wellington and the allied army entered on the 8th of October, leaving the French van behind them in the plain. When Massena came up on the

11th, he appears to have been taken by surprise at the sight of the lines of Torres Vedras; and he employed some days in reconnoitring them from one extremity to the other. Not a single attempt was ever made to assail any of the works, or to penetrate the outer line in any part of its long range. Towards the end of October, when the privations and the sickness of his exposed army were alarmingly on the increase, Massena detached some of his troops to Castello Branco; and on the 15th of November, he himself began a retrograde movement, for the purpose of withdrawing his army from the low wet grounds in front of Torres Vedras and placing it in cantonments for the winter. The French head-quarters were soon established at Santarem, where the troops continued to suffer nearly every possible distress.



VIEW OF THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS. - From a painting by W. Telbin.

The allies, with the city and port of Lisbon in their rear, remained, in plenty and comfort, behind the impenetrable defences which the genius and

perseverance of their great leader had created for them.

In other quarters of the world our military

on the Tagus to the mouth of the river Zizandre, a length following the inflections of the hills, of twenty-nine miles. The second line, traced at a distance varying from six to ten miles in rear of the first, stretched from Quintella on the Tagus to the mouth of the San Lorenzo river, twenty-four miles in length. The several works erected along these lines varied according as the nature of the country rendered more or less necessary such artificial means of defence as would make the passage of a hostile army through them a difficult (if not an impossible) achievement. The works were most numerous in those localities where the defensive features of the country were least strongly marked. The most conspicuous position along the first line consists in the Monte Agraca, the lofty summit of which overtops the adjacent country, and from which the works along the entire line were visible. This mountain was crowned by an immense redoubt, armed with twenty-five guns, round which three smaller works, containing nineteen guns, were clustered. The Tapada, or royal park of Mafra, occupied an important place along the second line. The open but strong ground here, with the pass of Mafra, was defended by a system of fourteen redoubts. The Sierra de Chypre, in front of Mafra, was also covered with redoubts. In the space of ten or twelve miles intervening between the Tapada

and the pass of Bucellas, the country is in great measure filled up by the Monte Chique, the head of which is in the centre of, and overtops, all the other mountain masses. The narrow and rugged defile of Bucellas was strongly defended by redoubts upon either side. Five roads practicable for guns pierced the first line of defence - two at Torres Vedras, two at Sobral, one at Alhandra. Two of these roads unite at the Cabeça de Monte Chique, so that there were only four points of passage through the second line, that is, at Mafra, Monte Chique, Bucellas, and Quintella. It was the aim and scope of the works throughout to bar these roads, and to strengthen the favourable fighting positions between them, in case the French army should attempt to force a passage. The several works were of a construction requiring the least labour compatible with sufficient strength: the redoubts were generally of a size to require each from 150 to 250 or 300 men for their defence, and were armed, according to the importance of their fire, with three, four, five, or six pieces of artillery. The main works at Torres Vedras (near which were the head-quarters of Wellington), Monte Agraca, and elsewhere, were made larger and stronger, assuming the character of independent fortresses, and required a much greater number of men for their defence.

Of these stupendous lines, the second was the strongest, and

charges of ingratitude, and irritated, Louis declared that, unless a peace were concluded with Great Britain, or some important modification of the continental system allowed in Holland, he would no longer wear that crown, which he found he could not wear without being a means of completing the ruin of a good, interesting, and industrious people. At last, Louis came to the determination of resigning his crown in favour of his infant son, Napoleon Louis. On the 1st of July he signed an act of abdication and a proclamation to the Dutch people; and then fled with his children into Bohemia, to seek an asylum in the dominions of the Emperor of Austria. To all this audacity Napoleon replied by a decree, dated July 9th, the first article of which was—"Holland is re-united to France!"

Events had occurred in England from which greater political changes were expected than ever resulted from them. By the non-attendance of George III. at the opening and closing of the session of parliament, and by other indications, it had long been suspected that the king was suffering under his old distressing malady. In the autumn of the preceding year, 1809, when his majesty entered upon the fiftieth year of his reign, it was determined to celebrate the anniversary as a grand national jubilee. The government, under Mr. Perceval, took the lead; but the call was eagerly and unanimously responded to by the municipalities of the kingdom, and by other public bodies and societies; and the great mass of the population hailed the 25th of October with every possible demonstration of loyalty, attachment, and respect. It was truly a national festival, and a gay and beautiful one, for that October month was more than usually fine and bright. The jubilee was observed as a holiday in every city, town, village, and hamlet; there was illumination and joy throughout the land; but the joy did not reach the interior of the old monarch's palace; for grief was there, and sickness, and the apprehension of death, and of what was worse than death. The king's mind had been over-wrought and over-excited by the Austrian war, which had then finished so disastrously, and by the Walcheren expedition, which was then terminating in such failure, and, as it was thought, in such disgrace. The nomination of the Earl of Chatham to that command had been completely a court nomination; and George III. is said to have reproached himself now for yielding to his own and the queen's partialities in favour of an amiable man who had proved himself to be unfit for the command. To an eye predisposed to despondence the whole aspect of affairs abroad was gloomy enough. Other causes of distress and agitation of a more private and domestic nature existed at the time of the jubilee, or were super-

added shortly afterwards (materials of which the spirit of faction caught hold, and turned to atrocious uses; but the grief of griefs in the bosom of the old king was the declining health of his youngest child, his darling daughter, the Princess Amelia, who had long been in a very precarious state. The king himself had long been suffering under a disorder of the eyes, and was now well-nigh blind. In the summer of 1810 the Princess Amelia was removed to Windsor in a state of great suffering. Her fond father visited her every day. When she felt that her end was approaching, the princess ordered a ring to be made, inclosing a lock of her hair, with her name on the inside, and the words "Remember me when I am gone." The mournful token was made and delivered. The next day when the king came to her bedside, and darkling, held out his hand to her, the princess put the ring on his finger silently. He felt the ring, he understood all that it imported, he controlled his agony; but, when he had quitted the chamber of death, his intellect was found to be quite overset. This was on the 20th or 21st of October, 1810. The Princess Amelia lingered till the 2d of November; but, though she missed her father's daily visit, she knew not the sad condition into which her fatal present had thrown him. On the 25th of October, the anniversary of the king's accession to the throne, it was publicly announced that his majesty was again attacked by the mental malady under which he had before laboured. Parliament met on the 1st of November, and after some adjournments, and examinations of physicians, both houses proceeded to regulate the necessary regency. The debates were long and laborious. At last, on the 30th of December, Mr. Perceval proposed the same limitations and restrictions on the powers of the regent as were carried by Pitt in 1788. They were contained in five resolutions, four of which were forthwith carried, the fifth being postponed till the next day.

A.D. 1811. There was no time for keeping Christmas holidays. On the 2d of January the fifth resolution, which concerned the care of his majesty's person, was settled and carried, though not as ministers had framed it. The five resolutions were then taken up to the lords, who passed them all with one trifling alteration. The ceremony of installing the Prince of Wales as prince-regent took place in Carlton House on Wednesday, the 6th of February. Ever since the 1st of November, the existing Tory cabinet had been universally considered as doomed. It was now expected that the regent would throw himself into the arms of his old friends and associates of the Whig party; but upon many and weighty considerations he declared that he would retain his father's ministry; and his decision was cer-

tainly acceptable to the great majority of the nation. *

On the 12th of February—six days after the installation of the regent—the session of parliament was regularly opened, not by the prince in person, but by commission. No speech from the throne since the beginning of the war had been more warlike. In the debates on the address, Lord Grenville explicitly declared his conviction that it was impossible to expect success in such a war—that, in a contest so unequal, the money and resources of this country must be expended with certain loss. The address, however, was carried in both houses without a division, and with far less opposition and oratory than might have been expected.

Soon after his installation it was reported that the regent intended to restore the Duke of York to the office of commander-in-chief of the forces. The universal voice of the army said, Re-appoint the Duke of York; thus seconding, or even anticipating the wishes of the regent. Accordingly, on the 26th of May, the duke's re-appointment was gazetted, and without any outcry. Even the opposition newspapers were nearly all silent on the subject. The duke signalized his return to the war-office by establishing regimental schools on the Bell system. The supplies voted for the year amounted to £56,021,869. Out of this sum £20,276,144 were appropriated to the navy, £21,269,940 to the army, £5,012,378 to the ordnance, £2,100,000 to subsidies, &c., for Portugal, and £400,000 as a subsidy to Sicily.

Acting at their own discretion, and on their own responsibility, our ministers had sent out reinforcements and other succours to Lord Wellington, at the moment when nothing was settled, and when it seemed doubtful whether they might not be displaced in four-and-twenty hours by their opponents, who had certainly induced people to believe that their first important proceeding would be the recall of our army from the Peninsula. In many particulars Perceval was not a good war-minister, and his cabinet was censurable for delay and indecision, and a proneness to adopt half measures; but their manly conduct at this critical moment entitles them to the admiration and gratitude of those who believe that it would have been disgraceful and ruinous to abandon the Spaniards and Portuguese, and that the only chance, not only for the continent of Europe, but also for England herself, lay in the prosecution of the war. If the contest in the Peninsula, which was draining the life-blood of France, had been given up at the beginning of 1811, there would have been no Russian war in 1812; the Emperor Alexander would have temporized, and would have endeavoured to avert hostilities by complying with the will of Napoleon.

But all the reinforcements which Perceval and Lord Liverpool had determined to send at their own peril did not exceed 7000 men, and these did not arrive until the beginning of March; while, in the month of January, Soult moved with 20,000 men towards the southern frontier of Portugal, to relieve and co-operate with Massena. Soult, who had thus begun to move two months before Wellington received his reinforcements, captured the fortress of Olivença on the 22d of January, marched forward for Badajoz, defeated a Spanish army under General Mendi-zabel on the 19th of February, and then, without further hinderance, sat down to besiege Badajoz. Before Soult could quite complete this operation, Massena commenced his retreat, having so wasted and eaten up the country that he could no longer remain where he was. He evacuated Santarem during the night of the 5th of March, and was closely followed by Wellington. Wherever the French attempted to make a stand they were beaten; and every day of the retreat added to their miseries. On the 21st of March, Massena reached Celorico, and re-opened his communications with the garrison he had left at Almeida, and with the Spanish frontier near Ciudad Rodrigo. At Celorico the headlong retreat of the French and the hot pursuit of the allies may properly be said to have terminated. Every horror that could make war hideous had attended this dreadful march. The retreat of Massena was more disastrous to the French even than Soult's retreat of 1809. Finding that Soult could not come up, and that he could not maintain himself even on the extreme frontier of Portugal any longer, Massena, after suffering some further loss in an affair at Sabugal, crossed the Agueda into Spain on the 6th of April. And thus terminated the third French invasion of Portugal. Their total loss had been immense: including the sick and wounded, Lord Wellington calculated it at not less than 45,000 men.

The English and Portuguese army were placed in cantonments between the Coa and the Agueda, and the blockade of Almeida was commenced. Lord Wellington had expected that the Spaniards at Badajoz would make a good stand against Soult; but there was cowardice and imbecility, if not downright treachery, within those walls, and General Imaz surrendered on the 11th of March, when Marshal Beresford was preparing to move to his relief. After the unexpected fall of Badajoz, Soult put his troops in motion to cross the Guadiana and the southern frontier of Portugal; but intelligence reached him from Andalusia which induced him to give up the command to Mortier, and to repair with all haste to Seville. While Soult had been engaged near the Guadiana, General Graham (the late veteran and

venerable Lord Lynedoch) had issued from Cadiz with the greater part of the British and Portuguese garrison, and had embarked with the intention of landing on the Andalusian coast, and of throwing himself upon the rear of the French army blockading Cadiz. Graham landed at Algeciras, and commenced his march back upon Cadiz by Tarifa. He had previously been promised the co-operation of a Spanish army; but the troops which joined him merited not the name, and their general, Lapeña, took the superior command over the head of Graham. On the 5th of March, the Spaniards kept aloof and allowed the English and Portuguese to fight Marshal Victor with 8000 men and a formidable artillery

Mortier, advancing from Badajoz with the troops which Soult had left him, made an incursion into the south of Portugal, but was soon driven back by Beresford. Between the 9th and 15th of April the allies recovered the fortress of Olivença, and two or three important positions. On the 2d of May, Massena, powerfully reinforced, re-entered Portugal, his first object being to relieve Almeida. The allies barred his passage at Fuentes de Oñoro; and there he was beaten again on the 3d of May, and again on the 5th, and by very inferior forces; for the army of Wellington was reduced to 32,000 infantry, 1200 cavalry in bad condition, and forty-two guns, while Massena had 40,000 foot, 5000 horse, and thirty pieces of artillery.

The loss of the allies also did not exceed 1500 men, while that of the enemy was about 5000. The French fled in disorder across the frontier, and Almeida was evacuated.

Bonaparte, before this, had become convinced that Massena was not the man to drive Wellington out of Portugal, and he had sent Marshal Marmont to supersede him. But Marmont, who now arrived, could do nothing more than continue the retreat which Massena had begun; and, retiring to Salamanca, he put the disheartened army into cantonments.

Marshal Beresford was now besieging Badajoz without the *matériel* necessary.

Soult hastened to raise this siege; and his movements led, on the 15th May, to the bloody battle of Albuera, where again "the Spaniards could not be moved," and where all the fighting fell to the British and a few Portuguese brigades. At the end of the conflict, only 1500 unwounded men remained out of 6000 unconquerable British soldiers, who had contended with the French for possession of the hill of Albuera. The total loss of the allies in killed and wounded was about 7000 men, of whom more than two-thirds were British; the French were computed to have lost 9000.¹ With his army lopped, and maimed, and spiritless, Soult did nothing on the 16th; on the 17th a



FUENTES DE OÑORO.—From a drawing by W. Telbin

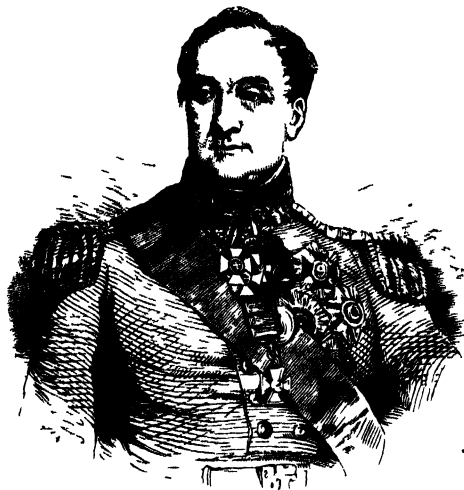
on the heights of Barrosa. Those heights were carried by the British bayonets, and in less than an hour and a half Victor was in full retreat. It was one of the hardest battles ever fought in the Peninsula, or in any other part of the world. Graham, who went into action with only 4000 men, lost 1243 in killed and wounded. Victor's loss was estimated at more than 3000, including more than 440 that were taken prisoners. But, except the honour gained to our arms, no important result followed the battle of Barrosa. Soult, from Seville, reinforced Victor, the blockading army, and the army of Portugal under Massena, who had now retreated as far as Salamanca.

¹ "All that I have published about Lord Hardinge at Albuera came from himself, and was given to me expressly for my history. Lord Hardinge's great merit was not so much the conception of pushing the fourth division and Abercrombie's brigade into renewed action, but in the resolution not to let Marshal Beresford's desponding view of the crisis prevail. He saw the battle might still be won if all the spare troops were pushed on, and decided for Beresford that it should be so. But it was 'dark or night, and had it been night, Beresford a better

judgment would have been justly extolled. Sir Lowry Cole, yielding to urgent exhortations executed one part of Hardinge's conception, as Colonel Abercrombie did the other parts, and with both it was an intrepid resolution—with Cole morally so as well as physically. He had been posted with positive orders at an important point; he was menaced by an enormous body of cavalry, he could not see the exact state of the battle on the hill above, but he knew it to be almost desperate for the allies; he could not know what reserves Soult had in hand, he could not

British brigade came up and joined Beresford, and on the morning of the 18th the French marshal began another retreat. On the 19th Lord Wellington arrived at Albuera, with two fresh divisions; and then the siege of Badajoz was recommenced, but with the same lamentable deficiency of means. On the 10th of June his lordship was called back to Portugal by the intelligence that Marmont was marching from Salamanca to join Soult. With admirable promptitude Wellington took up a position near Campo Mayor, along the menaced frontier of Portugal. The two French marshals joined their forces; but notwithstanding their great numerical superiority they ventured no attack, and our great captain was not again engaged during the year 1811.

General Hill, who had now the command on



GENERAL LORD HILL.—From a portrait by H. W. Pickersgill, R. A.

the Guadiana, advanced into Spanish Estremadura, surprised, surrounded, and completely routed General Girard, on the 20th of October, at Arroyo Molinos, took 1500 prisoners, all the artillery, baggage, &c., and cleared the whole of that country (except Badajoz) of the French. In the meanwhile the disconnected Spanish armies had continued to seek pitched battles and to find sure defeats.

Before the close of this year it was made evident to the world that the continuance of the friendship between the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander was an impossibility. The grand

be sure that an infantry column would not sweep round the hill and join the cavalry to fall on his right flank. Yet with all these dangers staring him in the face, he mounted the hill to attack more than double, it might be three times his own numbers, supported by a powerful artillery, and already half victorious. It was a great action, and so was Hardinge's stroke of genius, for which he has been long and justly eulogized.—Sir Wm. Napier, letter to the *Times*, Sept. 1856

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duchy of Warsaw had become little else than a vast garrison for the French, or a vanguard to their prodigious armies; or, if it were more than this, it was a centre of intrigues and machinations, all hostile to Russia. Bonaparte, too, had given no slight offence to the czar by dispossessing his near family connection, the Duke of Oldenburg, of his territory, contrary to the treaty of Tilsit. But, perhaps, the cause which contributed most of all to the quarrel, or which most hastened on the open rupture, was the continental system, to which Russia could not submit without ruin, and to which Alexander could not have attempted to adhere without incurring the risk of some of those summary proceedings wherewith the Russians had been accustomed to remedy the mischievous polity of their sovereigns. The nobility and great landholders of the country soon discovered the unchangeable truth, that nations cannot sell unless they buy; that this excluding continental system, which prohibited the purchase of British manufactures, colonial produce, &c., shut them out from the best market they had for their own produce, and prevented their exporting by sea what they grew on their own vast estates. The complaints of his powerful subjects had induced Alexander to issue, on the 31st of December, 1810, a ukase, by which colonial and other goods were allowed to be introduced into the ports of Russia, unless they clearly appeared to be the property of subjects of Great Britain. Such a restriction was futile, and was, as a matter of course, intended by the government of Alexander to be so: it was evaded with the greatest ease, and the trade with England might almost be said to be re-opened once more. Complaints uttered by the French ambassador at St. Petersburg were soon followed by arrogant and most insolent menaces. Some of the Parisian *littérateurs* in the pay of Bonaparte, who had formerly been employed in writing eulogiums of the just and magnanimous Emperor Alexander, were now set to work to traduce him, his whole family, his court, his country, and his people; and, between the autumn and winter of 1811 and the spring of 1812, as many and as atrocious calumnies were produced against the czar as had been issued against the unfortunate Queen of Prussia just before the opening of the Prussian war of 1806.

Bonaparte had driven from his presence Talleyrand and every other able and acute statesman, together with almost every man that presumed to entertain or express opinions opposite to his own; yet still it is said that a few sensible counsellors, men attached to his interest, as it involved their own, ventured gently to remonstrate against his present mad project, to represent the undecided state of the warfare in Spain, the frightful

drain made upon the population of France, as well as upon that of Italy and other dependent states, by that warfare, the sullen aspect of all the north of Germany, the spirit displayed particularly by the students in the German universities, the progress making by patriotic political societies in nearly all parts of Germany, the doubtful attitude assumed by Bernadotte, the insecure nature of the tie which bound Austria to him, and the wonderful and sudden influence which might yet be exercised on the continent of Europe by English subsidies. But the Man of Destiny frowned down these prudent advisers, or silenced their remonstrances with trenchant argument or rapid declamation. We look in vain for any new encouragement which he could have found anywhere, except in the predicted bankruptcy of England, and the now manifested intention of the United States of America to brave the maritime power of Britain, and rush into a war against the country to which they owed their origin, their language, and every high quality which distinguished them as a people. He considered that this American war must inevitably act as a capital diversion in his favour; and he hastened to negotiate an intimate alliance between the United States and France—between the model republic of modern times and the destroyer of republics old and new; between a people who had laid it down as a fundamental principle of their constitution and government that conquest by force of arms was unjustifiable and inadmissible, and a people and a man who had been conquering or overrunning, not only their neighbours, but nearly all the countries of Europe, for eighteen years.

A.D. 1812. The parliamentary session was opened on January the 7th, with the speech of the prince regent, delivered by commission. The speech dwelt upon the favourable military events of the past year. With reference to the subsisting differences between Great Britain and America it was stated that the discussions had not been brought to an amicable close; but that no measure of conciliation should be left untried, which might be found consistent with the honour of the empire, and the commercial and maritime interests of the country. The Marquis Wellesley, who was dissatisfied with some of his colleagues, and who was supposed to have contracted some engagements with the opposition, resigned on the 18th of February; and thereupon Lord Castlereagh returned to office, and succeeded the marquis as secretary for foreign affairs. The regent wrote a letter, which was purposely made public, to his brother the Duke of York, stating that he wished to see “a vigorous and united administration, formed on the most liberal basis,” and authoriz-

ing the duke to communicate the sentiments to Lord Grey, who would make them known to Lord Grenville. The Duke of York did what he was desired to do, and showed the regent's letter to Grey and Grenville; but they both flatly refused to join the Perceval administration. From this moment (with the exception of a moment or two of party hope and expectation) the Whigs began to revile the Prince of Wales whom they had so long flattered and applauded, and to applaud the Princess of Wales whom they had so long reviled, or treated with contempt or indifference. On the other side, the Tories seemed to renounce all their old sympathies for the princess, and to be determined to drive that unhappy, ill-advised, and imprudent lady, not only from court and the society of her daughter, but also from the country.

On Monday, the 11th of May, about five o'clock in the afternoon, as Mr. Perceval was entering the lobby of the House of Commons, a man, bearing the outward appearance of a gentleman, shot at him with a pistol: the ball entered his left breast and pierced his heart: he staggered, fell to the ground, and expired in less than ten minutes. The assassin did not attempt to escape; he went calmly to the fire-place, laid down his pistol, and acknowledged to every one that he was the person who had done the deed, saying that it was perfectly justifiable, and that no man save himself had ever known of his intention. And indeed it appeared immediately that no other person had been concerned with him, and that there was no mixture of political feeling in his motives. The name of the man was Bellingham, his condition that of a decayed merchant and unprosperous Liverpool broker. In a commercial visit to Russia some considerable time ago he had undergone serious losses, which he attributed to violence and injustice; he had repeatedly addressed Lord G. Leveson Gower, who had been our ambassador at St. Petersburg; and he had presented memorials to the treasury, soliciting a compensation for losses which, not having been incurred in the course of any public service, were considered as affording him no title to compensation. Perceval had refused, as was his duty, to listen to these applications; “but he could hardly have accompanied his refusal with any harshness, for few men had ever less harshness in their nature than he had; and yet this seems to have been all that had provoked this most savage act.” The murder was committed on the Monday; on the Friday following (it being session time) Bellingham was brought to trial at the Old Bailey, and convicted of the murder; and on the Monday morning of the next week, before nine o'clock, the murderer was hanged, and his body in the hands of the

surgeons for dissection, his heart, it was said, still beating faintly. Thus the whole of this dismal tragedy was enacted within one short week.

The public character of Perceval was much underrated, and his private character little understood. As a minister he had shown courage at a moment when courage was most wanted, and when timidity and hesitation must have brought on the most ruinous and degrading effects. His private character seems to have been not only without a blemish, but rich in some of the high and generous virtues. His disinterestedness seemed to be proved by the poverty in which he died.

Lord Liverpool, upon whom nearly the whole weight of government fell, was instructed by the regent not to make new overtures to Lords Grey and Grenville, but to attempt to reinforce the cabinet by bringing back the two former members of it, whose loss had been severely felt. Liverpool accordingly applied to Mr. Canning and to the Marquis Wellesley, who both declined his overtures, alleging the continued difference of opinion upon the Catholic claims, and upon the scale on which the peninsular war ought to be carried on. On the 22d of May all the ministers tendered their resignations to the regent. Various negotiations were opened. It was again found needful to apply to Lords Grey and Grenville. These two lords demanded a sweeping change in the household, and the right of placing comparative strangers about the regent's person. The regent refused to make this sacrifice, and hereupon the treaty ended. Nothing, therefore, was left—and perhaps nothing better was desired, not merely by the court but also by the country—but for the regent to go on with the old ministers, and to fill the post of premier with one of that body.

The warmest of the Whigs were compelled to confess that general opinion was at present decidedly against their party. On the 8th of June, the Earl of Liverpool acquainted the House of Lords that the prince regent had been pleased to appoint him first lord of the treasury, and to authorize him to arrange and complete the cabinet. Thus Liverpool became premier in lieu of Perceval; Earl Bathurst succeeded Liverpool in the double and onerous offices of secretary for the colonies and secretary at war; Lord Sidmouth (Addington), who had been so long out of office, and who had once figured as premier, was brought back as secretary for the home department; the Earl of Harrowby became president of the council in lieu of Earl Camden (who, however, remained in the cabinet, without office, and was elevated to the rank of marquis); Mr. N. Vansittart became chancellor of the exchequer; Lord

Melville (the son and successor of the old lord who had held that office so long, and on the whole so much to the benefit of the navy) succeeded Mr. C. Yorke as first lord of the admiralty; the Earl of Buckinghamshire took Lord Melville's place of president of the board of control; Lord Castlereagh remained secretary for foreign affairs; Earl Mulgrave master-general of the ordnance; and Lord Eldon lord high-chancellor. In the non-cabinet appointments and in the law appointments there were several changes. In the ministry of Ireland the Duke of Richmond continued lord-lieutenant, and Lord Manners lord high-chancellor; but the chief secretaryship, which had been held by Mr. W. Wellesley Pole, was now conferred upon Mr. Robert Peel.

On the 17th of June, Mr. Vansittart, the new chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward the budget, not as his own work or plan, but as that of his lamented predecessor. The plan intimated the design and the determination of giving more vigour to the war. In the preceding year the supplies proposed and voted amounted to £56,021,869; but now the total proposed and voted was £62,376,348. A number of petty new taxes were imposed, and two more enormous loans were raised.

On the 30th of July the parliament was prorogued by commission; and on the 20th of September it was unexpectedly dissolved.

We turn to the conflict of arms, which was more extensive, more terrible, and more decisive than in any preceding year. Great as were the British interests involved in that quarrel, and strange as is the history of the new American war, it was a mere episode in a grand epic, a by-scene in a busy drama. We shall not therefore depart from the usual order of our narrative, but proceed to the great events passing in the Peninsula.

Lord Wellington, who had found necessary rest and tolerably good quarters for his fatigued troops, put himself in motion as soon as it was time to move. He had not been idle during his stay on the Coa: there might be rest for the army, but there was none for him. During the latter months of 1811 he had been preparing with all possible silence and secrecy the means of re-capturing Ciudad Rodrigo, the possession of which still served the French as a basis of operations on one of the frontiers of Portugal. Marshal Marmont never guessed the intention to fall upon Ciudad Rodrigo in the midst of winter. On the 6th of January, Wellington suddenly moved his head-quarters forward to Gallegos, and on the 8th, part of his army crossed the Agueda and invested Ciudad Rodrigo without encountering any obstacle. By the 19th two

practicable breaches were made, and that very evening orders were given to storm the place. There was no time to lose, for it was known that Marmont was now hastening forward to the relief. But for this circumstance Ciudad Rod-

rigo might have been reduced with very little loss to the besiegers. In consequence of this interruption, the ordinary rules of siege had to be neglected, and lives expended to avoid the loss of minutes. The British advanced with



CIUDAD RODRIGO — From a painting by W. Telbin

their usual courage and defiance of danger, and their hardihood only the more exposed them to the storm; but, though the first assailants were struck down in heaps by the heavy thunder-shower of shot and shell, the torrent of onset suffered little interruption. The breach was carried, the ramparts were gained, the place was won; and the French, after making their last stand in the streets, fled up to the castle, where the governor afterwards surrendered. But the ardour of the victors, which had been transported to absolute frenzy by the terrible resistance, did not cool down with success, on the contrary, they gave way to the wildest excesses, in which all discipline was thrown off; the soldiers who had drunk themselves to intoxication, shot each other in their indiscriminate fury, and menaced their officers, and for a time they were as dangerous to their friends and leaders as they had lately been to the enemy. It was a foul blot upon the heroic record of the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo. In this terrible siege and storm, the allies lost 1200 soldiers and ninety officers, of whom 650 men and sixty officers had been killed or wounded at the breaches alone. On learning the fall of the town, which had occurred in half the time that had been originally calculated, Marmont, instead of attempting to recover it, retired to Valladolid.

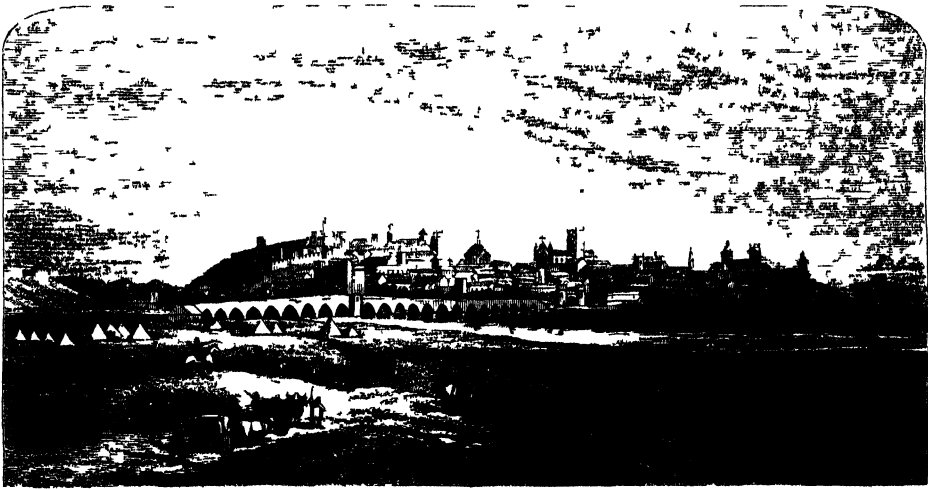
Having recovered Ciudad Rodrigo, Wellington resolved to attempt to recover Badajoz also before the French should be in force to oppose him. Here again the greatest secrecy and caution were

required. Stores were collected and movements made unsuspected by the enemy; and on the 16th of March the place was invested. On the 25th an advanced work was taken by storm, and on the 26th two breaching batteries opened on the town. On the 6th of April three breaches were reported to be practicable, and orders were given for storming the place at ten o'clock at night. The plan of attack was the most daring that could be devised, and could only have issued from a great successful commander at the head of an army in which the utmost reliance could be placed. Four simultaneous assaults were to be made on different quarters of Badajoz, and each division had its place on the map and its specified mode of onset. The night was dark, and the air thickened with exhalations from the rivers, but all was quickly illuminated with the lurid glare of musketry, artillery, and lighted carcasses; and as each attack advanced or was driven back, its progress could be marked by the predominance of the French *vive* or English *huzzah*. Ladders were flung down but as quickly replaced, mines were exploded and storming parties whirled into the air, but other parties took their place, while the assailants were in every case met by a courage and devotedness equal to their own. Difficulties also were to be encountered which had not been anticipated, for Badajoz had been strengthened by new and strong defences through the admirable skill of Phillipon, its French commander. Even the tops of the breaches were bristled with sharpened sword-blades fixed in massive beams,

that were chained together and set deep in the ruins, while the ascent in front was covered with loose planks, studded with iron points, on which the escaladers were impaled when they lost their insecure footing. In two short hours 2000 brave men had fallen. The assault still went onward, and it was not until daybreak, and after a loss of killed and wounded greater than that of the most important of his victories, that Wellington was master of Badajoz. But here, alas! the same wild excesses were repeated, and with aggravations, that had tarnished the glory of the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, and many who had survived that night of horror, lost their lives in the vain attempt to prevent the excesses of their comrades. For two days and nights Badajoz continued to be a hell of violence and murder, of lust, intoxication, and plunder, and it was only when the fiendish frenzy had done its worst, and been exhausted by its own violence, that silence succeeded and order was restored. It is melancholy to think that our countrymen will never be able to read the record of these two captures without having their exultation deadened by feelings of compunction and shame! On the 8th, Soult had collected

his army at Villafranca, but, hearing of the fall of the place he had intended to relieve, he began, on the morning of the 9th, long before daylight, to retreat once more to Seville. Again the French were warmly pursued by the British cavalry, who cut up Soult's rear-guard at Villa Garcia.

At another quarter, where the French were not the besieged, but the besiegers, they suffered discomfiture and loss, if not shame. Since General Graham's expedition with Lapeña, which had terminated unprofitably, but for the British not ungloriously, at Barrosa, some attention had been paid to garrisoning Tarifa, the old town on the Straits of Gibraltar. In the last days of the year 1811, Tarifa was invested by about 5000 men, whose operations were covered by another strong corps posted at Vejer. The place was garrisoned by about 1800 men, under the command of Colonel Skerrett. It appears that about 1000 of the men were British, the rest being Spaniards. On the last day of the year 1811 the French attempted to storm, but, numerous and bold as they were, were repulsed. During four days they kept up a continual fire the walls were knocked to pieces, the little town was laid



BADAJOS, from the North Bank of the Guadiana.—From a drawing by Capt Elliot, 1812

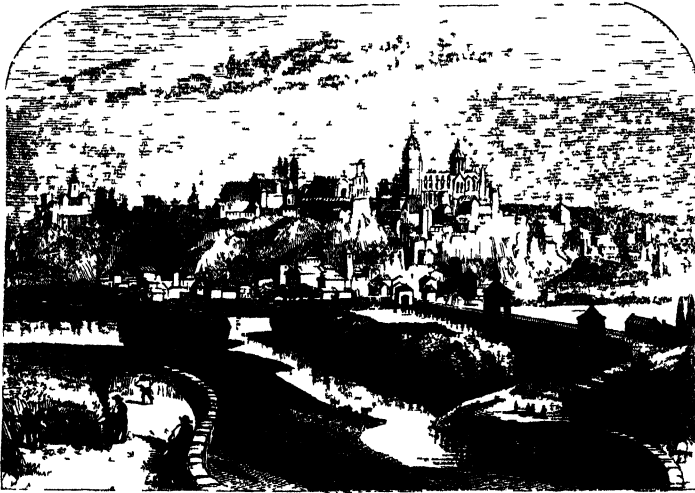
completely open, but they would not venture to try another assault, and on the night of the 4th of January they withdrew hastily, humbled and disordered, leaving behind them seven pieces of cannon, two heavy howitzers, and all the carriages and stores collected for the siege.

As soon as he obtained possession of Badajoz (on the 7th of April), Lord Wellington endeavoured to put the place into a good state of defence. But his lordship had short time to bestow upon these cares, for Marmont was making himself strong in the north, and was blockading both the Spanish fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo and the

partially ruined fortress of Almeida. Leaving General Hill in the south, his lordship, on the 13th of April, moved the main body of his army back to the north. Upon this Marmont gave up his two blockades, collected his troops within the Spanish frontier, and retreated to Salamanca. By a happy combination of rapidity, daring, and skill, General Hill attacked, and carried, by a brilliant *coup de main*, the strong forts which the French had erected at Almaraz on the Tagus to protect a bridge of boats which secured the communications between their armies of the north and south. By this operation Marmont was cut

off from Soult, and Soult from Marmont. On the 13th of June, Lord Wellington completed his preparations for an advance into Spain, and broke

amphitheatre, while at their extremity rose the steep rocky Arapiles, standing alone like a gateway to the amphitheatre, and forming the great points of observation, from the summits of which each commander watched the motions of his rival, and directed the movements below. But the great blunder of Marmont was a movement towards the Ciudad Rodrigo road, by which his left wing was entirely separated from the centre; and Wellington, who had been watching like an eagle from his aerie, saw that the day was his own. He gave the word of command, and instantly his troops poured down from the hills into the basin, and the battle commenced.



SALAMANCA, from above the river Zurguon — from Roscoe's Tourist in Spain

up from his cantonments between the Coa and the Agueda, with about 40,000 men, leaving General Hill on the Tagus near Almaraz, with about 12,000 more. On commencing his advance, his lordship was justified in calculating upon a chance of out-manceuvring Marmont, whose conduct had not impressed him with any very high notion of his military genius or capacity; and any brilliant success in this part of Spain was almost sure to compel Soult to raise the blockade of Cadiz, if not to evacuate the whole of Andalusia. Marmont was out-manceuvred, and on the 22d of July he was most thoroughly beaten in the great battle of Salamanca, which was fought on the heights near the town of that name. This was the greatest victory which Wellington had obtained in the Peninsula, and as such it demands a particular notice. There had been much manœuvring on the part of Marmont to cross the right of the allied army, and for this purpose he endeavoured to take possession of two solitary hills, called indifferently the Arapiles or Hermanitos, which were at a little distance from his own left and the allied right; but his purpose was discovered mid-way in its accomplishment, and on English troops being sent to prevent it, a race commenced, and afterwards a struggle, between the two parties, at the end of which each had possession of a hill, or Arapile, while only half a cannon-shot's distance lay between them. This movement, which occurred at day-break, occasioned fresh manœuvres, so that before the engagement the two armies confronted each other with an oval basin between, formed by different ranges of hills, like the barriers of an

Thus Marmont was caught at the very moment when he was in the midst of a complicated evolution, and during the conflict his troops were never able to recover from the consequences of this fatal step they were separated into three divisions too far apart to support each other, and were attacked, thrown into confusion, and routed in detail, while they were vainly struggling to reunite and form a new order of battle. Marmont himself was struck to the ground, and severely wounded by the explosion of a shell, while the fight was at the hottest; and Clausel, who succeeded to the command, could do little more than withdraw the army from utter destruction, and superintend the retreat. So quickly, too, was this great battle fought and ended, that in the words of a French officer, Wellington "had defeated forty thousand men in forty minutes." Headlong as was their flight, the French were followed very closely the whole way from Salamanca to Valladolid. Their loss in this remarkable battle was very severe. three generals were killed, four wounded; one general, six field-officers, 130 officers of inferior rank, and nearly 7000 men were taken prisoners; their total loss in killed and wounded could not be ascertained, but there was no disguising the fact that they left two of their eagles and six colours in possession of the British. They also abandoned twenty pieces of artillery, several ammunition waggons, &c. The field of battle was very thick with dead. The allies alone had 694 killed and 4270 wounded, out of which number 2714 were British, 1552 Portuguese, and all the rest—that is to say, four—Spaniards. The proportion of officers was very

great; Generals Beresford, Leith, Cole, Spry, and Cotton were wounded. Marshal Marmont, having been severely wounded, gave up the command to General Clausel, who now retreated towards Burgos, with almost incredible speed.

The victorious British general entered Valladolid on the 30th of July; and by the 12th of August he was in possession of Madrid. Joseph Bonaparte was on his way to join Marmont with 20,000 men when he learned the terrible catastrophe of Salamanca. He was now a fugitive, making for the left bank of the Tagus, with the intention of rallying his army between Aranjuez and Toledo. In consequence of this bold movement upon Madrid, Marshal Soult raised the blockade of Cadiz, destroying the works which the French had constructed with an enormous expenditure of money and labour; and, abandoning the whole of Western Andalusia, he concentrated his forces in Granada. Soult's retreat was very disastrous; his rear-guard was attacked by an allied force of English and Spanish, who issued from Cadiz, drove it from San Lucar, and took Seville by assault, although eight battalions had been left to maintain that city. In his march to Granada by Carmona, Soult suffered further loss from excessive heat, fatigue, scarcity, and the occasional attacks of armed bands of peasantry. General Hill, in the meanwhile, had advanced from the Guadiana to the Tagus, connecting his operations with those of Lord Wellington. On Hill's approach Joseph Bonaparte

abandoned the line of the Tagus, and fell back from Toledo to Almanza in Murcia, to keep himself in communication with Soult in Granada and Suchet on the borders of Valencia and Catalonia. By the close of August, Hill occupied Toledo, Ypez, and Aranjuez, thus covering the right of the allied main army, and guarding all the roads which led from the south of Madrid.

The situation of Lord Wellington in the Spanish capital was, however, very critical. As usual, there was no hope of effectual assistance from any of the ill-appointed and worse commanded Spanish armies. He had been promised

that an Anglo-Sicilian expedition should be sent from Sicily to the eastern coast of Spain, and in sufficient force to clear that coast, if not the whole of Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia. Much less than this would have compelled the French to withdraw altogether to the Ebro. But after the plan had been settled and agreed to, there arose various misunderstandings, differences of opinion, and delays. At length, towards the end of July, some days before Lord Wellington moved from Valladolid to Madrid, General Maitland and his Anglo-Sicilians arrived at Port Mahon in Minorca, exciting the hopes of the Spaniards and the fears of the French. Having joined 4500 vagabonds to his original force of 6000 men, Maitland proceeded to the coast of Catalonia, and anchored in the Bay of Blanes on the 1st of August. But instead of landing and attempting the siege of Tarragona, Maitland and a council of war determined to run down the coast to Alicante, the safety of which was supposed to be endangered, in consequence of a defeat which the Spanish general O'Donnell had recently sustained in its neighbourhood. The hearts of the Catalanian patriots died within them as they saw the British fleet quitting their shores. On the 10th August, Maitland landed

his troops at Alicante—Suchet, who was in sight, retiring to the Xucar. Our Anglo-Sicilians and the worthless Majorcan division occupied the country from which the French retired; but in less than a week Maitland received intelligence that Suchet had been joined by King Joseph, and that Soult was in rapid march with his army of Andalusia to join the king and Suchet; and



GENERAL VIEW OF SEVILLE.—From a drawing in the King's Collection, British Museum.

thereupon he found it necessary to evacuate all the country he had recovered, and to fall back to Alicante. Within that town and some works in front of it the Anglo-Sicilian expedition was cooped up, without the chance of effecting any powerful diversion in favour of Wellington.

It was vain to think of remaining at Madrid, where, if the allied army had not first been starved, three or four French armies, forming a total of 120,000 men, must have closed round it and cut off all retreat. The alternative left to Wellington was either to move to the north against Clausel, or to move to the south against Soult. He determined on the first of these movements, hoping that, although Clausel had now received large reinforcements, he should be able to give him some such lesson as he had given to him and Marmont at Salamanca—the doleful remembrances of which battle were known to have taken all their confidence out of the French infantry. Leaving two divisions under Hill near Madrid, his lordship marched with the remainder, on the 1st of September, back to Valladolid, which he re-entered on the 7th. Continuing his march towards Burgos, he fell in with the Spanish army of Galicia, which was found to be less than 10,000 men, undisciplined, ragged, and deficient in equipments. On the 19th of September the allied army entered Burgos, the French falling back to Briviesca, but leaving 2000 men, under General Dubreton, in the castle of Burgos. The possession of that fort was necessary for the security of the allied army in its present advanced and insecure position, and Wellington directed it to be invested forthwith, though he was ill-furnished with siege artillery, and well knew that the castle, strong by its natural position, had been fortified by the French with great care. The siege was very unsuccessful, and a series of assaults cost the lives of many of our brave men. On the 18th of October, as Wellington was preparing to renew his assaults, he learned that Soult and Joseph were advancing with 70,000 men. He was therefore under the painful necessity of abandoning the siege and of effecting a junction with Hill, who at the approach of Soult retired slowly towards Salamanca. On the 21st of October the allied army retired to Palencia, where it was joined by a fresh brigade from England under Lord Dalhousie. A third French army from the north, under the command of Souham, was now close upon Wellington, harassing the rear-guard. Yet with most admirable generalship his lordship extricated himself without loss, effected his junction with Hill, and returned to his unassailable frontier positions. By the 20th of November the main body of the British and Portuguese were distributed in their old cantonments within the frontier of Portugal,

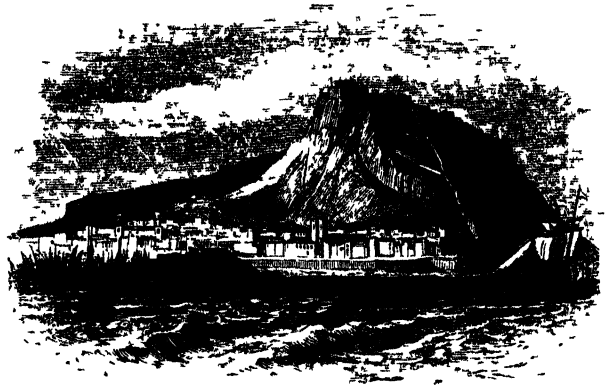
between the Agueda and the Coa; and Hill's corps moved into Spanish Estremadura, into cantonments near Coria, and towards the Tagus.

The Spanish generals, who had done absolutely nothing to assist him, impudently condemned Lord Wellington for not keeping Madrid, and for not taking the castle of Burgos. In England harsh criticisms were uttered in the spirit of party and of malevolence or ignorance. The opposition again predicted that his lordship must inevitably be driven out of Portugal. His own brief and manly words are the best defence or explanation of his conduct. "I am much afraid," said he, "from what I see in the newspapers, that the public will be much disappointed at the result of the campaign, notwithstanding that it is, in fact, the most successful campaign in all its circumstances, and has produced for the common cause more important results, than any campaign in which the British army has been engaged for the last century. We have taken by siege Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca, and the Retiro has surrendered. In the meantime the allies have taken Astorga, Consuegra, and Guadalaxara, besides other places. In the ten months elapsed since January this army has sent to England little short of 20,000 prisoners; and they have taken and destroyed, or have themselves retained the use of, the enemy's arsenals in Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, Valladolid, Madrid, Astorga, Seville, the lines before Cadiz, &c.; and, upon the whole, we have taken and destroyed, or we now possess, little short of 3000 pieces of cannon. The siege of Cadiz has been raised, and all the country south of the Tagus has been cleared of the enemy. We should have retained still greater advantages, I think, and should have remained in possession of Castile and Madrid during the winter, if I could have taken Burgos, as I ought, early in October, or if Ballasteros had moved upon Alcazar, as he was ordered, instead of intriguing for his own aggrandizement. . . . I see that a disposition already exists to blame the government for the failure of the siege of Burgos. The government had nothing to say to the siege. *It was entirely my own act.* In regard to means, there were ample means, both at Madrid and Santander, for the siege of the strongest fortress. That which was wanting at both places was means of transporting ordnance and artillery stores to the place where it was desirable to use them. The people of England, so happy as they are in every respect, so rich in resources of every description, having the use of such excellent roads, &c., will not readily believe that important results here frequently depend upon fifty or sixty mules more or less, or a few bundles of straw to feed them; but the fact is so, notwithstanding their

incredulity. I could not find means of moving even *one* gun from Madrid. As for the *two* heavy guns which ——— endeavoured to send, I was obliged to send our own cattle to draw them; and we felt great inconvenience from the want of those cattle in the subsequent movements of the army." As for the security of Portugal, his lordship could be under no apprehension. With Badajoz in the hands of the allies, with Hill beyond the Guadiana in Spanish Estremadura, and with no French force in Andalusia, or anywhere in the south, to march against him, the southern frontier of Portugal was safe. With regard to the northern frontier, where his lordship and the main army were stationed, although letters were intercepted from Joseph, which ordered Soult to make Portugal the seat of the war, it was clear that that marshal would not again approach the line of the Agueda, or re-enter a country where he, his predecessors, and successors, had met with nothing but calamity and loss. Ciudad Rodrigo being in our possession, and Almeida being re-established, it was no easy matter for any enemy, however fresh and bold, to penetrate by that entrance. There was a pause in the war in this quarter, which lasted not only through the remainder of the winter, but through the spring of 1813.¹

At Alicante the Anglo-Sicilian army—in which there were not 2000 British soldiers—continued to be shut up. General Maitland resigned in the month of November, and was succeeded by General Mackenzie. But General W. Clinton soon came down from Sicily, and took the command. Clinton would have introduced more activity, but he was checked by the jealousy of the Spanish governor. On the 2d of December, General Campbell arrived from Sicily with 4000 men, and took the command, thus making the fourth general-in-chief in four months! On acquainting himself with Suchet's formidable position on

the Xucar and with other discouraging circumstances, Campbell declared that it would not be prudent to attempt anything until the arrival of



ALICANTE —From Chapuy, L'Espagne

Lord William Bentinck, who was reported to be coming from Sicily with still more considerable reinforcements; but his lordship never arrived until the 3d of July, 1813. We have omitted, and we must continue to omit, the minor but very brilliant operations of the navy under our Cochranes, Hostes, and other heroes, who rendered very important services to the armies in Sicily, in the Peninsula, and other parts of the globe. In squadrons or in single ships our enemies were so completely defeated that scarcely a hostile flag could be found in the open sea, so that our sailors were obliged to search for captures upon the coasts and in the rivers of those countries with which we were at war. This kind of service familiarized them to land operations, of which our hardy tars had very little previous conception, and they were now expert in attacking batteries, by which they powerfully supported our military expeditions. Everywhere victory was steady to our sea-flag, save only in our new contest with the United States of America, in which, through a deplorable mismanagement of means, some dirt was thrown upon our national standard. To this war we must now direct attention.

¹ Speaking of Wellington at this time, Maurel says.—"The following trait of character shows the man. The raising of the siege of Burgos was the only serious check he had received in this campaign. It might be supposed that a general who was forced to retire after brilliant successes, and who was at the time threatened by great and serious danger, would be little disposed to speak the truth at his own expense, and that he would naturally lay the blame on every one else, in a first burst of indignation. Yet this would be a mistake. Wellington wrote a very long account of the siege of Burgos, and he enumerates, in the completest and most unsparing manner, all the faults that he attributed to himself. We meet with the following observations in his correspondence:—'I have neglected such and such means of success; I have been guilty of a fault in taking thither the most inexperienced instead of the best troops; I did

not sufficiently watch over the execution of the orders that were issued,' &c. As for the operation viewed in itself, he says, with his sublime frankness, 'I see that a disposition already exists to blame the government for the failure of the siege of Burgos. The government had nothing to say to the siege; it was entirely my own act.' Here we have the man. This is his mode of settling accounts with his government and with fortune. This is the reason why all the documents that he has left possess so great a value. In his admissions, every word that occurs is an instinctive protest against falsehood, against the lack of integrity, against a slippery conscience, and against every kind of quackery. For this reason, this man will gradually force the admiration and the respect of the very persons who think themselves the most firmly rooted in their hatred of him."—*The Duke of Wellington: his Character, his Actions, and his Writings.*

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1812—1813.

GEORGE III.

Causes of offence between Britain and America—America favoured by the Whig opposition in England—Condition of the American government—Plans of the Americans to man their ships with British seamen—Umbrage occasioned in Britain by the practice—Ripening of events for war with America—Ineffectual attempts at conciliation—Reasons of the American president for going to war—War declared—Preparations of the Americans for the conquest of Canada—Unprepared state of Canada—The war commenced by the capture of Fort St. Joseph—First campaign of the Americans in Canada unsuccessful—Their successes by sea—Affairs of Europe—Sweden allied with Russia—Bonaparte persists in his purpose to invade Russia—His assembly of kings at Dresden—His immense army for the Russian war—Summary of his Russian campaign—Negotiations and subsidies of Britain in aid of Russia—War with America continued—Large supplies voted by parliament—State of the war in the Peninsula—Wellington appointed commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies—His limited means for action—His great victory over King Joseph at Vittoria—Encouragement to the allied powers derived from this victory—Disasters and defeats of the French in the Peninsula—Wellington advances upon the French border—Soult sent to oppose him—Unsuccessful efforts of Soult—The inactive expedition from Sicily to Alicante—Its effects in checking the progress of the French in the Peninsula—Its further proceedings and failure—Bonaparte's exertions to renew the war—Advance of the Russian armies—They are joined by Prussia—Their unsuccessful negotiations with Bonaparte—Bonaparte defeats the allies at Lützen and Bautzen—He enters Dresden—An armistice—Terms of a proposed treaty rejected—British influence and money increase the difficulties of Bonaparte—Defeats of the French armies in Saxony—Bonaparte's retreat—His unsuccessful efforts to retrieve his disasters—He crosses the Rhine and returns to Paris—The French become weary of the war—Insurrection in Holland against French rule—The Prince of Orange recalled by the Dutch—Congratulations in parliament at the successful aspect of the war—Pecuniary aids of the British government to the allied powers—Parliament adjourned.



EVER since their fortunate issue from a struggle (their war of independence) which had long seemed so hopeless, and which was in fact nearly as hopeless as ever when the government of Lord North, dismayed by Lord Cornwallis's surrender, and still more so by the strong array of the British opposition, consented to negotiate and to give them all they asked, our American brethren had shown a confidence, a vanity, and presumption, very distasteful to all Englishmen who loved their country, and very irritating to all of them who did not despise the display. If there was a brotherhood between us, it had become a brotherhood of Cain. Our descendants, whose population was constantly fed by fresh emigrants and adventurers from the mother country, and whose wastes were partially filled and tilled by these emigrants—the citizens of the United States, who had no language, no literature, no venerable tradition, no fame as a people, except such as they inherited from Old England, and shared with Englishmen—persisted in the rancorous hatred which had accompanied the war, were the first and foremost to traduce the name of England, to libel the genial cradle from which they sprang, to heap abuse, not only upon our national policy and form of government, but generally upon our national character. The

French Jacobins themselves did not speak more contemptuously of us, as an enslaved king-ridden and priest-ridden people, than did these Anglo-American republicans; nor did Bonaparte himself ever throw more disgusting personalities into a public and a national quarrel. These feelings of animosity, which ought not to have been expected from the party which had been successful in the contest, could not fail of provoking an angry and unwholesome reciprocity from some portions of the English people; but we have the facts confessed, and publicly avowed by more than one of the leaders of the American revolution, who came over to this country after the peace of 1783, to negotiate treaties of commerce, &c., that the British government was desirous and anxious to throw a veil over the past; that so far from wishing to recover the dominions it had lost, our government, together with the great majority of the nation, were of opinion that those dominions ought not to be accepted, even if the Americans were disposed to make a voluntary surrender of them, or to return to their ancient allegiance; that henceforward the two countries would do best apart; that by establishing relations of amity, trade, and commerce, there might be a mutual interchange of advantages; that the most earnest desire of England was to preserve peace, and to give conciliation a fair trial.

While this was the feeling of successive Bri-

tish ministries and of the great majority of the nation, there was a minority of the people of England, comprising most of the Whig opposition, who professed to rejoice that the Americans had succeeded, and that we had been humbled and defeated in their revolutionary war; who made themselves on all occasions the panegyrists of the tyro-republicans and their newly-created institutions, and who kept pointing to the meteor which had risen in the western world as to a glorious luminary which must shed beneficent light and warmth upon all the countries of the globe, and eventually count many of those countries as its satellites, or as imitative bodies revolving round it and copying its bright example. Civil and religious liberty, according to this minority, had fled from all the antiquated countries of Europe, and was fast flying from the shores of Britain, to seek a shelter beyond the western waves, and to find a home among the primeval forests of North America. For many years the United States were, to the busiest and most emphatic of our writers, more than an Atlantis or a Utopia. Even men of less ardent fancies and of less revolutionary tendencies were interested in watching the working and result of the greatest political experiment made in modern times, and wished that the American system of republicanism should be allowed a fair trial. The reaction came afterwards—long afterwards; but from about the year 1780 to 1790, when the progress of the French revolution distracted and then absorbed attention, all the countries of Europe joined in fostering the self-conceit of the Anglo-Americans. Little was heard but praises, more or less extravagant, of transatlantic virtue, *straight-forwardness*, and *simplicity*. The French made an apotheosis for Franklin even while he was living in the flesh among them, and frequenting their *petits soupers*, and their *soirées*, literary, scientific, political, and fashionable, in his plain bob-wig and shoes without buckles. A saying often used by Bonaparte at a later period might have been reversed at this time—*Cette jeune Amérique m'ennuie!*

The citizens of the United States paid the French back in admiration and praises when they overset the kingly government and built up a republic on a foundation of blood and dirt. Feasts were given in the States to commemorate the execution of Louis XVI., who had been their benefactor, and who had hurried on his own destruction by interfering in their quarrel, and by sending his subjects to study in their school. Washington, who retired from the presidency in 1796, after having vainly attempted to set some limits to democracy, was compelled to confess, that when once the spirit of revolution and change begins to act among a whole people, it is

impossible to say where it will stop; and he died in 1799 with the sad conviction that America could not exist long as a nation, unless she lodged somewhere a coercive or restrictive power which should pervade the whole Union. The Jeffersons and Madisons who followed him thought, on the contrary, that democracy ought to be unlimited and illimitable; that the French revolutionists and levellers were the best models to follow; and that the English must ever be the worst enemies of the republicans of the West. From the commencement of our war with France there had been numerous quarrels, and not a few actual collisions. It can hardly be denied that the commanders of our ships of war were occasionally rash; but our government constantly displayed a gentle and conciliating temper; whereas the authorities of Washington were invariably dogmatical and insolent, conceiving that their neutrality was worth any price, and that England must submit to any outrage rather than break with them. At the same time these Americans themselves submitted to a succession of injuries and insults from the French, and that too without any disturbance to the amity and partiality they professed for *La Grande Nation*. They were bullied in turns by the Girondins, the Jacobins, the Directory, Consul Bonaparte and Emperor Napoleon; yet, with the exception of a little blustering, which ended in words, they continued to favour the French, and to annoy the British cruisers and squadrons as much as they possibly could. Framing for themselves a new law of nations and a new maritime code, they fitted up privateers for the French; they insisted that free ships make free goods, that their ships were exempt from search, be the cargo what it might or whose it might; that no war or combination of circumstances ought to interrupt any portion of their trade; and that they had a right to carry provisions and stores to any port of France, even though that port were blockaded by the British.

Another and an inevitable cause of quarrel arose out of our impressment system, and out of the American system of converting, by the shortest and least ceremonious processes, British seamen and other subjects of his majesty into republican citizens of the United States. By the constitution of most of these federal states, five years' residence gave the rights of citizenship to every foreigner, and converted any Englishman, Frenchman, Spaniard, German, Dutchman, or native of any other old country, into an American citizen. But this five years' residence and probation had become a mere theory: in practice, five months, or weeks, or days, or even hours, sufficed for the transmutation; and ingenious crimps employed themselves in seducing British

seamen from their ships, from their allegiance, and from their nationality, by promising them a few dollars more wages than they obtained in our national or mercantile navy. There was a well-known Yankee adventurer of this description who boasted that he had, within a given time, made more American citizens than had proceeded from all the prolific matrons of the state to which he belonged—and not babes and sucklings, but full-grown able-bodied men, citizens that sprang into life, as the republic herself had done, in a state of ripeness and perfection, without going through the antecedent stages of existence. In Boston, in New York, in nearly all the large seaport towns of the Union, there were *bureaux*, or register-offices, or manufactories of American citizens, where English deserters and others, upon payment of a small fee, received a certificate of citizenship. In most cases this was done in a barefaced manner, with the sanction or connivance of the local government; but in some cases tricks and jugglings were resorted to in order to save appearances, and perhaps, also, to soothe or cheat the delicate consciences of some of the lawgivers. There was an old woman in one of these seaport towns who was mother or foster-nurse to a host of these Gracchi. She, too, had a conscience, and tried to cheat it and the devil also. She kept a big cradle, made for the purpose of rocking full-grown British subjects who were to be converted in a hurry into American citizens, in order that, when testimony should be called for to prove their birth, she might with a safe conscience swear she had known them from their cradle.¹ To escape from our press-gangs many of our seamen fled from our merchant vessels, where they were liable to be seized, entered American trading vessels as natives or citizens of the United States, and found skippers and shipmates ready to swear they were such. The common descent and common language of the two nations made discovery very difficult; the English runagates soon picked up a few Americanisms, a few of the common flowers of rhetoric, and the nasal twang was to be acquired in less than five years. But at times it would happen that the reported American citizen would have, on the fleshy part of his arm, those indelible marks which sailors used to love to produce with puncturing and gunpowder—a blue piece of tatoo, giving his real English name, and the name of the British ship in which he had served; and it happened still more frequently

that among the officers and crew of some English man-of-war searching the suspected American vessel there would be some that could recognize and swear to the identity of the newly and irregularly made American citizen—who could detect in many a Jonathan a real Jack, that had either deserted from the king's service, or had transferred himself from our merchant service, for the reasons above-mentioned, or for other reasons equally weighty. Yet even here a lapse of time or strong resemblances might deceive, and grievous though involuntary mistakes might be committed. And, besides, some of our more hasty officers, irritated by the notorious practices of the Americans, and by the frequent desertion of their men, might occasionally be not over-scrupulous in examining identities or in seizing sailors reported to be Englishmen. Our government, however, always disclaimed such practices, and never refused satisfaction when it was fairly proved that the seamen so seized were natives or *bona fide* citizens of the United States. Jefferson sternly rejected a proposal made by our government, that the true American seamen should always carry about with them certificates of their citizenship. The English minister must have known how such certificates were procured, but, such as they were, he offered to cause them to be respected. Jefferson held that the *simplest* rule would be, that a vessel being American should be evidence that all on board of her were Americans also, or that the flag ought to proclaim the citizenship of the whole crew, and not allow of any search or press. This principle was altogether inadmissible.

There were many intervenient heart-burnings, and not a few insults difficult of digestion, and which possibly might not have been digested by England if it had not been for the critical state of the war carrying on against Bonaparte; but it was not until the year 1807, when Jefferson was for the second time president, that the war-whoop was again raised against Great Britain. Bonaparte's Berlin decree, against which the Americans had never presumed to offer any serious remonstrance (Jefferson was engaged at the time in a friendly correspondence with the government of the devourer of republics, in order to obtain through his all-commanding means the cession from Spain to the United States of Florida), had, in the eyes of the British government, rendered necessary a retaliation, and had produced fresh orders in council, intended to support our maritime rights and commerce, and to counteract Bonaparte's continental system, the basis of which was the Berlin decree. As on other occasions, the American wrath was kindled, not against the first cause, but against the almost inevitable effect of that cause—not against France, who had made

¹ This piquant anecdote is told by a distinguished English diplomatist, who resided a long time in the country, and who was calm and considerate in judging of the government, and of the character and habits of the American people.—See *Notes on the United States*, by the Right Hon. Sir Augustus Foster, Bart., London, 1841 (unpublished), as quoted in *Quarterly Review*, No. cxxxv.

the grand innovations in national law, and who had trampled upon the rights of all neutrals, but against Britain, who resorted to measures for self-defence, and with the object of abrogating the most monstrous system that ever European conqueror had attempted to impose.

The bickerings at sea, the mutual manifestoes and embargoes, the stoppages to trade, and the diplomacy which followed, cannot be narrated here. In the month of December, 1807, Jefferson succeeded in carrying a resolution that all trade and intercourse with foreign nations should be suspended; and matters remained in this state down to the declaration of war in June, 1812—an interval which the American government employed in adding to the number of its gigantic frigates, and which the commercial classes spent in a hopeless struggle against bankruptcy and ruin. To the last moment the British government continued to negotiate and to testify an anxious desire for peace. They modified the orders in council in favour of the United States; and on the 16th of June, 1812, Mr. Brougham (now Lord Brougham), the most eloquent of the advocates for the revocation of the orders, moved in the House of Commons an address to the regent, beseeching him to recal or totally suspend the said orders in council, and to adopt such other measures as might tend to conciliate neutral states. Lord Castlereagh then declared that it was the intention of government to conciliate the United States; and, accordingly, on the 23d of June, there appeared in the *Gazette* a declaration from the regent absolutely revoking the orders in council as far as they regarded America. But by this time President Madison had not only made up his mind for war, but had commenced military operations.

It has been usual to say that the revocation came too late; that if our government had conceded it only a few weeks or a very few months earlier, there would have been no war with America. Now Madison had been treating with Bonaparte's government ever since the end of 1810; he had agreed to the preliminaries of a treaty with that government early in the summer of 1811; and the whole course of his conduct, and his passionate desire to illustrate his presidency by annexing Canada to the United States, were proofs demonstrative of his determination to brave a war with England. The truth is, that Madison and his party had nicely calculated on which side lay the greater amount of profit to be obtained, or whether the United States would gain more by going to war with England than by putting herself in a state of hostility against Bonaparte and his edicts. As for the cogent logic of fear, or as to any immediate apprehensions from the "invincible" armies of the Man

of Destiny, they could now have gone for nothing, for the French had no fleets left to convey great armies across the Atlantic—they could scarcely show a ship at sea anywhere. "Everything in the United States," says the historian of our navy, "was to be settled by a calculation of profit and loss. France had numerous allies; England scarcely any. France had no contiguous territory; England had the Canadas ready to be marched into at a moment's notice. France had no commerce; England had richly-laden merchantmen traversing every sea. England, therefore, it was, against whom the deadly blows of America were to be levelled."¹ In April, 1811, when (according to French authorities) Madison's envoy at Paris got the St. Cloud revocation, and got other assurances from Bonaparte, the great storm gathering in the North, and which was destined to accelerate that conqueror's ruin, was not yet discernible to the eyes of American statesmen; when it became visible to them it was rather too late to retract, if Madison and his party had been inclined so to do; but it would appear that there was no such inclination, and that the president and the whole party felt inwardly convinced that the Man of Destiny would prevail over Russia as he had done over Prussia and Austria, and the more surely from Prussia and Austria being now his allies and assistants, and sending, like nearly every country in Europe, their troops to fight under the conqueror's orders. These Americans had cultivated the friendship of Russia; they had sent envoys to St. Petersburg, who had fallen down on their knees as if to worship the throne of the czar; they had shown a strong leaning of affection to the Russian legation at Washington, and Jefferson had declared in his most emphatic style, that he firmly believed the Emperor Alexander to be not merely the best of sovereigns (for that were but a poor compliment according to his republican notions), but the best and most virtuous of men—"one enthusiastically devoted to better the condition of mankind"—and one who had "taken a peculiar affection to America and its government;"—but, notwithstanding all this, they believed, and they now hoped, that Alexander would be crushed as the Emperor Francis had been, and that Bonaparte would soon date his decrees from St. Petersburg as he had done from Vienna and Berlin.

On the 1st of June, President Madison sent an awfully long message to both houses of congress, enumerating all the provocations received from England, commencing from the very beginning of the existence of the United States as an independent nation, reviving differences which had been long since considered as settled, putting in new pretensions and causes of quarrel, inventing

¹ James.

some facts, and distorting others, giving a false colour and character to the conduct of the British government, misrepresenting the temper and feeling of the British people, and cleverly jumping over all the provocations, insults, and serious injuries which America had received from republican, consular, and imperial France, and to all of which she had so meanly submitted. On the 4th of June, probably because that day was the birth-day of our poor, old, blind, and distraught king, who had once been his sovereign—Madison laid before the two houses copies of the correspondence which had passed between his government and Mr. Foster, the English envoy at Washington, intimating that from that correspondence it would appear that Great Britain was determined neither to revoke her orders in council nor to concede any important point. Stormy and terrible were the debates which followed; loud were the boastings of one party, and dismal the predictions of the other. On the 18th of June, two days after Mr. Brougham's friendly oration in the House of Commons, they came to their resolution and declaration. Quibbling to the last, they did not declare war as it is usual to declare it; but they declared that the United States and Great Britain were, and had for a long time past been in an actual state of war! This determination was carried in the house of representatives, by seventy-nine against forty-nine. The supporters of war were chiefly from the western and southern states to Pennsylvania inclusive; the advocates for peace were chiefly from the eastern and northern states. The ominous note of dissonance was again heard, the eastern and northern states complaining that their interests were sacrificed to the passions and the interests of their neighbours. When the news reached Boston, that city, though the cradle of the American revolution, put on mourning, and muffled its church bells. The same tokens of distress and grief were displayed in other towns of the east and north; but at Baltimore, where, as in other parts of the southern states, swarms of privateers were all ready to pounce upon the British West India trade, the exulting and furious mob perpetrated cruel atrocities upon some of the opposers of the war.

The president had resolved to begin with the conquest of all Canada. Early in the year 1812, months before the hostile declaration, and while Madison was constantly assuring our envoy that he wished to continue amicable negotiations, the van of the invading army was assembled near the Detroit frontier: it was 2600 strong, was well provided with artillery, and was under the command of Hull, who passed with the Americans for a great general and strategist. To defend the far extending frontiers of Upper and Lower

Canada, and to do garrison duty in the interior of those vast provinces, we had only, of regular force, about 4000 men, and some of these were invalids: the Canadian militia then incorporated in the two provinces amounted to about the same number. Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief of these forces, was, if not an old woman, assuredly no general. But fortunately we had in the upper province an officer of energy and ability, the gallant and still lamented Major-general Brock. This officer, knowing of the gathering of Hull's force on the Detroit frontier, and seeing that war was certain, sent discretionary orders to a British officer in charge of Fort St. Joseph to act either offensively or otherwise against the enemy at Michilimachinac, as he should find advisable; and that officer, on the 17th of July, a month all but a day after the declaration of war at Washington, captured the American place, with its garrison of sixty men and seven pieces of ordnance. This was the first operation of the war, and was attended with very important consequences.

Hull and his republicans crossed our frontier above Detroit, being preceded by a boastful proclamation, in which he spoke of success as certain, and in which he invited and incited the *oppressed* citizens of Canada to throw off their allegiance to a king, and become citizens of the republic. Hull's first serious disappointment was to find that his proclamation was laughed at, and that the Canadians of all classes were loyal and firm. He had not advanced far from the frontier before he was hedged up in a corner, with his retreat and supplies alike cut off; and on the 10th of August this great strategist capitulated with 2600 men and thirty-three pieces of cannon. The republican general, Van Rensselaer, who followed him with 1400 men, was not more successful; he was beaten and made a prisoner at Queenstown in October, and his entire corps was surrendered. Such was the result of Madison's first Canadian campaign; such the first success of his project to make, in his own phrase, "*territorial* reprisal for *oceanic* outrages." The loss on the side of the British and Canadians would have been very inconsiderable indeed, if it had not included that of the gallant Brock.

Madison's success on the ocean, where success could scarcely have been hoped for, was somewhat more consoling. Under the name of frigates, he had put to sea ships that were equal in force to most of our ships of the line. Too many of our frigates left on the American station or in the West Indies were old and weak—were of that description which our sailors contemptuously called "*jackass frigates*." More British ships of the line and the largest of our frigates, with full crews and the best appointments, ought to have

been sent to the American leviathans that were afloat under the fictitious name of frigates; but our admiralty did not take these necessary steps, and left our frigates exposed to very unequal contests. One of these combats may serve as a fair specimen. On the 19th of August a battle was fought between our frigate the *Guerrière*, Captain James Richard Dacres, and the United States frigate *Constitution*, Captain Isaac Hull. The American frigate, only seventeen days from port, was in the most perfect condition, with her stores ample, and her powder fresh; she had 476 picked men; in height, in length, she far exceeded her opponent, and the weight of her broadside was one-half heavier. The *Guerrière* was old, and absolutely worn out with long cruising. She was on her way home to be repaired or condemned; her bowsprit was badly sprung, her mainmast had been struck by lightning and was in a tottering state, her gunner stores were deficient, and what remained of her powder had lost its strength from damp and long keeping. She had on board only 244 men and nineteen boys; yet the gallant young Dacres fought the big *Constitution* for nearly three hours. A flag thus lowered could carry no honour to the victors. The republicans were very desirous of taking the *Guerrière* into port as a trophy, but the poor frigate was so rotten and so shattered in her hull, that by daylight of the morning after the action she was found to be sinking. Having removed the prisoners on board, Hull gave orders to set her on fire; and she soon blew up. Although they returned to port without their trophy, the American captain and his officers and men were applauded to the skies, were honoured with the thanks of the government, and were presented with 50,000 dollars as a reward for their wondrous exploit. As for the Americanism of their tars, nearly one-half of the seamen of the *Constitution* were natives of England or Ireland—were renegades that might have been disposed to fight the more desperately (as many such deserters and traitors were found to do on other occasions) from their dread of the yard-arm or the gibbet, if their present comrades and brethren should be beaten and they themselves captured. It appeared in evidence on a court-martial that these British subjects on board the *Constitution* were leading men or captains of guns. Several of them were personally known to some of the officers of the *Guerrière*. In fact, there were on board the *Constitution* so many men whom the crew of the *Guerrière* considered as their countrymen, that the American captain became seriously alarmed lest some feeling of compunction and remorse, some natural return of the love of country, should induce the renegades and deserters to join the captured crew

of the *Guerrière*, overpower him and his native Americans, and carry the *Constitution* as a prize into the British port of Halifax. Hull kept his prisoners manacled and chained to the deck during the whole of the night after the action, and during the greater part of the following day.

We showed at the close of the year 1811 the temper and policy of Bernadotte as Crown-prince of Sweden, who had devoted himself to the interests of the nation over which he was called to rule, the disposition of the Russian cabinet, and the fixed determination of Bonaparte to attack the Emperor Alexander in his own vast and remote dominions, because that sovereign would not ruin his country by enforcing the Berlin and Milan decrees. He treated Bernadotte like a revolted subject and traitor: he summoned Sweden as a vassal, to enforce his decrees against the British trade; he seized and confiscated fifty Swedish merchantmen; and lastly, in January, 1812, he sent Davoust, one of the roughest and most brutal of his generals, to take possession of Swedish Pomerania and the isle of Rügen. This aggression induced Bernadotte, who had been corresponding with Russia before, to sign a treaty of alliance with the Emperor Alexander. The treaty was signed in March, 1812; and in an interview which took place between the Gascon and the czar, their plan of resistance was settled.

The astute Fouché once more interposed between Bonaparte and his ruin. He presented a memorial full of facts, arguments, and even eloquence; but, together with other advice from better quarters, it was thrown away upon the pride and conceit of the Man of Destiny, who seemed now but a foredoomed man. "I regulate my conduct chiefly by the opinion of my army! With 800,000 men I can oblige all Europe to do my bidding. I will destroy all English influence in Russia, and then Spain must fall. My destiny is not yet accomplished; my present situation is but the outline of a picture which I must fill up. I must make one nation out of all the European states, and Paris must be the capital of the world!" Such, we are told, was the rhapsody which he returned to his friendly remonstrants and advisers. Though his head was clear, both head and heart were possessed by a sort of monomania; and, just before the campaign and during its progress, as well as after its final termination, he betrayed symptoms of an alienation of mind, and of a disordered state of stomach and of general health.

Before quitting Paris, Bonaparte directed Maret, now Duke of Bassano and minister for foreign affairs, to write a letter to Castlereagh, proposing negotiations with England on the basis of the *uti possidetis*. He now professed to be

willing to grant nearly everything that he had refused during the negotiations which preceded the rupture of the peace of Amiens, but he would not relinquish his hold upon Spain, and insisted that his brother Joseph should continue to be its king.¹

Early in May, Bonaparte grossly insulted the Russian minister at Paris, and sent him his passports. On the 9th of May, the Emperor of the French, with his young Austrian empress, set off for Dresden. Obedient to his summons, the kings of his own making, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, Westphalia, and other tributary princes, met him in the fair Saxon capital. Thither also repaired the Emperor of Austria, with his empress; and the King of Prussia, who could not bring his queen, for she had been slain by the evil tongue and evil doings of Bonaparte and his agents. His Prussian majesty had been already obliged to sign a treaty which placed 20,000 men of his diminished army at the disposal of Bonaparte. The Emperor of Austria now engaged to furnish 30,000 men to act against Russian Poland. After brilliant festivals, and balls, and plays, wherein Talma played to a parterre or pit of kings, Bonaparte quitted Dresden and his wife, and posted to Thorn, where he arrived on the 2d of June. His immense army was already assembled in Poland, chiefly between the Vistula and the Niemen. Europe had never seen such a condensed host: there were 270,000 French, 80,000 Germans of the Confederation of the Rhine, 30,000 Poles, 20,000 Italians, Lombards, Tuscans, Venetians, Romans, Neapolitans, and 20,000 Prussians. in all 420,000 men! On the 24th and 25th of June, this immense army, in three large masses, crossed the Niemen, then the boundary of the Russian empire, and entered Lithuania, without meeting with any opposition.

From an army so numerous, so composed of the *élite* of European troops, and led by the first man of the age, nothing less than prodigies of victory and conquest were expected. But the result of this memorable campaign may be summed up in a brief space. With an army reduced by sickness, sanguinary battles, and the operations of the Cossacks, to 120,000 men, Bonaparte reached Moscow to encounter famine, solitude, and an universal conflagration. He began his retreat from that burning capital on the 19th of October, and was soon overtaken by all the hor-

rors of a Russian winter. On the 14th of November, when he left Smolensk, he had only 40,000 men able to carry arms. On the 5th of December he stole away from the wretched remains of his troops, to commence a rapid flight towards France. He reached Paris on the 18th of December at night. The loss of the French and their auxiliaries, in the whole of the Russian campaign and retreat, is estimated at 125,000 slain in fight; 132,000 died of fatigue, disease, hunger, and cold; and 193,000 prisoners, including 3000 officers and forty-eight generals. They had left behind them 900 pieces of cannon, and 25,000 waggons, cassoons, &c.

The British government had greatly exerted itself in aid of the Russians. A treaty of peace between England and Turkey had been concluded in 1809, and at the beginning of the present year Mr. Stratford Canning speedily, and with great ability, negotiated a treaty between Sultan Mahmoud and the Emperor Alexander, which enabled Russia to withdraw from the Danube an army of 30,000 or 40,000 men, and to bring that army upon the flank of Bonaparte's flying and disorganized forces. In the month of July a treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and Sweden, the ally of Russia, was ratified; and in the month of August, when Bonaparte was penetrating into the heart of the Russian empire, with victory in his van, a treaty of peace and union was ratified at St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia. The Russian fleet, which would have been frozen up and rendered almost helpless, if left in its own ports, was brought over to winter in England. It was chiefly English money or English credit which set the armies of the Emperor Alexander in motion. A French officer who accompanied General Lauriston to the Russian head-quarters once said to us, "We had been led to believe that your credit was gone, that England was bankrupt; but, when I found everywhere that your bills of exchange and bank-notes were received and passed as if they had been gold, I trembled for the result of our daring enterprise!" English aid, both privately and publicly, was promptly given to the Russians who had suffered in the war. We have a distinct recollection of the generous sympathy and enthusiasm with which a large subscription was raised in the city

¹ Speaking of Napoleon at this time, Miguet says:—"It was in 1812 that the decline of his empire was manifest. All were weary of his domination. All those by whose concurrence he had been raised took part against him. The priests had secretly conspired since his rupture with the pope. Eight state-prisons had been officially erected for the dissidents of this party. The mass of the nation also showed itself as weary of his conquests as it had formerly been of factions. It had expected from him attention to private interests, the increase of commerce, respect for the interests of humanity, and it found itself oppressed by con-

scriptions, by imposts, by the blockade, by the prevotal courts, and by the 'consolidated taxes,' the inevitable consequences of his conquering system. He had no longer for adversaries only the small number of men who had remained faithful to the revolution, and whom he called *ideologists*, but all those who, without any precise opinions, wished to realize the material advantages of a better civilization. Abroad, the people groaned under a military yoke, and the humiliated dynasties aspired to restore themselves. The whole world was ill at ease, and a check naturally led to an universal insurrection."—*Hist. of French Revol.*

of London, for the purpose of rebuilding the city of Moscow.

Parliament, with a newly-elected House of Commons, assembled on the 24th of November. Its most noticeable measures previous to the Christmas recess were a grant of £100,000 to the Marquis of Wellington, and a grant of £200,000 for the relief of the sufferers in Russia.

A.D. 1813. After some stormy debates in the commons on the American war, in which the opposition not only blamed the ministry for the negligent manner in which the maritime part of the conflict had been conducted, but also charged them with having been the aggressors, and with having provoked an unnecessary and fatal contest, Lord Castlereagh, on the 18th of February, moved an address to the prince regent, expressing entire approbation of the resistance proposed by his royal highness to the unjustifiable claims of the American government, a full conviction of the justice of the war on our part, and the assurance of a cordial support from that house. The opposition renewed their censures, but they were too weak to try a division; the address was agreed to, *nem. con.*, as was another in the House of Lords to the same effect.

The budget was introduced on the 31st of March. The requisite supplies of the year were stated at more than £72,000,000, out of which England and Scotland were to furnish more than £68,500,000. This was a larger amount than had been voted in any preceding year; but the American war promised to be expensive, and it was generally felt that at this decisive moment we ought to put forth all our strength, in order to finish the contest in Spain, to prolong our aid to Russia, and to give encouragement and assistance to the other nations of the Continent that should rise and throw off their chains. All the estimates were voted by immense majorities. Among the ways and means were war-taxes to the amount of £21,000,000, a fresh loan to the same amount, and a vote of credit for £6,000,000.

The Russian catastrophe not only prevented Bonaparte from reinforcing his marshals in Spain, but it also obliged him to recall the best of them, and the only one among them whose generalship had cost Lord Wellington any very serious thoughts. This, of course, was Marshal Soult, who, early in the year, was removed from the Peninsula, to oppose the Russians, then about to advance through Germany to the banks of the Rhine. Soult, however, took only 20,000 men with him, thus leaving about 70,000 men to oppose Wellington, besides the army of Suchet in the eastern provinces. The army of Portugal, as it continued to be called, was now placed under

the command of General Reille, who had his head-quarters at Valladolid; the army of the centre, under Drouet, was distributed round Madrid; and the army of the south had its head-quarters at Toledo. Generals Clausel and Foy commanded separate divisions in Aragon and Biscay. Before the campaign began, Andalusia and Estremadura in the south, and Galicia and Asturias in the north, were entirely free from the French.

Doing at last what they ought to have done at first, the Spanish provisional government, with the consent and approbation of the cortes, made Lord Wellington the commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies, and took some measures to improve the discipline and effectiveness of their troops. In the main, however, these things remained but as a good intention; for the regency had hardly any money except what they received from England, the insurrections and wars of independence in the South American colonies stopping at the fountain-head the supplies which Spain had been accustomed to receive from that quarter; and the pride, ignorance, and indocility of the Spanish commanding officers, and the slothfulness and indiscipline of the Spanish troops, were evils not to be remedied of a sudden, or in the course of one trying campaign. And therefore the only army upon which Wellington could rely for field operations consisted of about 63,000 British and Portuguese infantry, and about 6000 cavalry. His lordship commenced active operations about the middle of May, making the allied army enter Spain in three separate bodies; the left under Sir Thomas Graham, the hero of Barrosa, the right under the indefatigable Hill, and the centre under his own immediate command. The combined movements of these three divisions were so well managed that the French were taken by surprise. By the 20th of June, the whole of the allied army was beyond the Ebro and concentrated near Vittoria. On the 19th the enemy, commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, having Jourdan as his major-general and director, had taken up a strong position in front of Vittoria. They were attacked there on the 21st, and were more thoroughly beaten and cut up than ever they had been before by Lord Wellington. The intruding Joseph had a very narrow escape; his travelling carriage, his papers, his fine wardrobe, some of his women, much of his plunder, and his splendid side-board of plate, were taken, and several of his attendants were captured, or cut down, or shot in their flight by the revengeful Spaniards. The French army rallied at no point of its line, and they carried off with them only one gun and one howitzer. "The soldiers of our army," said Lord Wellington, "have got among them about £1,000,000 sterling

in money, with the exception of about \$100,000 which were got for the military chest." Among the innumerable trophies of the field was the baton or marshal's staff of Jourdan. Lord Wellington sent it to the prince regent, who gave him in return the baton of a field-marshal of Great Britain. Of arms and materials of war there were taken 151 pieces of brass ordnance, 415 caissons, more than 14,000 round of ammunition, nearly 2,000,000 musket-ball cartridges, 40,668 lbs. of gunpowder, fifty-six forage-waggons, and forty-four forge-waggons. When the battle began, the numerical strength of the two armies was about equal. But on the side of the allies the Spaniards, though they behaved better

than they had hitherto done, were not to be compared with French soldiery. The French had in many actions made greater slaughter of a Spanish army, but they had never, in any one instance, reduced an army even of raw volunteers, to such a state of total wreck as that to which their own army was now reduced. They saved themselves from destruction or from captivity by abandoning the whole *matériel* of the army, and by running like a mob.¹

The news of this decisive battle of Vittoria gave strength, spirit, and union to the allied armies acting against Bonaparte in Germany, dissipated the last misgivings and indecisious of Austria, broke up the congress assembled at



GENERAL VIEW OF VITTORIA — From a painting by W. Tellier

Prague, which before would have treated with the French, and have left them in possession of many of their conquests; and it gave to the voice of the British government and its envoys a vast increase of consideration and influence. Without

this battle of Vittoria and its glorious results in June, there would have been no battle of Leipzig in October.

King Joseph hardly once looked back until he had reached the strong walls of Pampeluna,

¹ By the time that the battle of Vittoria was fought Napoleon had lost in Spain 140,000 men. Most of these must have perished in the perpetual warfare the French had to wage with the guerrillas. The author of *Lights and Shadows of Military Life*, written by a Frenchman, and edited by the late General Sir Charles Napier, gives some interesting notices of this warfare.—"In Spain we never travelled singly, the first tree would have served as a gibbet for the imprudent wight who should have ventured alone upon any road. It was necessary to go in bodies, with advanced guard and rear-guard always ready to fire. But in travelling in Spain we were obliged to make frequent halts. At each town some portion of the convoy found themselves at the place of their destination, the column, thus weakened, needed fresh reinforcements before it could pursue its route. Half, nay, I may say almost the whole of the French army was occupied in escorting couriers. We had garrisons in all the towns and in all the villages upon the highroads, and very often midway between them there had been erected little forts, block-houses, redoubts, each occupied by perhaps a hundred soldiers. All these posts, all these garrisons, furnished a greater or less number of men for escorts according to the presumed force of the bands of insurgents that were in the environs

This service was extremely arduous, and it may be affirmed that it caused the death of more Frenchmen than the most sanguinary pitched battles. We were masters of all the towns and villages upon the road, but not of the environs at the distance of 100 paces. It was a war of every day, of every hour. If the escort was numerous and well commanded it met with nobody in its way, in the contrary case, the enemy appeared on every side of us. It may be said that in Spain he was everywhere and nowhere.

"The reports that reached us respecting his force and his movements were scarcely ever true, whereas he was apprised day by day, hour by hour, of what we were doing. We were counted in every village, and the enemies' leaders always knew which was our weak side. For the rest, these bands fled before a few riflemen. Unless greatly superior in number, they would not dare to attack us boldly, and in this case they had the immense advantage of surprising us in ambushes. The country is so broken by mountains and precipices that it is impossible to guard the roads properly. When a chief of guerrillas had come back from an expedition his whole band dispersed, the arms were hidden, and each returned to his home, after agreeing to meet again on such a day, perhaps twenty or

in Navarre, among lofty mountains, the offshoots of the Pyrenean chain. He did not stay there long. A French garrison was left at Pampeluna as well as San Sebastian; but both places were very soon invested by the allies. Except on the eastern coast, where Suchet kept his ground with about 40,000 men, there was not a spot in all Spain where the French could move or show themselves.

Some portions of the allied army went right through the mountain passes in pursuit of the French; and upon the 7th of July, the last divisions of the army of Joseph Bonaparte, after being driven from the very defensible valley of San Estevan, descended the reverse of the Pyrenees, and entered France. Lord Wellington then became master of the passes of San Estevan, Donna Maria, Maya, and the renowned Roncesvalles; and his sentinels looked down from the rugged frontier of Spain upon the level and fertile plains of France, which lay in sunshine at their feet as if inviting their approach. Thus, in five and forty days from the opening of this memorable campaign, Wellington had conducted the allied army from the frontiers of Portugal to the confines of France; he had marched 400 miles, had gained one of the completest of victories, had driven the French through a country abounding in strong positions, had put the intrusive king to a flight which was to know of no return, had liberated Spain from everything but the evil consequences of Spanish folly, impatience, vanity, and presumption; and he now stood as a conqueror upon the skirts of France.

Bonaparte felt the need of Soult's services in Germany; but, seriously alarmed for the safety of his own southern frontiers, he sent away that marshal from the grand army with very extraordinary powers, with a sort of *alter ego* character, and with the title of "Lieutenant of the Emperor." Soult was to take the entire command of the defeated troops, to re-equip them, to gather formidable reinforcements, to lead his masses speedily against Wellington, to clear the French frontier and the passes of the Pyrenees, and to relieve Pampeluna and San Sebastian, and drive the allied army behind the Elbro. And all this Soult

undertook to do; or he thought it expedient to tell the army that he had undertaken it, and that his hopes were good. He flew through Germany and through France, giving his urgent and imperative orders, and collecting all manner of disposable forces: and on the 13th of July he reached the southern frontier, and took the command of the disorganized fragments of Jourdan's army. But after the faintest gleams of success in the Maya and Roncesvalles passes, Soult failed completely, and after several sanguinary battles among the Pyrenees, which greatly thinned his army, was driven back to France by the 1st of August. During these "Battles of the Pyrenees"—they were ten in number—Sir Thomas Graham, with a considerable part of our army, was engaged in the siege of San Sebastian, being as usual badly provided with *matériel*, and having hardly any sappers and miners. On the 30th of August, a French column attempted to relieve this place, but the spirit of the men had so sunk that they allowed themselves to be beaten by a corps of Spaniards. On that same day San Sebastian was stormed and taken. This town, built on a low sandy isthmus, with the river Urumea on one side, the harbour on the other, and the cone-shaped Monte Orgullo behind, had the advantages of her position so greatly strengthened by walls, bastions, and batteries, most of them lately constructed, that it was able to maintain a formidable and protracted resistance. The castle surrendered on the 8th of September, with 2500 men in it; but this terrible siege had cost the allies nearly 4000 in killed and wounded. Also, on the 31st of October, the 4000 French in Pampeluna, having lost all hope of relief, surrendered to Lord Wellington's tried and steady friend Don Carlos de España, who had latterly commanded the blockading forces.

On the 10th of November, our troops began to descend from the Pyrenees into the valleys on the French side. Soult now occupied a very strong position on the Nivelle. Some affairs of posts followed; and on the 13th General Hill with 13,000 men repulsed and defeated Soult with 30,000. Then, in despair, the French marshal retired into his entrenched camp. Nothing of

thirty leagues off. The French set out in pursuit of them, they did not meet with a creature; and the Paris newspapers proclaimed to all Europe that such or such a general had, with an intrepidity deserving the highest admiration, driven the brigands into their mountains; that they were a cowardly crew, unworthy to bear arms, &c. But all these fine official phrases did not prevent the brigands, as they were termed, from assiduously pursuing their vocation. By harassing us incessantly they fatigued our men, who fell ill. They occupied half the army in protecting couriers, and very frequently a battalion was not sufficient to escort a letter!

"The great art in partisan warfare is always to attack, and never be forced to accept battle. The guerrillas made it their study not to be found when we looked for them; to pounce upon us like vultures when we least expected them; and it

must be confessed that they effectually performed their task. Sometimes it happened that they were hanged when taken in arms: this was the dark side of their calling, the reverse of the medal; but they served the French who fell into their power in the same manner; nay, they frequently carried their reprisals to the most revolting barbarity. On several occasions they flayed alive the prisoners whom the fortune of war had thrown into their hands; many of these miserable wretches were sawed asunder between two planks: one of my friends was buried alive in the ground, all but his head, which served as a mark for the savages to play at bowls. One might fill volumes with the atrocities committed on both sides in this graceless war; but I can affirm, without fear of being contradicted by any one, that we were always less cruel than the Spaniards."—*Lights and Shadows of Military Life*, p. 282, 285-287.

importance occurred on the Nivelle during the few remaining days of the year 1813, for the allied army had need of rest and reinforcements.

While the grand allied army under Wellington had been gathering all these laurels, the badly-

of considerable ability. Murray found that the *morale* of this heterogeneous *corps d'armée* was exceedingly bad, and that fierce jealousies and quarrels were raging between the British and Spanish soldiery, and between the latter and the Sicilian and Calabrian corps in our pay. Being, however, ashamed of the long inaction at Alicante, Sir John Murray, early in March of the present year (more than two months before Lord Wellington commenced his brilliant advance from his Portuguese cantonments), moved into the mountainous district of Castalla, drove Suchet's outposts before him, and placed his own advanced post about Biar. In April, Suchet took the field in force, and on the 12th marched against the advanced post which Sir John Murray had established in the pass of Biar, drove it in, and captured two mountain guns. Then, rushing



SAN SEBASTIAN — From a painting by W. Telbin

organized expedition which had been sent from Sicily and from the Balearic Islands to the coast of Spain, and which had been under the command of so many generals in a short space of time, had done nothing to reflect honour on British arms. But this fault lay more with the British government, and the Spanish commanders and functionaries, and the bad composition of most of the auxiliaries or mercenaries which Lord William Bentinck had sent down from Sicily, than with the British generals who, one after the other, had the misfortune to command such troops and to serve under such disadvantageous and perplexing circumstances. There was failure—perhaps there was disgrace: but this great consideration is ever to be borne in mind—that but for the presence of this allied force on the eastern coasts and in Catalonia, Suchet, the most successful of all the French generals in the Peninsula, might have started from Valencia, have traversed the breadth of Spain, and either have joined Jourdan and King Joseph with 30,000 fighting men before the disastrous and decisive battle of Vittoria, or have joined Soult when he had forced his way back into Spain through the Pyrenean passes, and was hammering at the allies in order to force his way onward to Pampeluna. After the command of the allied forces in the east had been tossed from hand to hand like a shuttlecock, it was given to Major-general Sir John Murray, who was considered an officer of spirit and

through the pass, but with only three divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, Suchet, on the 13th, attacked Sir John Murray, who had chosen and occupied an excellent position in the mountainous country of Castalla. The French reached the upper slope of the mountain; but a close steady volley from the British 27th, and a bayonet-charge by the same regiment, drove them down again with considerable loss. Some of the Spaniards behaved well, and supported this charge of the 27th, which so disheartened Suchet that he made no second attempt, but retreated immediately through the pass of Biar, and thence by the road by which he had advanced. Just at this moment, owing to some absurd apprehensions on the part of Lord William Bentinck and our ministers at home, that Murat might invade Sicily with part of the Neapolitan army, and place that island in jeopardy, 2000 British troops were withdrawn and sent back to Sicily. At the end of May, Sir John Murray quitted Alicante by sea, and carried the army back to Catalonia, to besiege Tarragona. This enterprise ended in a total failure, not unattended with disgrace. Lord William Bentinck now arrived, and took the command of this unlucky army. After some manœuvring and a very little fighting, Suchet removed the French garrison, destroyed the fortifications, together with a part of the town of Tarragona, and retreated behind the Llobregat. This was in the middle of

August. The allies now entered the desolate city, and made the convenient port of Tarragona the rendezvous of the British fleet. Making an imprudent advance, Lord William Bentinck sustained a severe check at Viliafranca in September. Shortly after these operations his lordship returned to his political and diplomatic duties in Sicily. He was succeeded in the command by General W. Clinton, who found this allied army of the east doing nothing and incapable of doing much. When Clinton proposed to invest Barcelona the Spaniards refused to assist him.

In other quarters nearly every day of this year had been a day of crisis. On his return to Paris, on the night of the 18th of December, 1812, Bonaparte found that conspiracies had broken out even in his capital during his absence in Russia; that in many parts of France the people had testified great joy at the several times falsely reported news of his death; that discontent or absolute disaffection had shown itself in different directions, and among various classes; and that some of his marshals and generals were not exempted from the suspicions of his secret police. The new conscriptions were, however, enforced with the utmost rigour; the militia or national guards were drafted into the skeleton battalions of the regular army; some of the guards and other troops were immediately recalled from Spain; the sailors of the useless French fleets were regimented and sent to serve on land—no possible means were neglected to swell the military force, and to enable the foiled conqueror of nearly all Europe to retrieve his fortunes by one tremendous and decisive campaign. And to such an amount were his forces swollen that, in the year 1813, Bonaparte had (counting all his troops, in all quarters, and of all services) from 700,000 to 800,000 men under arms. Out of this number he collected in Germany, early in the spring, an army of 350,000 men.

The Emperor Alexander had lost little time in putting his armies in the track of the fugitive enemy. He took the field himself in the very midst of that horrible winter, and flew in sledges over the snow from Petersburg to Wilna, where, on the 22d of December, 1812, his now concentrated army and his hordes of Cossacks saluted him with the most enthusiastic hurrahs. From Wilna the Russian army advanced in two grand divisions, the one taking the direct road by Warsaw, the other taking the road by Königsberg and the northern provinces of Prussia. The majority of the Poles now received Alexander as a deliverer; the Prussians, with so many wrongs to avenge upon the French, welcomed the Russians with transports of joy; and such was the national enthusiasm and the rage against Bonaparte, that no attempts of the Prussian king and

government could possibly have prevented or delayed the junction of the Prussian with the Russian troops. General Yorck, who commanded the 20,000 Prussians who had been sent to serve as a contingent force in the invasion of Russia, had behaved with rare sincerity and moderation. He was serving against his will and against the will of his sovereign, he was serving against the dearest interests of his country; and, when the retreat from Moscow became a *débâcle*, he was so placed, in the line of retreat, that if he had only moved his corps the French loss must have been still more frightfully increased, while, if he had turned his arms against them and had fallen upon them in their confusion—as many of his officers and nearly all his men wished him to do—not one out of every ten of the French fugitives that afterwards rallied and made head in Germany would have escaped. But Yorck remained true and steady to the treaty which bound his master to the French, until the moment when his sovereign revoked his orders, and declared that treaty to be broken by Bonaparte. The French still occupied Dantzic, Glogau, Stettin, and other Prussian fortresses on the Oder; they had 30,000 men near Posen, and a strong garrison in Berlin. Frederick William was in a manner besieged in his own capital, and most of his troops were scattered in the midst of French cantonments and formidable French garrisons. Notwithstanding, on the 22d of January, his Prussian majesty suddenly quitted Potsdam and repaired to Breslau, where he could give the hand to the advancing Russians, and correspond directly, or confer personally, with the Emperor Alexander.

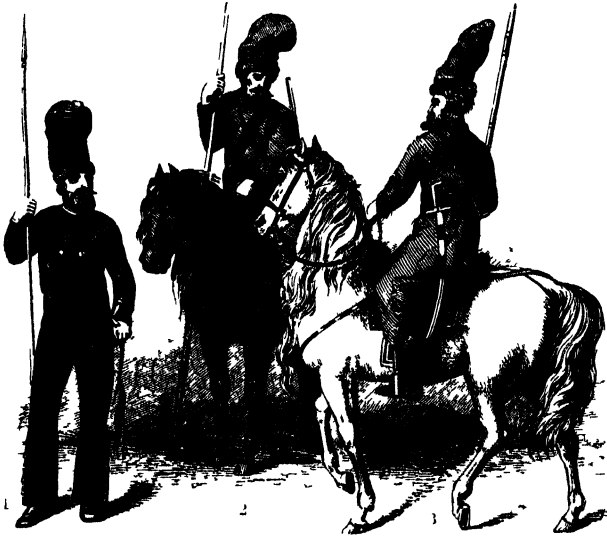
After an interview with the czar, Frederick William sent to Bonaparte to propose an armistice, the conditions of which should be that the French should evacuate Dantzic and all the Prussian fortresses they occupied on the Oder, and retire behind the Elbe into Saxony, in return for which the Emperor Alexander would stop the march of his victorious armies, and remain behind the Vistula. But this proposition was indignantly rejected by the Emperor of the French, who well knew that, in his case, to recede was to fall. On the 28th of February, or as soon as he learned the rejection of his proposition by France, Frederick William concluded a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with Russia. This treaty, being ratified at Kalisch, became the basis of the *sixth coalition* against France. By the treaty Prussia engaged to furnish 80,000 men, without counting her *levées en masse*; and Russia promised 150,000 men. Austria was invited to join the league, which as yet proposed little more than the liberating of all Germany; but the court of Vienna, though it

increased its armies, and collected an imposing force in Bohemia, close to the frontiers of Saxony, professed a desire to remain neutral.

The Russians now blockaded Dantzic, and advanced from the Vistula to the Oder, where they were joined by the Prussian general Bulow and his veterans. Eugene Beauharnais fled before the allies; and he was sorely molested on his retreat by the Prussian insurgents and pulks of Cossacks. On the 4th of March, Berlin was

clear of the French the whole of Pomerania and Mecklenburg, and then inundated the country on the Lower Elbe. This carried the flames of insurrection into other states and populous cities. Beauharnais repulsed the Russian division of Wittgenstein, dispersed, on the 5th of April, a corps of observation established at Magdeburg, threatened the road to Berlin, and stopped for some days the advance of the allied van. After this check, however, the allies advanced and

occupied Leipsic. Beauharnais had been rapidly reinforced by troops from all parts of France and from Italy; and now, on the 25th of April, when his stepfather arrived from Paris, the line of the Elbe was defended by a force far superior (numerically) to any that the Emperor Alexander and Frederick William had near to it. As soon as he reached his army Bonaparte determined to resume the offensive, hoping to strike a grand blow before the allies should have time to collect their forces in one great head, and by a single battle to recover Leipsic, Dresden, Berlin. Some of the Russian generals, in command of divisions which had been too widely scattered, were taken by surprise; other commanders, both Prussian and



COSSACKS.—1 Cossack of the Line 2, 3, Cossacks of the Don.—From Military Costumes of Europe and drawings in possession of the Earl of Kinnaird

evacuated by the French; even Dresden was evacuated on the 27th of March; and, after having reinforced some of the French garrisons left in the countries from which he had fled, Beauharnais rallied behind the Elbe with about 40,000 men. But every day brought some fresh proof of the detestation in which the French were held throughout Germany—brought some unquestionable evidence that the fire was at last kindled in the great Teutonic heart. Fifty, a hundred insurrections broke out simultaneously; and day and night the cold March air was filled and warmed by the patriotic songs of the German students, who had thrown away their pens and books for swords and muskets, and who were calling upon all classes—upon every man or youth of the Germanic breed—to follow their example, and aid in expelling the oppressors and demoralizers of their country. Körner's "Men and Cowards," and "Song of the Sword," wrought more miracles than the "Marseillaise Hymn." Germany had slept and dreamed for an unseasonably long time, but her wakening was sublime and full of hope. Ten thousand Cossacks under Tettenborn, aided by the insurgents, swept

Russian, were too far in the rear to know of the rapid approach of Bonaparte, who, on the 2d of May, fought and won—but not without immense sacrifices—the battle of Lützen. On the 21st he attacked the Russians and Prussians again, and obliged them to retire from the well-contested field of Bautzen. But in both these affairs Bonaparte had been on the very verge of a defeat: the two victories led to no decisive result; the allies retired in good order, losing few prisoners and no guns. Bonaparte bitterly complained of this; but his generals observed to one another that these were no longer the days or the troops of Marengo, Austerlitz, or Jena, when one battle decided the fate of a war.

On the 14th of June, Great Britain made herself a party to the coalition, or to the treaty concluded between Russia and Prussia.¹ Some Eng-

¹ On July the 8th, a convention, known by the name of the Convention of Peterswalden, took place between Great Britain and Russia. On September the 9th, a triple treaty of alliance between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was ratified at Toplitz; and on the 3d of October a preliminary treaty of alliance between Great Britain and Austria was signed at the same place. The court of Denmark could not yet free itself from its French toils, and on the 10th of July, when the French had gained the

lish officers of the highest rank repaired to Germany and to the head-quarters of the allies, and abundant assistance was promised. The best present aid we could give was to find full employment for the large body of veterans still left in Spain. This was understood by the allies; but Lord Wellington surpassed all the expectations they had formed of him, high as those expectations indubitably were.

The allies withdrew both from Leipsic and from Dresden; and Bonaparte entered the fair capital of Saxony. He now consented to an armistice, which was to extend from the 5th of June to the 22d of July. Austria still professed goodwill, and an anxious wish to mediate; and Metternich himself hurried to Dresden, to proffer his good offices, and to act with the whole weight and authority of the cabinet of Vienna. He proposed that the French should entirely evacuate Germany, and that the Rhine should be the boundary of the French empire in that direction. The successive revolutionary governments of France, and Bonaparte himself, had repeatedly declared that the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the seas, were the natural boundaries of France; Metternich did not ask him to give back Savoy in the Alps, or his vast conquests and annexations beyond the Alps; the only point he insisted upon being the renunciation of everything beyond the Rhine. But Bonaparte arrogantly and resolutely refused either to give up the ground he had occupied beyond the Rhine, or to abandon the Confederacy of the Rhine, which was nothing more than a French combination against the independence and security of Austria, Prussia, and all Germany. True to his old practice, when Bonaparte found that insolence and bullying would not do, he tried the effects of cajolery and temptation. He would not think of offering or promising to give back to Austria her large and rich possessions in Upper Italy; but he tempted her with the promise of Dalmatia and all the poor and rugged Illyrian provinces, hinting that they might be extended, both inland and along the sea-coasts, at the expense of Austria's ancient foe, the Ottoman empire. Spurning the contemptible bait, Metternich replied that things had come to that pass that Austria could no longer remain neutral; she must either be with France or against France.

battles of Lutzen and Bautzen, when the star of Bonaparte seemed again to prevail and while the congress of plenipotentiaries were assembled at Prague, a reciprocal treaty of alliance and guarantee between France and Denmark was ratified at Copenhagen. It could not but happen that the Danes should be made to pay afterwards for this conduct of their government. But there was more than this: on the 3d of September, when Bernadotte and his Swedes, far away from their own frontiers, were advancing with the allies into the heart of Germany, Denmark declared war against Sweden!

Such, however, was the awe in which some of the advisers of the European sovereigns still stood of the mighty means and military genius of the ruler of the French, that conferences for a peace were resumed at Prague, Bonaparte engaging to prolong the armistice till the 10th of August; nor was the unmanly and now irrational diffidence fully dissipated until the news of Wellington's great achievement at Vittoria was carried through Europe and across the mountains of Bohemia. The diplomatists of the allied powers then sounded a higher note; the armistice expired on the 10th of August, and Austria joined the allies.

Months before the declaration of Austria the British government had sent very important aids into the north of Germany; it called upon his majesty's old and not unattached subjects, the Hanoverians, to rouse themselves into action and join the common cause; it furnished with a liberal hand money, arms, ammunition, stores, clothing, &c., not only to the Hanoverians, but to the Prussians, and also to the Swedes, who were about to commence operations from the southern shores of the Baltic. Lord Castlereagh's brother, Sir Charles Stewart (the late Marquis of Londonderry), was despatched to the seat of war, charged, on the part of his sovereign, with all the correspondence relating to the Prussian, Swedish, and Hanoverian armies. Sir Charles had especial letters of authorization to Bernadotte; and during the natural doubts and vacillations of that extraordinary Frenchman, that soldier of fortune and enthroned man of the revolution, he hardly ever quitted him. The Hanoverians flew to the arms which were offered to them by England with enthusiasm. In addition to our immense supplies of military stores, our government allotted £2,000,000 sterling to sustain the operations of Bernadotte and his Swedish army, and £2,000,000 more was given as a direct aid to Russia and Prussia. At the same time £500,000 was granted to Russia, in order that she might give equipment and efficiency to her fleet. Upon these largesses Russia undertook to raise her force in the field to 200,000 men, and Prussia to raise hers to 100,000. Even now, but for English money and English credit, and the promptitude of our manufactories in producing arms and all the materials of war, the allies would have failed in their campaign.

A series of battles was fought about Dresden on the 24th, 25th, and 27th of August, between the Austrians and Prussians on one side and the French and their German and other auxiliaries on the other. Bonaparte was decidedly successful. But, in rashly pursuing the allies into the mountains of Bohemia, Vandamme, with a corps of 30,000 men, was cut off and surrounded, and

was finally made prisoner at Kulm, with about 8000 of his men. Oudinot was beaten at Gross Beeren by the Swedes and Prussians commanded by Bernadotte. Ney, who was sent to replace Oudinot, only succeeded to his misfortunes, being soundly beaten in the battle of Dennewitz, which was fought on the 6th of September, in the neighbourhood of Berlin. The Prussian Blücher, too, was now taking vengeance for all he had suffered in and after the campaign of Jena. On the Katzbach, in Silesia, he routed the French opposed to him, and dislocated Bonaparte's base of operations. The King of Bavaria now made a separate peace with Austria: the King of Saxony and ex-Grand-duke of Warsaw was more steady, but his Saxon troops, like the rest of the German auxiliaries, began to desert from the French. At last, after a painful struggle between pride and necessity, Bonaparte turned his back to the

narrow bridge, or rather a succession of bridges, the allies, after a desperate struggle with the French rear, burst into the town, and, the bridge being blown up to prevent the allies from pursuing those who had already passed over it, 25,000 Frenchmen, caught in the town as in a trap, were compelled to lay down their arms and surrender as prisoners of war. The retreat from Leipsic was almost as disastrous as the retreat from Moscow. The French army was completely disorganized. On the 1st of November Bonaparte was at Frankfurt. But he could find no rest at any place on German soil. At last he reached the Rhine, and passed over the 70,000 or 80,000 men, who were all that remained to him out of the army of 350,000 with which he had opened the campaign in the month of May. Having placed this fragment of the grand army on the left bank of the Rhine, he set out for

Paris, where he arrived late on the evening of the 9th of November.

About 80,000 men, whom Bonaparte had left behind him in Magdeburg, Stettin, Dantzic, and other Prussian fortresses, all surrendered to the allies, a little sooner or a little later. Dantzic held out the longest; but even that strong garrison capitulated on the 24th of December. In Paris the humbled conqueror found none but gloomy faces. Of a sudden the French had become weary of the trade of war. So long as victory and conquest followed the standard of their



THE MARKET PLACE, LEIPSIC, during the Fair

allies, and began his retreat upon Leipsic with a dispirited army. He was closely followed by Russians, Austrians, Prussians, and Swedes. At Leipsic he determined to make a final stand. 'Give me but one victory,' said he, 'and Germany may yet be saved.' He fought two bloody battles at Leipsic, but neither of them was a victory for him. On the 16th of October the first battle took place: it was fought gallantly on both sides, but the allies had now a great superiority in numbers, and the French were repulsed and driven close upon the ramparts of the city. On the 18th the second battle was fought: the French divisions soon lost ground; 10,000 Saxons raised the patriotic shout for Germany, left them in a body, and went over to the allies. After this nothing remained but flight; and even for flight it was too late an hour. Bonaparte made his dispositions to effect his retreat towards the Rhine; but, while his army was filing out of Leipsic, on the morning of the 19th, by a long

emperor, so long as the national vanity was elated and the expense of the war supported by the countries into which it was carried, the great body of the nation could, with a wonderful facility, reconcile themselves to the tremendous loss of lives and of limbs: but defeat, reverse, disgrace quickened their domestic feelings, made them ask for their brothers and their children, and rendered, for the first time since the revolution, the war odious in their sight. They had previously borne nearly twenty years of almost incessant war, and every year, every separate campaign, however glorious or successful, had witnessed the immolation of immense numbers; and all this they had borne with a light heart and with very little murmuring—*Nos enfans sont morts sur les champs de la victoire, et pour la gloire de la France* [Our children are dead upon the fields of victory, and for the glory of France]—but one single year of disaster had changed their tone, and now it was—*Nos moyens, nos frères, nos enfans*

sont sacrifiés à l'ambition d'un tyran [Our means, our brethren, our children are sacrificed to the ambition of a tyrant]. The suddenness of the change is, in itself, a full proof of its cause and origin. The legislative body, which had so long been timid and submissive, now ventured to murmur and remonstrate. Bonaparte rated them in his peculiar manner, and told them that France had more need of him than he had of France—that in three months all their enemies would be driven from their territories, or he would be dead.

Although some men had reappeared in their secret sessions, who both felt that the imperial throne was not worth three months' purchase, and who now wished its overthrow, the senators voted and decreed whatever was bidden. They had already passed a decree for a new conscription of 300,000 men, including all those who had escaped the conscriptions of former years; and they had nearly doubled the taxes. But the people were worn out by the tremendous sacrifices they had already made: their newly-found repugnance to the horrors of war continued, even to the evaporation of their patriotism.

Bonaparte had said before this, that rather than give up Holland, he would sink it under the sea. But by this time nearly the whole of that country was freed from his intolerable dominion. Several previous attempts had been made; and at the beginning of the present year, when all the consequences of the Russian campaign were known, an extensive insurrection had been planned at Amsterdam in favour of the long-expelled Prince of Orange. This spontaneous and premature popular insurrection was quenched in blood. But when news arrived of Bonaparte's defeat at Leipsic, and of his ruinous retreat thence, the Amsterdam confederates and other bands of patriots resumed their labours. At first they proceeded with great caution and secrecy; but on the 15th of November, when a portion of the grand allied army was close upon their frontiers, the people of Amsterdam rose in a body, hoisted the Orange colours, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that house. The French authorities thought proper to quit the city. The confederates appointed the zealous Orangeist Count Styrum governor of the Hague in the name of the Prince of Orange; and the new governor issued a proclamation in the name of his prince announcing the happy change. So completely had the country been drained of its native troops and resources during the three years and a half that it had been annexed to France, that Count Styrum and the confederates could scarcely muster 1000 Dutch soldiers; and they had no arms, ammunition, accoutrements, military stores, artillery, or horses. They sent deputies over to London to tell the Prince of

Orange that his nineteen years of exile were over, and to invite him back to assume the government. Favoured by wind and weather, this deputation reached the British capital, where they excited a fresh joy and exultation, on the 21st of November. By the 25th the Prince of Orange had embarked in a British man-of-war; and he proceeded to his native country with the assurances of the British government that every necessary aid should be given to him, whether in troops or arms, money or military stores. The prince entered the city of Amsterdam on the 1st of December. In their reverses the French committed many shameful outrages. Some of them fled into Belgium, but others threw themselves within the formidable walls of Bergen-op-Zoom. Measures were promptly adopted for the formation of a Dutch army; and within the short space of four months 25,000 men were raised, armed, and equipped.

The Swiss authorities had entered into a convention with the Austrian generals on the 19th of December, engaging to allow a free passage through Switzerland. Thus the eastern, as well as the southern and northern frontiers of France, were left open to the allies.

Our imperial parliament, assembling much earlier than usual, met and discussed this great crisis of the civilized world. On the 4th of November the session was opened by the prince-regent in person. After a brief allusion to the king's continued indisposition, the speech from the throne passed to the subject of the great and splendid successes with which his majesty's arms and those of his allies had been blessed in the course of the present year.

The speech was received with universal assent and joy; the voice of opposition was charmed into silence, or into open and hearty concurrence; so much unanimity had not been seen in parliament for a very long time; in both houses the addresses were carried without the slightest opposition. Lord Castlereagh, with a not unbecoming national pride, detailed some of the exertions which England had made in the course of the present year. When the grand campaign of the allies began in the north, every party was poor, and needed immediate supplies of money; the great arsenals and storehouses of Europe were still in the hands or under the control of the enemy. The British government had lost no time in supplying all wants. Independently of the glorious services of our own army in the Peninsula, independently of the direct aid that had been given to Spain and Portugal, indirect aid had been afforded to the Spanish and Portuguese armies to a great extent. The aid which had been granted to Spain alone, during the last year, in money, stores, &c., amounted to about

£2,000,000 sterling. During the last two years, Portugal had received in the same way £2,000,000. For Sicily, £400,000 had been voted; for Sweden, who had well earned the money, £1,000,000. There had been paid in subsidies to the great allied powers nearly £4,000,000. Russia had received £2,000,000, which had enabled her to join the common cause with so immense an army; and the aid given to Prussia had enabled her to

double the amount of the force for which she originally pledged herself, or to throw into the field 200,000 men. Austria, upon taking the field, had been accommodated with bills of credit of £1,000,000 sterling, together with 100,000 stand of arms, and a large quantity of military stores. In the mere article of small-arms, in addition to the great expenditure and waste of our own army, we had, in the course of the year, sent 500,000 muskets to Spain and Portugal, and 400,000 to other parts of the Continent, as subsidiary aid. Wherever a government or a people had stepped honestly forward, and had asked

for assistance, it had been promptly given by England. This promptitude, and this display of our prodigious resources, which, after so many years of war, were found to be greatest, most matured, and best systematized when they were most needed, had encouraged the friends and dismayed the enemies of Britain. It was not to be supposed that the war, even now, could be terminated without further exertions on the part of England; nor would his lordship calculate that the expenditure of the next year would fall below the standard of this year. In round numbers he estimated the sum necessary for military expenses on the Continent for the year 1814 at £10,000,000, namely, £4,000,000 for the Peninsula, and £6,000,000 for Germany, &c. During the year, the entire British force under arms, in

all parts of the world, exceeded 230,000 men; yet, notwithstanding our heavy losses in the Peninsula and among the Pyrenees, the sacrifice of human life was but a small per centage on the whole.

It was resolved at the same time not to decrease, but rather to increase the naval forces of Great Britain; and that 140,000 seamen and 31,000 marines should be employed for the ensuing year. They had

turned their attention rather tardily to that quarter; they had been obliged to send a very large fleet into the Baltic, and to scatter their ships in almost every sea, and in all the four quarters of the globe; but now ministers had adopted schemes for sweeping the American flag from the ocean.

The parliament had been assembled early with a view to a long prorogation. It was on many accounts not advisable that a popular assembly should continue publicly debating the great question of war and peace during the last critical stages of the war; but what was of still more im-



LORD CASTLEREAGH — From a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence

portance was, that ministers should be relieved, for a short season, from their parliamentary attendance and toils, and be so enabled to devote an exclusive attention to the last act or the last scenes of Bonaparte. The great business in hand was to terminate the war; there would be time enough to deal with other business afterwards, when men's minds would be less agitated. Upon the 26th of December, Lord Castlereagh moved the adjournment of the house till the 1st of March, 1814; and a similar motion was made by ministers in the House of Lords. In both places some strong objections were taken. The ministerial motion was, however, carried in both houses without a division; and thus the government was enabled to devote its whole attention to the arduous task in hand.

CHAPTER IX—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1814—1815.

GEORGE III.

Closing acts of the war—Advance of Wellington into France—He defeats Soult at Orthez—Louis XVIII proclaimed at Bordeaux—Suchet leaves the Peninsula with his army—Soult makes a stand at Toulouse—Battle of Toulouse—Wellington enters the town—Treacherous sortie of the French from Bayonne—They take Sir John Hope prisoner—Last efforts of Bonaparte—Their hopelessness—Manifesto of the allied powers offering peace to France—The conditions—The allies close upon France—Bonaparte continues the campaign—His successes and reverses—Paris capitulates, and the allies enter the city—Return of the Bourbons to France—Provisional government appointed—Bonaparte abdicates—He retires to Elba—Treaty of peace between the allied powers and France—Its conditions—Remnants of the war—Holland and Belgium cleared of French troops—Denmark punished for its adherence to Bonaparte—The King of Sardinia restored—Austria resumes possession of Venice—The pope restored—Ferdinand placed on the Spanish throne—The congress of Vienna—Tidings of Bonaparte's flight from Elba—The war measures resumed—Bonaparte's preparations to return to France—His march to Paris—His preparations for a fresh warfare—He commences the campaign—Engagements at Ligny and Quatre-Bras—Battle of Waterloo—Its principal movements—Final and entire defeat of Bonaparte—He abdicates in favour of his son—The exception refused—Paris occupied by the British and Prussian armies—The Bourbons resume the government—Bonaparte attempts to escape to America—He surrenders to Captain Maitland—He is brought to England in the *Bellerophon*—His death in St. Helena—Bloodless character of the Bourbon restoration—Deaths of Labédoyère, Ney, and Murat—Temporary occupation of France maintained by the allied powers—Exactions made upon it for the expenses of the war—Large British grants for the support of the allied armies in France.



HE last act of the drama was played off with wonderful rapidity. We shall adhere to the course we have lately followed, and give precedence to the operations in which Lord Wellington and the British army were immediately engaged, for these events appertain most to English history. The operations of this comparatively small army had lost none of their importance and not an atom of their glory, by being brought into comparison with the mightier masses of the allies gathered on the Rhine and the borders of Switzerland. Wellington and his army, moreover, were at the beginning of the year farther advanced on the soil of France than any of the allies. Instead of sending reinforcements, our government thought it proper to recal some of Wellington's battalions, with some of his best officers. Thus, at the close of 1813, they had recalled Sir Thomas Graham, in order to send him into Holland, to take the command of the British forces gradually collecting there. They appear to have contemplated a still greater reduction of the noble little army which had revived all the brightness of our military fame, and given to it a new illustration; but, if they ever seriously entertained this unwise project, they yielded to the remonstrances, or rather to the plain, straightforward, unceremonious statement of facts made to them by our great captain.

As soon as his lordship could get his supplies, and could put his army in motion, he commenced

a series of operations intended to drive Marshal Soult, not only from his entrenched camp under the walls of Bayonne, but also from all the country on the left of the Adour. Early in February, in spite of the badness of the weather and the roads, he, by a succession of brilliant movements and partial engagements, drove Soult before him, making him abandon the Bidasoa altogether, quit his entrenched camp and cross the Gave d'Oléron, an affluent of the Adour. On the 27th of February he fell upon the marshal's army, concentrated at Orthez, routed it, and pursued it to the banks of the Adour. On the 1st of March, Wellington's head-quarters were at St. Sever, beyond the Adour. Through the victory of Orthez and this rapid advance, the French garrison in Bayonne was left to its own resources, and the highroad to the important city of Bordeaux—a city teeming with royalists and counter-revolutionists—was thrown open to the allies. Sir John Hope, with a division of the army, immediately invested Bayonne; and Marshal Beresford was detached with two divisions to occupy Bordeaux. On the arrival of Beresford the mayor and most of the inhabitants of Bordeaux, of their own accord, proclaimed Louis XVIII.

On the 18th of March, Lord Wellington advanced his victorious army to Vic Bigorre, and Soult retreated to some good positions at Tarbes. It was thought that the French marshal would stand and fight a general battle here, but he did not, continuing, on the 20th, his retreat towards Toulouse, where he arrived on the 24th. The

Victory could not be gained upon such ground, and in the teeth of so many strong works, without great loss: 600 of the allies lay dead on the field, about 4000 were wounded. There is the usual diffi-

culty in striking the balance of loss: Soult confessed to 3900 in killed and wounded; and, as his people had fought in good part under cover, and had not contended long after they had lost their



VIEW OF TOULOUSE — From a painting by W. Telbin

redoubts, fortified houses, and entrenchments, it is probable that his army suffered somewhat less than the allies. Before the hour of *Ave Maria* the allies were established on three sides of Toulouse, and the French were driven by Sir Rowland Hill from their exterior works in the suburb on the left of Garonne within the ancient walls of the town.

On the night of the 11th Soult evacuated Toulouse by the only road which was yet open to him, and retired by Castelnaudry to Carcassonne. He left behind him in the town 1600 wounded men, three generals (Harrispe, Baurot, and St Hilaire), various pieces of artillery, large quantities of ammunition, and stores of all descriptions. All these were taken by the allies. On the 12th Wellington entered Toulouse, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants, who were thus relieved from the dread of a siege. His lordship found the white flag of the Bourbons flying, and all the authorities and a large proportion of the inhabitants wearing white cockades and scarfs. And in the afternoon of that day the English Colonel Cooke and the French Colonel St. Simon arrived from Paris, with the news that the allies had entered the French capital, that a provisional government had been established in the name of Louis XVIII., and that Bonaparte had abdicated at Fontainebleau, as far back as the 4th of April, or six days before the battle of Toulouse was fought.

On the 14th of April, four days after Soult's defeat at Toulouse, General Thouvenot, who commanded in Bayonne, chose to make a desperate *sortie* upon the unprepared allies, who had

received the intelligence from Paris, and who believed that the beleaguered French, who for some time had been very inactive, had the same information, and would feel the inutility and barbarity of shedding more blood for a cause that was now lost. The real state of affairs at Paris had been communicated to Thouvenot by General Sir John Hope the day before, and judging of other men by his own generous nature, Hope evidently could not conceive that the French general could be capable of what must now be considered a base surprise, a savage spite, and a wilful shedding of blood. The investing forces were quiet in their positions and cantonments, and many of them were buried in sleep, and dreaming of a speedy return to their own countries, when the French, long before it was daylight, sallied from the citadel of Bayonne in great strength, rushed upon the village of St. Etienne, and upon the allied pickets in the centre, and gained some momentary advantages, bayoneting the surprised men, killing Major-general Hay, and wounding Major-general Stopford. Sir John Hope, ever foremost when there was danger, mounted his horse, and galloped up in the dark to direct the advance of more troops to the support of the pickets. He was presently surrounded, his horse was shot under him and fell, he received two very severe wounds, and before he could extricate himself from under his horse he was made prisoner. For some time the opponents could only distinguish each other's ranks by the flashing of the muskets. The fighting was very severe; but it was terminated by British bayonet charges: the French were driven

back, the little ground which had been lost was all recovered, and by seven o'clock our pickets were re-posted on their original points. But between killed and wounded and taken, the allies had lost 800 men. It was, under the circumstances, scarcely a consolation to know that the French had suffered at the least as severely. This was the last affair of the war; but the battle of Toulouse was the last real battle, and the winding-up of Wellington's war-doings with Soult.

We now turn to the military operations in other parts of France. Of his old army the Emperor of the French had upon the Rhine no more than 70,000 or 80,000 men to oppose the allies, who advanced upon that frontier with 160,000 men, and who had numerous reinforcements coming on in rapid advance through Germany. The new conscription remained very unproductive, and such of the conscripts as were brought in, being for the most part beardless boys, were of small present value in war. From Italy not a man nor a musket could be drawn, for Murat had joined the allies, and, with the Austrians, was overpowering Eugene Beauharnais. No assistance was to be expected from any other part of Europe; since the overthrow of the Danes by Bernadotte, Bonaparte had ceased to have an ally. Some of his counsellors and advisers—some of the ex-Jacobins—spoke of the marvellous things which had been done by the population in 1792-3, when France was invaded by the Prussians, and recommended levies *en masse*. But he felt the difference which existed both in the spirit of the French people, and in the spirit and number of the allies (things altogether different now from what they were in the earlier days of the revolution). He had always spoken contemptuously of popular risings, and had always adhered to the opinion that no insurgents, no levies in mass, could stand against regular armies, if those armies were not commanded by absolute fools or traitors. And his utterly despotic and military form of government had gone far to diminish the capability of the population in this respect, and to break the springs of the national character. The people too, from the habit of long possession, had ceased to dread that the fruits of the revolution would be torn from them; they no longer thought that the restoration of the Bourbons of necessity implied the restoration of church property and the property of the aristocracy—a dread which made a large part of the population rush to arms in 1792. Besides, Bonaparte detested any direct appeal to the people. On the 23d of January he again conferred the regency on Maria Louisa. Poor Joseph, the fugitive ex-King of Spain, was named lieutenant of the emperor in Paris. On the 25th of January the emperor quitted Paris

to put himself at the head of his army, which was now collecting in Champagne, in the plains of which the two armies of Schwartzemberg and Blücher were on the point of effecting their junction. It is not easy to estimate the actual force which Bonaparte headed at the end of January and the beginning of February. From the ingenious way in which French writers arrange their narratives, and suppress details about junctions and reinforcements, it is made to appear that Bonaparte contested the interior of France, and defended the approaches to his capital for two months, with only the 70,000 or 80,000 men whom he withdrew from the Rhine. But this is ridiculous. After deducting from the preposterously exaggerated French estimates of the numbers of the invaders, and after adding a great many thousands of men to their estimate of the force which Bonaparte opposed to the allies, the facts will still remain that their force, though far more scattered, was numerically far superior to his, and that the defence he made was brilliant, and even marvellous. The genius of the man seemed to revive in his despair. Now, too, he displayed, as he had done in his early Italian campaigns, the greatest intrepidity or fearlessness, exposing his person in nearly every affair, in the hottest fire, and in the closest and most terrible parts of the fight.

Long before they approached the Rhine (on the 9th of November, 1813) the ministers of the allied powers put forth a diplomatic note declaring that the coalized sovereigns were unanimously agreed as to the weight and consequence which France, as a nation, ought to hold in Europe, and were ready to leave her in possession of what she called her natural limits—the lines of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. And nearly a month after this (on the 1st December, 1813), when Bonaparte had ordered a new levy of 300,000 conscripts, the allied powers issued at Frankfort a declaration or manifesto, repeating their offers of peace, upon condition that the French should remain quiet and satisfied with those natural limits, which were wider and inclosed more territory than had ever been possessed by any of the Kings of France. Caulaincourt, who in 1805 had played so important a part in the seizure of the Duc d'Enghien, who was now Duke of Vicenza, and who had succeeded Maret, Duke of Bassano, as Bonaparte's minister for foreign affairs, was sent to the head-quarters of the allies, but without any conditions upon which they could treat. The sovereigns, however, agreed that a congress should be held at Chatillon-sur-Seine, where the representatives of Bonaparte might treat with their ambassadors, and settle, if possible, the firm basis of a peace. Though they now spoke somewhat less distinctly,

they seemed still to offer "those natural limits," which France would never cease to claim. On the 5th of February, this congress commenced its deliberations at the place appointed. Russia was represented by the Count Rasomowski; Prussia, by the Baron Humboldt; Austria, by Count Stadion; England, by Lord Castlereagh; and France, by Caulaincourt.¹ These plenipotentiaries continued to assemble and hold long and repeated conferences until the middle of March; the demands of the allies and the concessions of Bonaparte fluctuated according to the various turns and events of the campaign; but during the whole of this period military operations were never for one moment suspended. At first the demands of Caulaincourt were very high; as his master lost ground in the field, his tone was lowered; but never, until the very last moment, when Bonaparte was absolutely vanquished, and when a vast portion of the French nation was declaring for the Bourbons, did Caulaincourt offer such concessions as would have reduced France to her proper dimensions.

Without alluding to the army of Lord Wellington, which had held its ground in the south for months, the northern and eastern frontiers of France were broken through weeks before Bonaparte quitted Paris to take the field. Towards the end of December, Prince Schwartzberg crossed the Rhine near Basle, and, traversing Switzerland with all the gentleness he had promised, invaded Alsace; other Austrians followed, crossing the Rhine near Basle and Schaffhausen; and some of the allies marched through Soleure, Berne, and Vaud to Geneva, and thence by the valley of the Rhone towards the great French city of Lyons. The Russian army of General Wittgenstein crossed the Rhine near Rastadt on the night of the 1st of January, and spread its pulks of Cossacks far into France. Blücher, defeating Marshals Marmont and Victor, threw his Prussians and the troops of the late Confederation of the Rhine across that river, at three different points lower down the river, between Coblenz and Mannheim. The French abandoned an entrenched camp and nearly all their fortresses on the left bank of the Rhine without a struggle; but, as most of these troops were kept together by marshals and officers of reputation, they must either have joined Bonaparte's army, or have assisted him by joining those detached corps which were scattered over a wide surface of country; to distract the attention of the allies or to secure communications. By the middle of January one-third of France was invaded.

¹ Lord Castlereagh was assisted by his brother, General Sir Charles Stewart (the late Marquis of Londonderry), and by Lords Aberdeen and Cathcart.

Bonaparte's first great object in taking the field was to throw himself between the armies of Schwartzberg and Blücher, to prevent their junction, and defeat one of them before the other could get to his assistance. This was his old and unvaried plan of operation, and his rapidity and the nature of the country now rendered it, for a short time, rather successful. On the 27th of January he gave the allies a serious check; on the 29th he beat Blücher at Brienne; and on the following day he attacked the Prussians again, and with some advantage, at La Rothière; but on the 1st of February he was himself defeated with terrible loss at La Rothière, by columns of Prussians, Austrians, Russians, and Bavarians. On the 17th of February he gained some trifling advantage over Schwartzberg near Naugis; for more than two months he held at bay the various armies of the allies; but the odds were too many against him. By a bold movement he placed himself in the rear of the allies; but the allies marched upon Paris, and after a stubborn resistance, on the 30th of March, took possession of the whole line of defence which protected that city on the north-eastern side. The empress had left it for Blois, and Joseph Bonaparte, after the battle of the 30th, quitted Paris also. Marshal Marmont, who had glided between the army of Schwartzberg and the capital, made a faint attempt to defend the heights in front of Paris; but he was driven back under the walls of that city, and then he asked for an armistice. This led to the immediate capitulation of Paris, which the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia entered on the 31st, amidst the acclamations of the Parisians, and a wondrous waving of white handkerchiefs, and a shouting of *Vivent les Alliés! Vivent les Bourbons!* Bonaparte now came fleeing back to the relief of the capital; but he came too late: Paris was already in the undisturbed possession of the allies. Several of his old generals now told him the unpalatable truth that he ought to abdicate, as the conferences at Chatillon had been broken up, and as the allied sovereigns declared that they would no longer treat with him. He hurried into the gloomy old palace of Fontainebleau, which not long since had been the prison of the pope, and shut himself up with his maddening reflections.

Meanwhile the counter-revolution went on in Paris, and in other towns in France, at the charging pace. Many preparations had been made for it while Bonaparte was contending against the allies in Champagne and in the valleys of the Seine and Marne. On the 21st of February the Comte d'Artois, who had been the first of the royal family to emigrate, arrived at Vesoul, with the rear-guard of the grand allied

army, and issued a proclamation, telling the French people that the day of their deliverance was at hand; that the brother of their king had arrived among them; that there should be no more tyranny, no more war, no more conscriptions; and this proclamation being sent to Paris, had been printed at a private press, and pretty widely distributed. On the 12th of March the Duke of Angoulême had entered Bordeaux. On entering Paris the Emperor Alexander went straight to the mansion of M. de Talleyrand, and there, for the present, took up his abode. On the next day the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzberg, Prince Lichtenstein, Count Pozzo di Borgo, and some other generals and diplomatists of the allies, assembled in Talleyrand's house, and opened conferences with him and the Emperor Alexander. There could no longer be any doubt as to the proper answer to be given to the question which had been so incessantly asked throughout Paris in the months of December and January—*Qu'en pense M. de Talleyrand?* Talleyrand now thought that it was the end of the end. He readily agreed with the allied sovereigns that it would be insanity to treat with Bonaparte, and that the best assurance of peace for Europe, and the greatest blessing for France, would be the immediate restoration of the Bourbons, with a mild and limited form of government. On the 1st of April, the senators assembled under the presidency of M. de Talleyrand, and proceeded, with a rapidity equaling that of some of their emperor's late marches, to pronounce and decree that Napoleon Bonaparte, in consequence of sundry arbitrary acts and violations of the *constitution*, and by his refusing to treat with the allies upon honourable conditions, had forfeited the throne and the right of inheritance established in his family; and that the people and the army of France were freed from their oaths of allegiance to him. A provisional government was then formed, consisting of Talleyrand, Dalberg, Beurnonville, and some others. On the invitation of the provisional government, all the members of the *corps législatif* who chanced to be in Paris assembled in their house or chamber on the 3d of April, and assented to the decree of the senate. Marshals Ney, Berthier, Lefebvre, Oudinot, Macdonald, and Bertrand, waited upon Bonaparte at Fontainebleau. Ney, who was deputed to speak for

them all, recommended an immediate abdication. Maret and Caulaincourt were present, and could not deny that this step was no longer a matter of choice. "Is this the advice of the generals?" said the fallen emperor. "Yes, sire," replied Ney. "Is it the wish of the army?"—"Yes, sire," was Ney's answer. Bonaparte immediately retired and signed an act of abdication. In this first act, however, there was a reservation in favour of the rights of the empress and his son. By a second act, which was forced upon him by his marshals, the provisional government, and the allies, he renounced unconditionally for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy. The Emperor Alexander proposed that he should retain the title of emperor, with the sovereignty of the island of Elba, and a revenue of 6,000,000 of francs to be paid by France. This was agreed to by Prussia and Austria; and Britain, though no party to the original treaty, and not quite approving of it, afterwards consented to accede to it. On the 20th of April, Bonaparte left Fontainebleau for his Mediter-



THE PALACE OF FONTAINEBLEAU.—FROM ANECDOTES OF FONTAINEBLEAU

anean island. At Fréjus he embarked in an English frigate. It was on the 4th of May, that the *Undaunted* arrived at Porto Ferrajo, the humble capital of his miniature empire. On surveying his new dominions from the summit of one of the highest hills, whence the sea was visible all around him, it is said that he shook his head with affected solemnity, and exclaimed in a bantering tone, "*Eh! il faut avouer que mon île est bien petite!*" [Ah! it must be confessed that my island is a very little one]. But, if the allies had taken the map of the world, and had carefully studied it for the purpose of finding a place where the most dangerous of men should have the most opportunities of corresponding with his friends, both in France and Italy, and should have the best means and facilities for attempting

new mischief, they could not have found a place so suitable as the island of Elba.

On May the 3d, two days before Bonaparte made his solemn entry into Porto Ferrajo, poor Louis, who had been happier with his books and chosen friends in his English country-house, made his solemn entrance into Paris.

On the 30th of May the allied powers of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed at Paris a treaty of peace and amity with France, as represented by her restored monarch. The treaty secured to France the integrity of its boundaries as they existed on January 1, 1792; and it even granted (in order to improve and strengthen these boundaries) certain augmentations of territory on the side of Germany, on the side of Belgium, and on the side of Italy. The contracting parties agreed that an increase of territory should be given to Holland; that the lesser German states should be independent, and united by a Germanic federal league; that Switzerland should continue to enjoy its independence under the government it had chosen; and that Italy (beyond the limits of the Austrian dominion, which was to be restored) should be composed of sovereign independent states. Of the two great stumbling-blocks, the Cape and Malta, which had been thrown in the way of previous negotiations with England, the Cape of Good Hope had been secured to the British crown by a separate treaty with Holland; and by this present treaty of Paris, the island of Malta and its dependencies were admitted as belonging of right to Great Britain. But, on her part, Great Britain bargained and agreed to give back to France all the colonies, factories, &c., possessed by her in 1792, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucia, and the Isle of France; and at the same time she bound herself to restore several islands and colonies to Spain, who was incapable of keeping them. Pondicherry was of course given back (to become, if time and accidents should serve, a hot-bed of intrigue, insurrection, and war); and France was to enjoy all the facilities of commerce with our Indian empire which the British government granted to the most favoured nations, only binding herself on her part not to erect any fortifications in the establishments restored to her in that country. Her former rights of fishery on the bank of Newfoundland, &c., were all to be restored as they were by the peace of 1763. Portugal, our ally, was to give up to France all that she held of French Guiana, &c. As the best test they could offer of their moderation, as the best proof they could give of the sincerity of their repeated declarations that they meant no ill to France, that they waged war, not against the French people, but only against Bonaparte, the allied powers agreed that their armies should

evacuate the French territories, and that the French prisoners of war should all be restored as soon as possible. And by the beginning of June, France was completely evacuated by the foreign armies, and left to manage her own affairs. As far as regarded France, the arrangements of this treaty of Paris were considered as final; but there remained to be made other settlements of the most extensive and complicated kind; the greater part of Europe required re-organization, and her past misfortunes and bitter sufferings demanded some preconcerted defences and guarantees for the future: and it was therefore agreed, in a special article of the treaty of Paris, that all the powers engaged in the late war should send plenipotentiaries to a congress to be holden at Vienna, for the object of completing the pacific dispositions of the present treaty, and of preventing, as far as human policy could, the recurrence of war and devastation.

A few words must suffice for the inferior and dependent operations of arms, and for the re-establishment of the old governments of the Continent. First for Holland and Belgium:—Bernadotte, with a mixed army of Swedes and Germans, reached Cologne in Germany, and pushed forward some troops into Holland, to reduce some of the strong fortresses which the French still held, and to co-operate with the weak English force under Sir Thomas Graham. Several of these places surrendered upon summons; but, on the 7th of March, Graham, in attempting to carry by escalade and storm the formidable works of Bergen-op-Zoom, was repulsed with a lamentable loss. The French game was, however, up in that country; and the corps of General Wintzingerode soon pushed forward into Belgium as far as the field of Waterloo. When Belgium was entirely freed from French troops, the country was left under the military government of the Austrian general Vincent; and at first it was imagined that the Emperor Francis would reclaim these old hereditary dominions of his house. But Austria had had quite enough of these distant and disconnected and generally discontented subjects; and had resolved to give up all Belgium rather than involve herself in fresh troubles by asserting her old sovereignty. The Belgians, if left to themselves, were far too weak to resist their neighbours the French; and therefore it was conceived by the allies that the best thing that could be done for Europe and for Belgium itself would be to unite that country to Holland, under the mild and constitutional government of the house of Orange. In the month of August the Sovereign of the Netherlands made his arrangements with the Prince-regent of England, resigning all the rights of the Dutch to the Cape of Good Hope, but getting back Demerara, Esse-

quibo, Berbice, the immense island of Java, the rich island of Sumatra, and nearly every one of the colonies and settlements we had taken from them, whether in the West or East Indies, except the settlements in Ceylon.

The magnanimity which was shown to France was not extended to her weak ally Denmark. The conduct of that court nearly all through the war had been calculated to leave hostile feelings in the mind of England and of other powers. Denmark was to be punished for her obstinate adherence to Bonaparte, and Sweden was to be rewarded for the exertions she had made in the common cause at the critical moment. To bring the Frenchman, Bernadotte, into the field, and to keep him there, the allies had promised to annex Norway to his dominions. The fortunate Gascon had himself pretty well secured the fulfilment of this promise by conquering a good part of Denmark in the autumn of 1813, and by imposing his own convention. A party among the Norwegians aimed at a separate independent sovereignty, and offered some slight resistance; but at a general diet of the nation, a great majority voted (on 20th October) for the union of Norway with Sweden, with the proviso and condition that their constitution should be punctually observed.

As some continental gratification to the royal family of England and Hanover, their ancient home was somewhat enlarged, and raised to the titular dignity of a kingdom under the rule of his Britannic majesty; but with the Salic bar to the succession when it should fall to a female.

While Murat had been co operating with the Austrians under Marshal Bellegarde in driving Beauharnais out of Lombardy, Lord William Bentinck, with a mixed armament of English, Sicilians, Calabrians, Greeks, Albanians, &c., had gained possession of Genoa, the French garrison having capitulated on the 18th of April. A few days after the departure of the viceroy Beauharnais, who had been obliged to conclude a convention with the Austrians, Marshal Bellegarde took possession of Milan; and the Austrian general, Count Bubna, then marched into Turin, the capital of Piedmont, and declared the intention of the allies to restore that country and Savoy to the King of Sardinia; and, on the 20th of May, his Sardinian majesty entered Turin and established his government on the old basis. Not one member of the continental coalitions had adhered more steadily and faithfully to his engagements, or had suffered more severely from them. The allies had resolved that he should now receive some reward, and that the territories of the Genoese republic, which joined Piedmont, and which shut that fine and productive country from the sea, should be united to his dominions. Few, very few, of the Genoese complained of this at

the time; and, in the course of a very few years, the last murmur of discontent had almost died away, the Genoese people having found that they, as well as the Piedmontese, were gainers by the incorporation. It would have been well for the future prospects of Italy if the King of Sardinia had gotten more, and the Emperor of Austria had gotten less. In addition to his old possessions in Lombardy, Francis laid his hand upon Venice, which had only been his for a short period, and by virtue of a foul treaty with France, and upon other cities and states which had never been his at all, as Brescia, Cremona, Guastalla, Parma, Piacenza, &c. Having then nothing to hope from his further detention, Bonaparte had, on the 22d of January, sent an order to Fontainebleau that the pope should leave that place the next day and return to Italy. Pius VII. set off accompanied by an escort, and was taken by slow journeys back to his native country, where he was received by all the populace and by the devout Catholics of all classes with rapturous joy.

Murat, agitated by doubt and dread, suspecting his new ally Austria, and knowing that he was suspected by her, distrusting most of his Neapolitan generals, and alarmed at the Carbonari, who were crying for a constitution, and at the plots and movements of the royalists, who were calling for the restoration of King Ferdinand, returned rather hastily to Naples, withdrawing his garrison from the castle of St. Angelo at Rome, but reinforcing his garrison at Ancona, and leaving some of his troops beyond the frontiers of the States of the Church. On the 24th of May, the pope made his solemn entrance into Rome, and restored the old ecclesiastical government. The popular joy was ecstasie.

Few of these restored governments were good, but that of Spain was the worst of them all, though probably not worse than the regimen of the Spanish cortes and liberales would have been, if circumstances and the temper of the army and people had allowed them to continue in possession of their power. Between them and the royalists and religious bigots it was a question of force, and the bigots and the royalists proved the stronger. On the night of the 11th of May, General Eguia, a fierce royalist, seized all the liberal members of the cortes that he could find in Madrid, and threw them into prison. The whole body fell helpless, unresisting, and unlamented by the people. On the 12th of May, Ferdinand entered his capital, and was received with demonstrations of popular joy and enthusiasm, inferior in degree only to what had been displayed by the Italian peasantry and the populace at Rome on the arrival of the pope.

The legislative measures of this short parliamentary session are of little historical importance.

The budget of the year was laid before the House of Commons on the 13th of June. The whole amount of supplies exceeded £75,600,000. The session was closed on the 30th of July by the prince-regent in person. The autumnal session presented no matter of great interest. It was opened on the 8th of November by the speech from the throne, which was again delivered by the regent in person; and on the 2d of December the houses adjourned till the 9th of February next. In the month of August the Duke of Wellington proceeded to Paris as ambassador of Great Britain to Louis XVIII.

A.D. 1815. The great congress of Vienna began to assemble at the opening of the year; and in the month of January the Duke of Wellington repaired thither. Our parliament re-assembled in February. The opposition, which had already expressed a strong and indignant disapprobation of the forcible transfer of Norway from Denmark to Sweden, now censured with equal severity the annexation of the worthless republic of Genoa to the dominions of the King of Sardinia. Parliament had got over these matters, and was discussing subjects of home policy, regulating the reduction of the militia, &c., as if all fears of war were over, when England and Europe were startled, as at a thunder-clap, by the intelligence that Bonaparte had escaped from his narrow insular dominion, to repossess himself of his old French empire. An address to the regent was carried in both houses without any division upon it; and the nation at large felt as strongly as parliament that nothing was left for England to do but to draw the sword again, and never sheathe it until Bonaparte should be consigned to some safer place than Elba. The parliament continued sitting till the battle of Waterloo falsified the sinister prophecies of those who had voted against the new war, because it would be as long as the last. Subsidies, or aids in money given under other names, were voted to a large amount, and the budget of the year was raised to very nearly £90,000,000.

The astounding news of the flight from Elba was announced to the diplomatists of Europe sitting in congress at Vienna by Talleyrand. There was no hesitation there as to what was to be done. The representatives of the allied sovereigns immediately agreed to join their forces again, in order to frustrate Bonaparte's attempt, and to maintain entire the treaty of Paris. On the 13th of March the ministers of the eight powers assembled at Vienna, including the ministers of the King of France, signed a paper, by which they declared Napoleon Bonaparte an outlaw, a violator of treaties, and a disturber of the peace of the world, and delivered him over to public vengeance (*vindictæ publicæ*). It was

very soon agreed that Britain should furnish 125,000 men, Austria 300,000, Russia 225,000, Prussia 236,000, the various states of Germany 150,000, and Holland afterwards agreed to furnish 50,000. On the 23d of March, Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain confirmed the treaty of Vienna, by which they bound themselves to make no separate peace, and to conclude neither cessation of hostilities nor any convention whatever, except by general consent. On the morning of the 29th of March, four days after signing this treaty, the Duke of Wellington left Vienna, in order to examine the military state of affairs in Belgium, which country, as of old, was quite sure to be the first battle-field. He arrived at Brussels on the night of the 4th of April; and, rapidly as he had travelled, he had found time to observe the condition and spirit of several bodies of the allied armies.

The essential points of the famous escapade from Elba are soon told. If Bonaparte had ever gone thither with the intention of stopping, he had changed his mind in a very short time. He had not been one month in the island ere he commenced a secret but most active correspondence with his friends both in France and Italy. This correspondence became still more active as his friends and agents reported to him the return of the French prisoners of war from Russia, Poland, Prussia, Saxony, England, Spain, &c., and related that the temper of these veterans was unchanged, that their devotion to glory and to their emperor was as great as ever. Several of these returned prisoners, men as well as officers, passed over from time to time to Elba, to offer their services to enter his guard, and to speak of the attachment of their comrades to their old chief, and of their contempt for the Bourbon king, who could not mount a horse, and who was a great discourager of the military profession, as he wanted nothing but peace. From the day of his departure there had been an incessant activity among his partizans both in France and Italy. He wrote to Murat, who was still powerful and still a king, to tell him that the lion was not dead, but only sleeping! Murat prepared for the *réveiller*. This brave dragoon had no political steadiness or courage; he conceived that his brother-in-law must prove the stronger in the new contest, and he engaged to march against his recent allies, the Austrians, in the plains of Lombardy.

It was on the 26th of February, 1815, that Napoleon embarked with a body of about 1000 men, composed of some of his old guards who had followed him to Elba, of some Italians and Elbese, some Corsicans and others, comprising about 200 dragoons and about 100 Polish lancers, with saddles, but without horses. On the 1st of

March he landed at Cannes, a short distance from Fréjus. The Provençals neither welcomed him nor attempted to oppose him. There were no king's troops in the neighbourhood. He hurried through Provence into Dauphiny, "the cradle of the revolution;" and there the people began to flock round his standard. Still no troops joined him, and he felt uneasy. It was at Grenoble that the first defection in the army took place: Colonel Charles Labédoyère, who had been promoted by Louis XVIII., and who was now in command of the 7th regiment of the line, joined the emperor. The rest of the march to Paris was a triumphant one: the Bourbons were abandoned by the whole army. Marshal Ney, who was sent by King Louis to stop the emperor's progress, and who had sworn that within a week he would bring Bonaparte to Paris in an iron cage, went over to him with his entire force. On the 19th of March, Bonaparte slept in the old palace of Fontainebleau; and at midnight the king fled from the Tuileries for the fortified town of Lisle, near the Belgian frontier. At half-past nine, on the night of the 20th, Bonaparte, with his gray great-coat, stepped from his carriage into the Tuileries; a number of generals and officers took him on their shoulders, and carried him up to the state-apartments, while the soldiery and a part of the mob rent the air with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"

Thus far all had seemed to go well; but the triumph was soon damped. It was impossible not to see that, with the exception of some of those faubourg mobs which he hated and feared, the people of Paris were silent, lukewarm, cautious, or averse. Then came brother Lucien, with his tail of constitutionalists and liberals, including Carnot and *Fouché*, protesting that the promises and pledges he had given must be kept, that the French people must have more liberty than they had enjoyed under the empire or under the restoration, that France could no longer do without a free constitution, and, finally, that the liberals would do nothing for him unless he granted a new constitution. Bonaparte said that there would be time for making a good constitution hereafter, when he should have dissolved by victories the European confederacy against him; that now every thought ought to be given to the means of raising money and troops, the casting of artillery, the manufacturing of arms, ammunition, &c. But the liberals stuck to their point; the constitution must come first, their exertions in his cause afterwards: and, accordingly, though sorely against his will, Bonaparte proclaimed a sort of constitution, under the very unpromising title of "*Acte Additionnel aux Constitutions de l'Empire*." On the 4th of June—three days after, Bonaparte, his great officers of state,

marshals, generals, &c., had taken their oaths to this constitution at a grand celebration, called a Champ de Mai, but held in the Champ de Mars; and in the month of June the two new chambers opened their session. The chamber of peers, appointed by the emperor himself, and composed principally of men who owed their rank and fortune to him, at first seemed disposed to be as submissive as the senate had formerly been. The chamber of representatives showed at once a very different disposition, raising the voice of criticism and censure which the man of the people had never been able to bear. Their session was a very short one; and the first serious business the two houses or chambers did was to pronounce the dethronement of Bonaparte. After eleven weeks' sojourn in the capital, matters stood with him much as they did when he arrived; he could count confidently on the devotion and bravery of his old army, but he could not hope that the rest of France would do much for him. His distress, or doubts, were increased by the dismal news which came howling to him from beyond the Alps. Murat, instead of waiting for his *mot d'ordre*, had thrown off the mask as soon as he learned the departure from Elba, had rushed towards Upper Italy like a madman, had been beaten by the Austrians, abandoned by his own army, and put to an ignominious flight from his kingdom of Naples, many weeks before Bonaparte was ready to commence operations on the frontiers of Belgium.

On the night of the 11th of June, just a week after the opening of the two chambers, Bonaparte quitted Paris to open the campaign. His countenance, which had long been clouded, brightened as he sprung into his travelling carriage, and as he said, or as he is reported to have said, "*Je vais me mesurer avec ce Villainton*"—(I am going to measure myself with this Wellington). He had assembled an army of about 125,000 men, chiefly veteran troops, of whom 25,000 were cavalry, and 350 pieces of artillery. With this force he crossed the Belgian frontier on the 15th June, and on the very next day the stern conflict began.

In the meantime the Duke of Wellington had raised his force in the field to about 76,000 men, of whom not near one-half were British. The duke's head-quarters were at Brussels, the capital of the country, which it was Bonaparte's first object to gain. On the duke's left lay Marshal Blücher with the Prussian army, estimated (after the junction of Fülów's corps) at about 80,000 men. Blücher's head-quarters were at Namur. The two armies were, of necessity, far apart, spread over a wide extent of country. Besides by-roads, Bonaparte had no fewer than four great paved roads by which he could make his advance upon the British; and, until he had

made his selection, it was impossible for Wellington to tell which road he would choose: but the charge that the duke was not only out-manceuvred and out-generalled, but actually taken by surprise, is a gross mistake. Ney, Soult, and Grouchy held commands under their emperor.

The opening of this terrible three-act drama, that was to be closed with the rout of Waterloo and the utter downfall of Napoleon, commenced on the 15th of June. The aim of Bonaparte was in the first instance to take the Prussians by sur-



MARSHAL BLÜCHER.—From a portrait by L. Wolf

prise, and if he failed to crush them, at least to separate them from the British, and then overwhelm the latter with his whole force. Accordingly, so early as two or three o'clock in the morning, his foremost columns were put in motion, and at dawn they reached the Prussian out-posts, which they drove in, and then crossed the Sambre in four bodies in the afternoon. The Prussian general, Ziethen, in command of the advanced guard, was unable to resist the weight of such an onset, and therefore retired; but his retreat was accompanied with hard fighting, step by step, that the main army might have time to concentrate; and this was effected by Blücher upon the Sombref, where his forces occupied the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, while Bonaparte established his head-quarters at Charleroi. During this preliminary skirmishing, Ney was detached by the emperor with his left column, consisting of 45,000 men, to continue his march along the road which leads from Charleroi to Brussels, advance upon Quatre-Bras, and separate the communication between Wellington and Blücher. This Quatre-Bras, which was to be a renowned name in military history, was nothing more than a farmhouse,

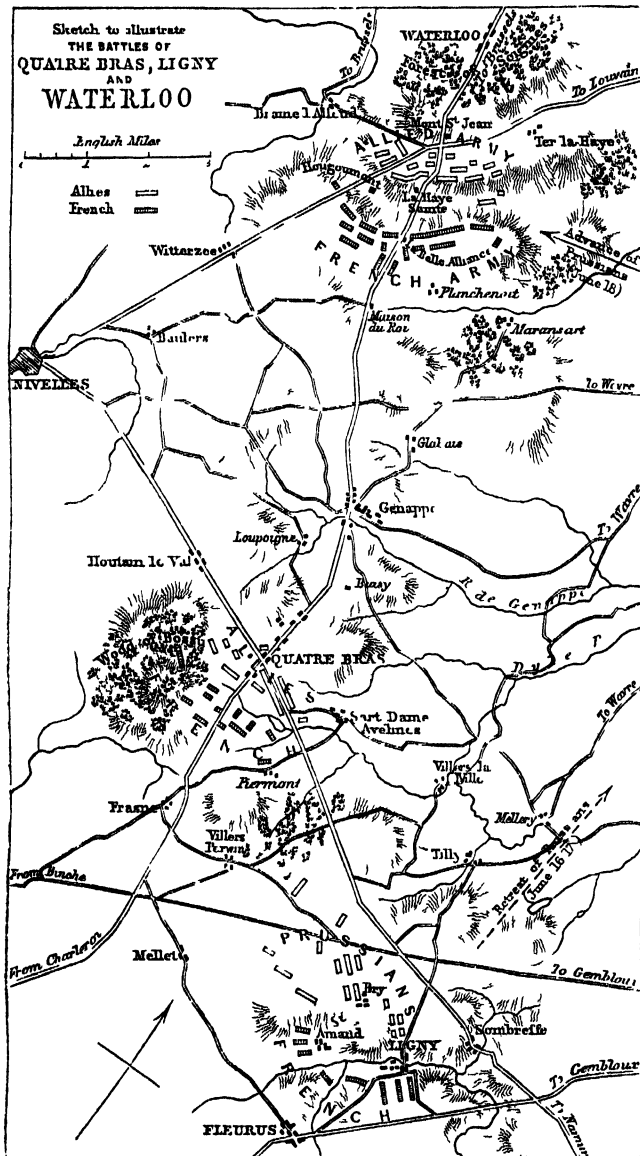
but it formed the intersecting point of the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur. Ney in his march encountered Prince Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, who commanded a brigade of the Netherland forces at Frasné; and from this post the prince was driven by superior numbers, and obliged to fall back upon Quatre-Bras, which house he made as effectual for resistance as a castle, having been also opportunely reinforced by the Prince of Orange. Thus the night of the 15th closed, and as yet the communication between the British and Prussian armies had not been interrupted.

During these events the Duke of Wellington had not been inattentive; but still, it was impossible to move to action until he ascertained the quarter upon which the storm was to burst. At length, when the tidings were sent to him that the Prussian outposts were driven in, he issued orders for his army to be got into readiness. Still he had to wait until he ascertained that this was the real point of attack, and of this he was only certified by the fact that the French troops were collecting into a mass in the valley of the Sambre. It was now evident that the real attack was to be on Charleroi; and at five o'clock in the afternoon, the duke issued orders from his hotel in Brussels for the march of his army to commence. Having thus done all that could be effected for the present, and as some hours would elapse before these orders could be distributed through the various corps, he went with a number of his officers to a ball which was given by the Duchess of Richmond. It was a splendid and happy festival, and most of the revellers were unconscious that a volcano was about to heave beneath their feet; but, aware that he had taken every precaution which circumstances permitted or prudence could adopt, the "Iron Duke" maintained his wonted impassive equanimity. About midnight, and while enjoyment was at the height, orders were quietly issued among the general officers, and afterwards among the subordinates; and without bustle or leave-taking, they dropped off one by one and two by two, to take their places at the head of their musters, and be in readiness for the march. Such was the ball at which the duke was said, for years afterwards, to have been caught, and all but hopelessly crushed—the thoughtless, improvident revel from which the gay officers who had followed his example were hurried unprepared to the dance of death on the field of Waterloo. But it was impossible that such greatness as that of Wellington could escape from detraction and calumny. It is the ordeal through which all that is truly good must pass before it can be hallowed as a model and exemplar for a world that will always need such incentives.

On the morning of the 16th the deadly trial was to be commenced in earnest. The plan of Napoleon was to overwhelm Blücher at Ligny, by an attack which he should conduct in person, while Ney was to give battle to the British at

the ground between Quatre-Bras and Charleroi, that had been lost on the evening of the 15th. On finding this, and apprehending no immediate danger, Wellington, who had arrived two hours afterwards, repaired to Blücher, who was stationed

at a wind-mill five miles off, between Ligny and Bry, with the army of Napoleon manœuvring in the distance; and here the two commanders held brief and hasty counsel, after which the duke returned to Quatre-Bras. During the day, Picton arrived with the fifth division, and was soon followed by the Duke of Brunswick's corps and the Nassau troops, but this was not until the battle had fairly commenced. Ney had, in the meantime, brought up his main body, consisting of 40,000 men, to oppose whom there were not as yet more than 19,000 of the allies in the field, 4500 of whom were British infantry. At a little after three o'clock in the afternoon, when the allied troops had scarcely got time to form in order, Ney commenced his attack with two heavy columns of infantry, a large body of cavalry, and a numerous, well-served artillery, but at this critical moment Picton's "fighting division," 12,000 strong, arrived, and threw themselves into the contest. Still, the weight of the French columns carried them onward, several squadrons of the Brunswick cavalry were put to flight, and hastily formed squares of the infantry broken through, when the third English division arrived, and confronted the attempt of the French to obtain possession of the wood of Bossu, and the outbuildings in front of Quatre-Bras. This attempt was successfully baffled, but the British, in following their advantage too



Quatre-Bras, and defeat, or at least keep them in check until the Prussians were destroyed, when the whole French force could be finally directed against Wellington. Accordingly, at five o'clock in the morning, the encounters of the previous night were renewed; but the Prince of Orange kept his ground, repelled the skirmishers of Ney's advanced guard, and recovered part of

eagerly, were in turn encountered, and sent reeling backward by the French cuirassiers. The battle was now at the hottest over the whole range of action, and it seemed as if even yet the French might ultimately prevail, when the coming of the Brunswickers equalized the numbers as well as the chances of the contending armies. The French at last were driven from the wood,

driven from the neighbourhood of the farmhouse, and compelled to retreat in confusion, when Ney at this juncture resolved to call up his reserve from Frasné: but he was confounded to learn that this force, upon which his last hope was set, had been called away by the emperor for the attack upon the Prussians. The French marshal had thus failed in the great object of his attack: he was obliged to leave the British in possession of the field, and had thus been hindered from turning Blücher's right, and separating the communication between the Prussians and the British. Had Ney succeeded in this battle of Quatre-Bras, the Prussians at Ligny would have been enveloped by the whole French army, and their total ruin insured.

Even as it was, the state of affairs at Ligny had a sufficiently ominous aspect; for there a conflict had been going on of a more important and more sanguinary character than that which was raging at Quatre-Bras. Bonaparte was there in person; and as Blücher had not been joined by the Prussian corps under General Bülow, his forces were inferior in number to those which the emperor brought against him. In this state of things he was attacked at three o'clock in the afternoon, and in spite of a desperate resistance, especially at the villages of St. Amand and Ligny, the brave old "Marshal Forwards" was obliged to give ground, and fall back from his position at Sombref. But he did not retreat far, while every step was a contest; and as he adventured his aged person with all the fire of his early days, his horse was shot under him; he was galloped over by the French cuirassiers, who did not recognize him in the tumult; and he owed his rescue to the fidelity of Nostitz, his aide-de-camp, who covered and concealed him as he lay stunned and bruised upon the ground. In the same battle, Colonel, afterwards Lord Hardinge, who was with Blücher, had his left hand shattered, and was obliged that night to undergo amputation of the arm. After having done all that a desperate resistance could effect, and having lost from 11,000 to 12,000 men, the Prussians did not retire until nine o'clock; and although it was dark night, their retreat was conducted in perfect order to the neighbourhood of Wavre, where they were joined by Bülow. This movement, indeed, was effected so admirably during the darkness, that the French were ignorant of it, and attempted no pursuit, so that it was only with the return of morning that the retreat of the Prussians was known, and not till noon that their particular route was ascertained. Bonaparte then detached Grouchy with 32,000 men to pursue them, while he turned his attention to the coming conflict with Wellington. In the meantime, although the British had successfully

maintained their position, the retreat of the Prussians necessitated a corresponding movement on the part of the duke, to keep open his connection with Blücher, and accordingly he fell back upon Waterloo, where he would be only twelve miles distant from the Prussians, and certain of their support. On this he could rely, as the plans and combinations necessary in the event of such a movement had previously been settled between him and Blücher. His selection of Waterloo was made in consequence of having examined the ground some months previous, and ascertained its advantages as a battlefield. It was upon this spot, also, that the great Duke of Marlborough had pitched for a similar trial, and where he probably would have gained a great victory but for the pragmatic interference of the Dutch field-commissioners, who obliged him to alter his arrangements. The retreat of the British from Quatre-Bras was made at midday on the 17th, and they experienced no molestation, except from a large body of French cavalry, that had been engaged the day previous against the Prussians at Ligny. These, however, were confronted, charged, and ridden down by the weight and strength of our household cavalry under the command of the Earl of Uxbridge, after which the march was continued undisturbed. When the British troops reached Waterloo, nothing could be more dismal than that night's bivouac. It was a night of heavy rain, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and violent gusts of wind, while nothing but the miry ground and drenched corn-fields afforded a shelter and a resting-place to recruit both officers and soldiers for the toils of the morrow. It was, indeed, a stern preparative for the worst extremities of battle, in which the latter would be welcomed as a relief. On the same day, and during the night, the junction was made between the troops of Ney and those that had been at Ligny with Napoleon.

The 18th of June dawned, when the great trial of arms was to be settled. It was Sunday—the day consecrated to peace and rest, to brotherly love and heavenward devotion. The army of Wellington mustered in all 72,720 men, while that of Napoleon was not less than 80,000. But the disparity of materials was still more startling than that of numbers. Of the duke's force only 36,273 were British, many of whom had never yet been under fire; 21,000 were Belgian and Nassau troops, whose military character was somewhat doubtful; the rest were Hanoverians and Brunswickers, generally reckoned inferior to the soldiers of France, and not a few of whom were but raw recruits. On the other hand, Bonaparte's army consisted almost wholly of French veterans, confident in their great leader, who had so often mar-

shalled them to victory. Of guns, also, they had 270, while Wellington had only 120. All this constituted an inequality that was contemplated by onlookers with dismay. The duke drew up his army on a range of gentle eminences, called the heights of Mont St. Jean, and in front of the village of Waterloo, extending about a mile and a half from east to west, and in connection with five roads, the chief of which led to Brussels. His extreme left rested on the hamlet of Ter-la-Haye, protected by a deep ravine; his centre was posted between two roads leading from Genappe and Nivelles; his left centre was a little in the rear of the farm La Haye Sainte, and his right centre in the rear of the farm Hougoumont, near the Nivelles road, which formed the key to the position of his right wing. His ground was open in front; his flanks were defended by deep ravines; and even

close combat is the very devil." Another error of Bonaparte's was, that the Prussians were still in full retreat with Grouchy in pursuit, and that therefore there was no chance of their coming to the support of Wellington.

A little after ten o'clock on that Sabbath morning, an ominous stir was visible along the French lines: it was the preparation for an attack upon Hougoumont, the possession of which was necessary for Bonaparte's design of breaking the centre of the allied army, or turning one of its flanks, and destroying it in detail. At half-past ten, the French left wing in three columns, numbering 30,000, under the command of Ney, advanced in the direction of Hougoumont; and at eleven o'clock the battle commenced in earnest, by a desperate attempt to win this key to the right of Wellington's centre. At the same time a tremendous cannonade commenced up on the whole allied line, which the French kept up during nearly the entire day, to support those charges of horse and foot on which they mainly depended for overwhelming their opponents. But the wood, garden, and outer fences of the farmhouse were lined with skirmishers, who checked the advance of the French tirailleurs; and when the heavy French column succeeded, they were encountered by a detachment from General Byng's brigade of guards, and by a British battery that opened upon them from the heights above.



HOUGOMONT.—From a sketch by R. Blackie, 1844.¹

though his strong position should be turned, Mont St. Jean remained as the centre of support for a second; while if this also failed, he had behind it the forest of Soignes, reaching almost to the town of Brussels. Not above a mile from the British position, and in front of it, the French were drawn up on a range of heights, their right crossing the Charleroi road at the farm of La Belle Alliance, and their left resting on the Genappe road, the ground rising behind them, and terminated by thick woods. When he rode out in the morning to reconnoitre the British position, Bonaparte was astonished to see so few troops, and imagined that Wellington had retreated, and that what he saw was but the rear-guard ready to follow. General Foy, who from experience in Spain knew better, replied, "Wellington never shows his troops; but if he is yonder, I must warn your majesty that the English infantry in

The advancing columns brought up their heavy artillery, and replying with a still heavier fire, they gained the wood, driving before them the Nassau battalion that guarded it, gained the hedge inclosures of the farm, and approached the garden, where, however, they were brought to a stand by the felled trees with which every entrance was guarded, and by the volleys of musketry that issued from loop-holes that had been made in the walls of that ancient mansion. Aware of the importance of this position, the French repeatedly attempted to wrest it from the British; but as often as they renewed their attack, they were repelled by volleys of musketry from the building, and discharges of case-shot from the batteries, which inflicted fearful destruction upon the closely wedged masses of troops that confronted

¹ In the walls of the orchard may be seen the loopholes for musketry made by the British troops.

them. The French were compelled at this point to retire, and Hougoumont for the time was saved; while the guards, issuing from their inclosures, quickly recovered the grounds and wood from which they had been at first dislodged.

The battle now raged with equal violence over the whole field. There was no manœuvring; and while Bonaparte's effort was to overwhelm his enemy by weight or rapidity of onset, the aim of Wellington was to maintain his ground until the promised aid of Blücher should turn the scale, and enable him to become the assailant. The French cannonade was incessant, but that of the British was equally destructive, as it was admirably served. A large force of French cavalry was now massed together; and expecting that his two centre divisions were to be attacked, the duke ordered them to form into squares; but finding this movement only a feint, and that the squares suffered from the cannonade, he withdrew them behind the ridges for shelter. Mistaking this for a retreat, several French columns under Count d'Erlon were sent to attack the left of the allied position, while a hot and heavy fire was renewed upon Hougoumont, to mislead the attention of the British. At first the attempt of D'Erlon was successful; the Belgian brigade was driven from its post, and the life-guards sent to its support were compelled to retreat, while the brave Picton fell as he was ordering his men to charge. It was a critical moment—the allied left wing might have been separated and enveloped; but the steady fire of the infantry checked D'Erlon's progress; while a charge of cavalry, headed by Lord Uxbridge, broke his troops, and drove them back in confusion. After this discomfiture, the attack on Hougoumont, at first a feint, became a reality, and every former attempt was redoubled to win it, so that Wellington was obliged to reinforce the defenders of the wood and the old château with 4000 men. The contest at this point every moment became more desperate, and under the close heavy discharges of musketry and artillery, the corn-stacks in the farmyard and the building itself were set in a blaze, and the battle was continued among the flames. But the French at last were driven out by the Coldstream guards under Colonel Woodford, and the position was once more secured.

Thus more than four hours of hard fighting had been spent, in which the French had made no progress, and the British had not lost a single foot of ground. Bonaparte now resolved to try the allied left centre, in the hope of breaking it, for which purpose it was necessary to carry the position of La Haye Sainte. Between three and four o'clock such large masses of troops were collected and hurled against this point as at first to bear down opposition; the defenders were destroyed, the

farmhouse was won; and following their advantage, a large body of French cuirassiers, who were in a hollow that defended them from the range of the British guns, made a charge upon the squares, hoping to ride them down, and thus cleave the army asunder. But in spite of the well-tempered plates of steel by which they were protected, they fell in heaps before the close volleys of these unshaken squares; and on retiring, they were pursued and driven back with utter discomfiture to their main body. This repulse only occasioned greater efforts; they returned to the charge, and carried the farmhouse of La Haye Sainte, after they had killed or wounded every man of the light battalion of the German legion who defended it. Bonaparte now endeavoured to follow up this success with charges of cavalry: he hurled them by troops, by squadrons, by whole masses again and again upon the British infantry, in hope of dividing their lines or breaking their squares; but at every charge they were met by an impenetrable forest of steel, and at every onset hundreds were impaled by that deadly array of bayonets. Even when these charges were found unsuccessful, the French cavalry, the Polish lancers, and heavy, steel-clad cuirassiers walked their horses in front, or upon the sides of the squares, as coolly as if they had been on parade, although amidst showers of bullets that strewed the ground with their dead and wounded—but watching for the slightest break or opening through which they might dash, and shiver these ranks by a well-directed blow. But still not a square was broken, not a single troop yielded or gave back: every man stood firm in his appointed place, equally prepared to die or to conquer. At length these fierce riders were encountered in their own fashion, and by a braver and better-appointed cavalry than themselves. The British horse had as yet been kept in hand, and allowed to do little beyond the few charges we have mentioned, the chief reliance of Wellington having been placed upon the unflinching squares that had hitherto resisted every onset; but now his splendid cavalry were called into action, composed of English horses and men, with whose weight, strength, and spirit their antagonists had no chance, either in a charge or hand-to-hand encounter. The order was given to collect and bring up the brigade of British heavy cavalry, consisting of the life-guards, the royal horse-guards, and the 1st dragoon-guards, under the command of Lord E. Somerset, and to charge the enemy's horse, already wearied with their fruitless attempts against the British infantry. And terrible beyond all the others was that charge; cuirassier and light horseman went down and disappeared as beneath a torrent, and in a few moments nothing was to be seen of these splendid mounted troops of Na-

pooleon, the heroes of so many victories, except trodden masses of the dead and dying, or a few groups of scattered fugitives, and 2000 prisoners whom the brigade brought with them when they returned from that decisive onslaught.

Such were the events and changes that had crowded eight terrible hours of conflict and slaughter. It was a struggle commensurate with its object; for not even the fate of a kingdom, but the liberties of Europe were trembling in the scale. As such, it had been no cool, deliberate trial of marching and manœuvring, but an eager grappling on both sides, and a death-struggle which only one party could survive; and as yet the allied army held its own, or if there was any difference, the advantage was in its favour. But there were still resources left for a last and crowning effort, as a large portion of the British reserves were still almost untouched, while, on the other side, the old imperial guard, that force which hitherto had conquered wherever it fought, and to which Napoleon had owed so many of his victories, had not yet been brought into action. The time also had come which, if not secured, could only be followed by the useless death-throe, for symptoms already announced that the Prussians were advancing, whose mere entrance upon the scene would decide the trial at issue. The old guard was therefore called up, to make the last and decisive attack upon the British left centre, near the farm of La Haye Sainte; and they were cheered by the sight of Bonaparte placing himself at their head, and his call of "Let every one follow me!" They thought he was to lead them in person, and in the hope, every man felt his strength doubled; but after ten minutes' marching, he turned aside with his staff into a hollow between La Belle Alliance and La Haye Sainte, that was sheltered from the British artillery, and committed them to the command of Ney, who led them into action. It was seven o'clock when this great movement commenced, and the old guard marched forward through a destructive fire that thinned their ranks at every step; while the British themselves were protected from the answering fire with which the advance was covered, in consequence of the orders of Wellington to lie down on the ground behind the low range of hills in their front, until the word of command was given. The old

guard advanced in two massive columns, and when they were near enough, the duke gave the signal—not, however, in the melodramatic words,



THE FARMHOUSE OF LA HAYE SAINTE, the Gate shattered with Musketry.
From a view by S. Wharton, 1816.

"Up, guards, and at them!" but in his own simple, matter-of-fact style, through his aide-de-camp. Officers and men started up at the summons, and the enemy were suddenly confronted by General Maitland's brigade of English guards, and by General Adams' brigade, who were rapidly moved over the brow of the hill, where they were formed four deep by the duke in person, and flanked with artillery. Their first volley made the imperial guards stagger, but only for a moment; they advanced with their wonted confidence, when a second and more terrible discharge within fifty yards' distance was poured in among them, while they were in the act of deploying; and before they could recover and form, a heavy united charge of the English guards threw them together, and drove them in a confused mass *pele mele* down the hill. These terrible imperial guards, the last hope of victory, were thus baffled and broken; and Bonaparte, who sat on horseback in the hollow, like a rigid statue of bronze, watching their motions with an intense gaze, no sooner beheld their confusion, than he exclaimed "They are mixed, they are mixed!" in accents of despair. To add to his hopelessness, the sound of Bulow's cannon was heard on the right of the French army, the Prussian ranks were seen advancing, and Blucher himself with his whole force was at hand. Encouraged by this decisive prospect, Wellington became the assailant, and moving forward with his whole line of infantry, supported by his cavalry and artillery, he bore down upon the broken ranks of the enemy, and completed their overthrow. This charge was so decisive, that 150 cannon and all their ammuni-

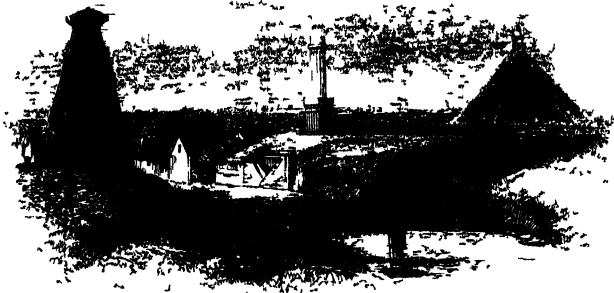
tion were captured in the single onset. There was no more fighting; that "Grand Army" of Bonaparte—the last of all, and the most desperate of all—never again stood nor attempted to rally anywhere: all the rest of the work was headlong, unresisted pursuit, slaughter of fugitives who had entirely lost their military formation, and capture of prisoners, artillery, and spoils. The army was destroyed, as an army, before the pursuit began: its organization was lost with the defeat of the guard: if it had not been so, the pursuit by the Prussians could not possibly have been such easy duty—there could not have been so perfect a *débâcle*. In the retreat, and in the three battles they had fought within three days, the French lost in killed and wounded more than 30,000 men; but, what was of still more importance, their spirit was beaten out of them, and that army was indeed too thoroughly broken up ever to join again.

In the meanwhile the British and their allies, by the broad moonlight, were counting their dead and picking up their wounded. The loss

the night of the 20th, to find that his chamber of representatives was now far more hostile to him than the *corps législatif* had been on his flight from Leipsic. His first thoughts were how he could break up the constitution he had sworn to on the 1st of June; how he could get rid of the two chambers, and to seize the absolute and undivided power of a dictator. The chambers, anticipating his blows, declared their session permanent, and demanded his abdication. Napoleon signed an act of abdication, in favour of his son Napoleon II., on the 22d of June; and he determined to abide by it, or at the least to give up a hopeless struggle. He knew that the armies of all Europe were marching against him; that, while Wellington and Blücher were on the north-eastern frontier, the Austrian general Frimont was marching through Switzerland and Savoy to attack on that frontier; that Prince Schwartzberg was now ready to pour enormous forces across the Rhine; and that the Emperor Alexander was not far off with 200,000 Russians. The allies could have put 800,000

men into France before the end of the month of July!

After his abdication Bonaparte retired to Malmaison, where his wife Josephine had died. The chamber of peers set up a provisional government, consisting of Caulaincourt, Quennet, Grenier, Carnot, and Fouché—a most strange jumble of men and principles. Fouché, who had ten times more craft, cunning, and ability than all his four colleagues put together, had seen clearly, ever since the battle of Waterloo, that the restoration of the



MONUMENTS ON THE FIELD OF WATERLOO.—From *Belgique Monumentale et Pittoresque*

had been immense, and in some corps almost unprecedented. The British and Hanoverians alone had 2432 killed and 9528 wounded in the battle of Waterloo. These numbers being added to the losses sustained at Quatre-Bras on the 16th, make a total of near 15,000 men put *hors de combat*, in an army of about 36,000 men! If we deduct some 4000 or 5000 men of this army who were not actually engaged in either of the two battles, we shall find that one-half of this army was killed or wounded. The loss in officers was quite proportionate to the loss in men; more than 600 officers, British and Hanoverians, were killed or wounded at Waterloo alone.

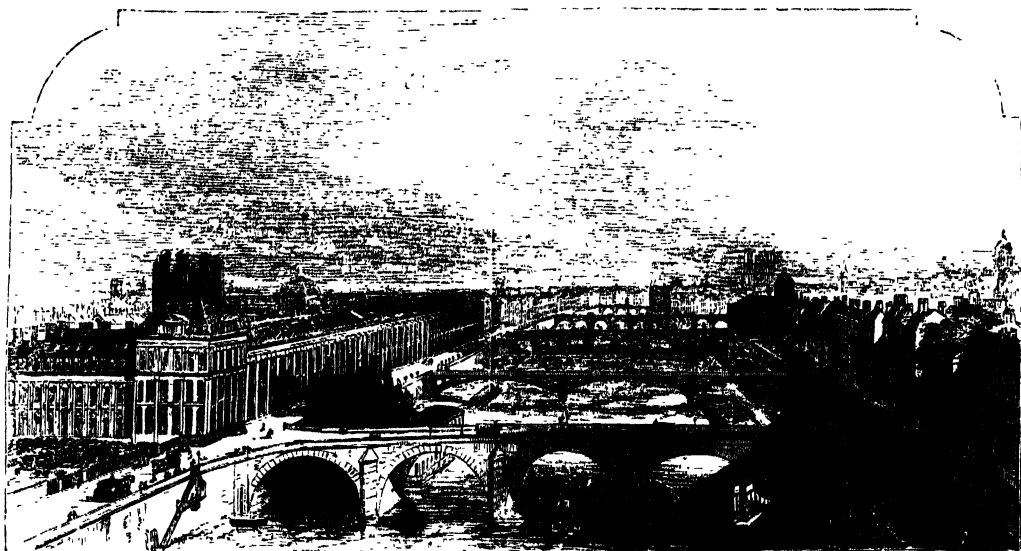
The first man that carried to Paris the news of his irretrievable disaster was Bonaparte himself. Leaving his brother Jerome on the frontier to try and rally some of the remains of the army, he flew to the capital, where he arrived during

Bourbons was an inevitable necessity; and he shaped his course accordingly. This strange provisional government, which assumed to itself all the powers of France, must have been more hateful and humiliating to the fallen emperor than all the rest of his disgraces; yet still he lingered at Malmaison for nearly a whole week, and until the advance of Wellington and Blücher rendered his further stay impossible.

The British and Prussian armies met with hardly any the feeblest resistance on their march upon Paris. On the 1st of July, Wellington took up a position a few short miles from the capital, with his right upon the heights of Richebourg, with his left upon the forest of Bondy. Blücher crossed the Seine at St. Germain as Wellington advanced; and on the 2d of July the right of the Prussian army was at Plessis-Piquet, its left at St. Cloud, and its reserve at Versailles. On

the 2d of July, the so-called army of Napoleon II. offered some resistance to old Blücher; and there was even some hard fighting on the heights

of St. Cloud and Meudon and in the village of Issy; but the country people remained neutral, and the Prussian corps of General Ziethen sur-



PARIS, from near the Pont Royal, looking up the Seine ¹—From Chapuy, *Voyages dans l'Ancienne France*.

mounted every obstacle. On the 3d of July, at daybreak, the French renewed the attack, and attempted to recover the village of Issy; but they were repulsed with considerable loss. No attempt was made to check the approaches or molest the positions of the British. The provisional government and Marshal Davoust now yielded to necessity, and to the terms which the Duke of Wellington had proposed to their commissioners three days before, with this important addition, that the city of Paris, the heights of Montmartre, and all its other defences, were to be put quietly in the possession of the British and Prussian armies. Officers accordingly met on both sides at St. Cloud; and on that night a *military* convention was concluded by three French officers, one English officer, and one Prussian officer; and on the following day it was approved by the Duke of Wellington, by Marshal Blücher, and by Davoust, who acted on the part and in the name of the French army, and the ratifications were exchanged. On the same day, and almost before his signature to the deed was dry, the duke wrote to his government, "This convention decides all the military questions at this moment existing here, *and touches nothing political*." The French troops, as by this agreement bound, had all evacuated Paris by the 6th, and had begun their march towards the Loire. Labédoyère is said to have gone with them, or to have followed them beyond the Loire. But Marshal Ney fled from Paris in disguise on the 6th,

with a passport given to him by Fouché, under a feigned name. This is proof enough that Ney did not consider himself included in the convention or capitulation.

On the 7th of July, the British and Prussian armies took possession of Paris, without any outward or visible sign of that *beau désespoir* with which they had been so often menaced. The English established themselves in the Bois de Boulogne, where they formed an encampment; the Prussians occupied some of the streets and along the quays on the Seine. On the 8th, Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris, escorted by the national guard. The allies having refused to acknowledge Bonaparte's right to abdicate in favour of his son, the Bourbons immediately resumed the government. By the advice or command of Fouché and his provisional government, Bonaparte repaired to Rochefort, where he was to embark for the United States. General Becker had been sent to escort him to the coast, apparently with orders not to allow him to escape to the country beyond the Loire, or to remain long in any part of France. At Rochefort the fallen conqueror saw that the country was tranquilly submitting to the Bourbons, and that the sea, covered with English squadrons and cruisers,

¹ On the left are the Tuileries and the Louvre; in the centro distance the Ile de la Cité, and the cathedral of Notre Dame; in the distance to the right is the tower of the Pantheon, or St. Geneviève; the bridges in receding order are Pont Royal, Pont des Saints Pères, Pont des Arts, at the end of which is seen the Palais des Beaux Arts; Pont Neuf, and Pont au Change.

offered him no chance of escape to America. The *Bellerophon* ship of the line, Captain Maitland, and some of our frigates, were in the roads. There were two or three small armed French vessels in port; but their officers told him that they could neither fight nor escape from the English ships. He then bargained with a Danish merchant vessel, and devised how he might conceal himself in the hold of that craft; but the honest Danish skipper—who might have taken his money, have led him alongside one of our cruisers, and have safely abided the consequences—told him that concealment would be impossible if the English searchers boarded: and this hopeless project was given up. He then talked of making a still more desperate essay—of attempting to cross the Atlantic in a *chasse-marée*, or small coasting vessel; but this, too, was given up, on the representation of the sailors. That such dangerous projects were ever entertained for a moment is, by itself, proof enough of the worth of the assertion that Bonaparte voluntarily sought the shelter of the British flag, not merely in the hope, but in the confident expectation that he should be allowed to reside in England, free as any English subject, and under the protection of our laws. He went on board the British ship because he could go nowhere else, and because he could not have safely stayed many hours longer where he was; he went on board the British ship because every other plan and hope had failed him. On the 10th of July, he sent off Las Cases and his evil satellite Savary with a flag of truce to the *Bellerophon*. Loaded with the blood of the Duc d'Enghien, Savary dreaded more than any of them the being arrested and delivered up to the Bourbons. To the demand that the emperor should be received as the free and voluntary claimant of British hospitality and protection, Captain Maitland replied, "that his instructions forbade him this, but that if Napoleon chose to proceed to England, he would take him there on board the *Bellerophon*, without, however, entering into any promise as to the reception he might meet with there, as he was in total ignorance of the intentions of the British government as to his future disposal." This offer was made by Captain Maitland, in his second interview with Las Cases, on the 14th of July; but Napoleon had already the day before written a letter addressed to the Prince-regent of England, saying that "he came, like Themistocles, to claim the hospitality of the British people, and the protection of its laws." Captain Maitland offered to despatch General Gourgaud to England with this letter immediately, repeating at the same time to him, "that he was not authorized to stipulate as to the reception of Bonaparte in England, where he must consider himself at the dis-

posal of the prince-regent." On the 15th, Bonaparte went on board the *Bellerophon* with his suite, saying to the captain as he put his foot on the quarter-deck, "I come to place myself under the protection of your prince and your laws." On the 24th the ship entered Torbay. On the 31st, Admiral Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury, under-secretary of state, arrived from London to announce the final resolution of the British government—that the island of St. Helena should be the future residence of *General Bonaparte*. He protested vehemently against this determination, saying that he was not a prisoner of war—that he had come of his own free-will on board the *Bellerophon*—that he wished to be allowed to remain in England as a *private citizen*. On the 6th of August, however, he acknowledged to Captain Maitland that "he had certainly made no conditions on coming on board the *Bellerophon*, that he had only claimed hospitality, and that he had no reason to complain of the captain's conduct, which had been that of a man of honour." On the 7th, Napoleon removed from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, Sir George Cockburn's flag-ship, which was appointed to carry him to St. Helena. It was a place from which he could not escape so easily as from Elba, being far from France and Europe, and an island of which Britain exclusively held the key, our country having possessed it since the time of Charles II. It was also a pleasant, picturesque, and especially a healthy residence, as had been proved by the thousands of British subjects who had made their abode in it. Indeed, no residence could have been found more favourable for one whom it was judged necessary to shut out from communication with Europe, and whom a humane enemy were still anxious to spare. He landed on that island on the 16th of October, and died there on the 5th of May, 1821, in the 52d year of his age. He died of the same disease which killed his father, namely, a schirrus in the pylorus. As far back as the year 1802, the tokens of this hereditary disorder had been observed. Some of the worst symptoms of the disease had shown themselves in an entire derangement of the stomach and digestive organs during the Russian campaign, and afterwards at the time of the battle of Leipzig. Upon opening the body the cause of death was made apparent—a large ulcer spread over a great part of the stomach.

The faults committed, or allowed to be committed, by the Bourbons at the restoration of 1814 did not include any over severity, or cruelty, or bloodshed; and, if we consider the wrongs which the family had suffered, or the execrable barbarities which had been practised upon some members of that unfortunate family, including the Duchess of Angoulême, who had survived

them, and who now returned to Paris, it must be confessed that the abstinence from vengeance was altogether astonishing. Many of the members of the national convention, who, in defiance of all law, had voted the deaths of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and the Princess Elizabeth, were living in France, and were left to live there undisturbed. Many notorious scoundrels, who had played the part of jailers and tormentors in the Temple, were permitted to live in Paris: not one was brought to the scaffold, not one was transported, hardly one was exiled. All who had acquired titles, honours, estates, and by whatsoever means, were allowed to retain them without inquiry or question. It was the first time that a revolution, or a counter-revolution, had happened in France without being followed by torrents of blood. At the restoration of 1815 it was deemed necessary to be more severe, but even now the severity was very limited. In order to render their resistance the more desperate, Labédoyère and others had talked among the Bonapartists of an interminable list of proscriptions, of the guillotine *en permanence*, as in the reign of terror! Yet when the avenging royal ordinance was published (on the 24th of July), it was found to contain only fifty-seven names; and of these only nineteen were threatened with capital punishment or trial before a military tribunal. The first name on the black list was that of Ney; the second was that of Labédoyère. In the lighter part of the list were the names of Soult, Carnot, Vandamme, &c.; they were merely ordered to quit Paris within three days, and retire into the interior of France, to places to be indicated to them, where they were to remain under inspection until the chambers should decide which of them ought either to depart the kingdom or be delivered up to legal prosecution. It was explained that such of these individuals as should be condemned to exile should be allowed to sell their property in France, and freely carry the proceeds with them. Labédoyère and Ney were the only two that suffered death.

Nearly two months before Ney was shot in the garden of the Luxemburg Palace, Murat, a kinder and better man, was shot in the courtyard of a filthy Calabrian castle. He had landed upon that coast on the 8th of October with twenty-eight men, with the mad design of recovering his kingdom. He was presently surrounded by the people of Pizzo, knocked down, wounded by ball and dagger, gashed in the head and face, lacerated, tortured, and then thrown into prison to abide the vengeance of the Bourbon king Ferdinand. He fell on the 13th of October, in the forty-fifth year of his age.

Terrible reports had been spread by the Bona-

partists as to the intentions of Russia, Austria, and Prussia towards their unhappy and *betrayed* country. At one time it was confidently reported that the congress of Vienna, which continued sitting, had determined to disannex from France not only the whole of Alsace, but also the whole of Lorraine and of Franche Comté. At length the congress of Vienna settled the conditions: treaties and conventions were signed at Paris by Louis XVIII. on the 20th of November. The allies took no territory from France, and made none but the most trifling alterations in her frontier lines. But, in order to retain a powerful hold upon France during a season of probation, they determined to keep temporary possession of seventeen of the frontier fortresses for a term not exceeding five years, and which circumstances might reduce to three years; and to maintain in these fortresses and in other parts of the kingdom an army of allied troops not greater than 150,000 men, to be paid and supported by France. The allied sovereigns also exacted payment at least for some of the enormous expenses they had incurred; but they limited their demand to the narrow period of the "Hundred Days," the period from Bonaparte's landing at Cannes to his defeat at Waterloo, and fixed the total sum, to be divided among all of them, at 700,000,000 francs. Nor was France to pay this very limited contribution at once, or even at short intervals, but in easy instalments. She was, however, made to regorge some of the plunder she had accumulated during her career of conquest: the pictures, the statues, the rare manuscripts, which had been lodged in the museum in the Louvre, were now at last returned to Italy, Belgium, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.

Other sums of money were subsequently exacted from France, but the burden of supporting the 150,000 men was reduced to the lowest limit. As a new French army was organized, upon which Louis XVIII. considered that he might rely, 30,000 of the allies, or one-fifth of the whole army, were withdrawn in the year 1817, although only two years had yet elapsed; and it was determined that the whole of that occupying army should be withdrawn as soon as *three* years were completed. But the French were made to pay some indemnities for the spoliation inflicted on their neighbours during the revolution, and indemnities to some states for the expenses of the war. These conjoint amounts made up another 700,000,000 francs, or about £28,000,000 sterling, and there were some other items which may have carried the whole sum to be paid by France, by instalments, for the bloody freak of the "Hundred Days," to about £60,000,000 sterling. England, satisfied with the discharge of the private claims of her subjects upon the French govern-

ment, gave up her public share of the indemnities, which amounted only to some £4,000,000 or £5,000,000, to the King of Holland and the Netherlands, to assist him in restoring and repairing that great barrier of fortresses, which had been devised by our own great Dutch-born king, William III., to check the power of France on that side.

In the course of the year 1815, before any sums could be procured from the government of Louis

XVIII., the British government was obliged to send still more money to the allied sovereigns, whose then enormous armies must otherwise have lived at large on the French people, or on the peoples through whom the retiring portions of them had to march; and it was the grant (we believe in some cases it was idly called *loan*) of £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 of English money that smoothed many difficulties, and forwarded the homeward march of 650,000 men.

CHAPTER X.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1813—1820.

GEORGE III.

The American war—Defeat of the Americans in naval engagements—Combat of the *Shannon* and *Chesapeake*—Encounters by land—Attempts of the Americans to conquer Canada—They capture York—They are surprised and defeated by Colonel Harvey—Their defeat at Sackett's Harbour—Advance of the Americans on the Detroit frontier—They are defeated by Colonel Procter—Defeat of General Harrison by Colonel Procter at Fort Meigs—Dilatory proceedings and misconduct of Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief—Defeat of an English flotilla on Lake Erie—Procter defeated by General Harrison—Upper Canada almost lost by the insane orders of Sir George Prevost—General Vincent disobeys his orders and recovers the frontier—The Americans driven from Upper and Lower Canada—Defeat of the Americans on their own frontier—They make fresh preparations for the conquest of Canada—Various encounters—Defeat of the Americans near Fort Niagara—Advance of the British on the city of Washington—They defeat the Americans at Bladensburg—They destroy Washington—They compel the town of Alexandria to capitulate—General Ross killed in a rash attack on Baltimore—Losses of the Americans—Sir George Prevost continues inactive—His blundering attempts when he rouses himself to action—His disgraceful failures and retreat—He is recalled to England for trial—Loss of the Americans by these attempts on Canada—Advance of the British army on New Orleans—Their unsuccessful battle before the town—Their plans of attack on New Orleans defeated—Death of General Pakenham, their commander—Failure of their attempt on the city—Retreat of the British army to their fleet in the Gulf of Mexico—First overtures of the British for peace disregarded by the Americans—The war party in America daunted by the disasters of Bonaparte—Peace found necessary for the United States—Treaty of peace between Britain and America concluded at Ghent.



At sea, the American successes, such as they were, may be said to have closed with the year 1812, or with the first year of the war. Some larger and more suitable British frigates were sent out, and in every action which followed, where there was anything like an equality of force, the Americans were beaten without much difficulty; and, wherever the superiority of force lay on our side, they were beaten with perfect ease. The most memorable of these frigate fights was that which was fought on the 1st of June, 1813, between the *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*. It lasted fifteen minutes, only eleven of which were spent in firing, and it was terminated by the English boarding and capturing the American ship. The circumstances are known to almost every Englishman. It was a battle upon challenge, sent into Boston harbour by the captain of the *Shannon*, the gallant Broke; it was a battle where the ships were equally matched, or rather where there was a slight superiority of force on the side of the Americans;

it was a battle fought within sight of the American shore, close into Boston harbour, where several armed American ships were lying, and where a public feast was preparing to honour the triumph of the officers and crew of the *Chesapeake*; it was a battle wherein the Americans had every incentive to exertion, and they did their best. But, although the forte of the *Shannon* lay in her admirable gunnery (Captain Broke had sedulously trained his people to the use of their guns, and spent his own money to make up for the niggardliness of the government, and supply his men with plenty of ammunition to practise with), it was not by the fire of her guns, but by boarding, that the *Shannon* beat the *Chesapeake*, hoisted "the old ensign over the Yankee colours," and led her away in triumph before the eyes of all her friends ashore.

The capture of that immense frigate, the *President*, which had had many narrow escapes, was the last naval contest; and took place some weeks after the signature, in Europe, of a peace between Great Britain and the United States, but before

the news of that event had reached America. After a hard fight with the British frigate *Endymion*, the *President* bore away from the action under a crowd of canvas, but three hours after she was encountered by the British frigate, *Pomone*, to which she made a signal of surrender. At this instant a third British frigate, the *Tenedos*, came up on the *President's* starboard side, and soon after the *Endymion* overtook her late antagonist. All chance of escape was thus cut off from the *President*, and nearly a third of her crew was killed and wounded when she yielded to the captors.

By land, the republicans continued to show how much their hearts were set upon annexing Canada to their dominions. In spite of the defeats, losses, surrenders, and disgraces of the year 1812, they renewed their attempt in 1813. By a sudden movement by water, York, now Toronto, on Lake Ontario, was taken, by General Dearborn, who was supported by an American freshwater flotilla, under Commodore Chauncey. General Sheaffe, who had about 700 men, British regulars and Canadian militia, and a few Red Indians, drew off his regulars, and left the rest to capitulate within the town, wherein considerable public stores were lost. The great lakes now became the most active scene of warfare—of an amphibious sort of warfare—for the same men often fought one day on water and the next day on land; now in extemporized fir-flotillas, and now in forts or in positions on the banks of those lakes. This had been foreseen and ought to have been provided for, as nearly everything depended on the establishment of a naval superiority on the lakes. Our squadron on Lake Ontario had been left miserably weak, and the efforts to increase its strength were not proportionate to those made by the Americans. In 1813, when the first action of any consequence took place on that lake, Sir James Yeo was, indeed, strong enough to defeat Commodore Chauncey, and to capture two schooners of the American squadron or flotilla; but the Americans avoided a general action, until some new vessels they had laid down should be completed.

The republicans, after embarking the captured stores of the town of York, sailed for Niagara, and concentrated 6000 infantry, 250 cavalry, and a good train of artillery upon that point. Their flotilla had the water all to itself; and under its destructive fire General Dearborn made good his landing on the Canadian shore. Our troops and the Canadian militia, outnumbered, as four or five to one, were compelled to give way and evacuate Fort George, after making a gallant stand and suffering a heavy loss. General Vincent, our commander on the Niagara, retired up the river, collected the small garrisons

of Fort Erie and other posts, mustered about 1600 bayonets in all, and gained a good position in Burlington Bay, near what is now the city of Hamilton, in spite of the efforts of the enemy to intercept him. On the evening of the 4th of June (1813), Vincent saw the Americans approaching his position by the lake shore. On the following morning, intending to attack Vincent in this position, with 3500 men and nine pieces of artillery, they encamped within five or six miles. Lieutenant-colonel Harvey, the British deputy adjutant-general, reconnoitred this republican camp, and then proposed to surprise it by night. General Vincent agreed: and, at the dead of night, the halves of two British regiments, mustering precisely 704 men, rushed with fixed bayonets into the American camp, headed by Colonel Harvey. The surprise was complete; the republicans fled in every direction, leaving two general officers, 100 prisoners, and four field-pieces behind them.

In the meanwhile, Sir George Prevost, waking from a long slumber, agreed to go with Sir James Yeo and his squadron, to make an attack upon Sackett's Harbour, and destroy the forts, the arsenals, and the dockyard, where the Americans had a frigate almost ready for launching, and several other vessels; but when this wavering and spiritless general reconnoitred the place he would not venture an attack, and returned across the lake towards Kingston. Then he changed his mind and went back to Sackett's Harbour; and (but not without more wavering and loss of time) our troops, about 750 strong, were landed. The Americans were presently driven at the bayonet's point into some loop-holed barracks and forts; and so panic-stricken were they that they immediately set fire to their new frigate, their naval barracks and arsenal, and destroyed a gun-brig and all the stores which had so recently been captured at York. While the arsenal was in flames, while the Americans were fleeing through the village, and when the complete success of the assailants was certain, Sir George Prevost sent a precipitate order for retreat, merely because a momentary resistance was offered by a party of Americans who had taken refuge in the log-barracks! If the destruction at Sackett's Harbour had been completed, we should have deprived the Americans of every prospect of obtaining the ascendancy on the lake. Sir James Yeo, after carrying Sir George Prevost and his troops back to Kingston, proceeded to the head of the lake with reinforcements for General Vincent. As soon as he approached, the American army, which had never recovered from the effects of Colonel Harvey's night attack, fled along the lake shore until they reached Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara river,

where their general, Dearborn, evacuating all the Canadian bank of the Niagara, shut himself up in a strong entrenched camp, with about 5000 men. Something was expected from the energy and enterprise of General Vincent, but Major-general Rottenburg, who had been appointed governor of Upper Canada, assumed the command as Vincent's superior officer, and during the months of July, August, and Sept. (1813), nothing was done by the British in this quarter.

Before attacking the Niagara frontier, the republicans had commenced offensive operations on the Detroit frontier and on Lake Erie. By the end of January they had overrun the Michigan territory, and had advanced one wing of this army towards the village of Frenchtown, twenty-six miles south-west from Detroit. This American wing was about 1200 strong, and was commanded by Brigadier-general Winchester, an old officer who had gained distinction in their war of independence. There was nothing in its front but Colonel Procter, whose force was inferior, and of the most motley description. Sir George Prevost, as commander-in-chief, had strictly commanded Procter not to undertake offensive operations; but old Winchester's too bold advance gave Procter an opportunity which he was determined not to lose. With less than 500 regular troops, militia, provincial sailors, with four light guns and a band of 500 or 600 Red Indians, Colonel Procter gallantly advanced against Winchester and his Americans, surprised them by night in their quarters at Frenchtown, captured or destroyed one-half of them, and reduced the others to surrender upon promise of quarter. General Harrison, who commanded the rest of this army of invasion, was so dismayed at Winchester's disaster that, though still powerful in numbers, he abandoned his intention of advancing into Canada, and began to fortify himself near the rapids of the Maumee river, which falls into Lake Erie, near Toledo.

About the middle of April, Procter, now allowed to act on the offensive, embarked his entire force on board the flotilla on Lake Erie, made for the mouth of the Maumee, ascended that river, and landed troops, stores, and ordnance on the 28th of April, within two miles of Fort Meigs, the key of General Harrison's fortified camp. Procter had with him some heavy ordnance, 520 regulars, and 460 militia; the Indian warriors co-operating with him were about 1200. Harrison's force, well covered in his fortified camp, considerably exceeded that of Procter, who now erected batteries, and began to cannonade him from the opposite bank of the Maumee. The Americans responded to this fire with eighteen pieces of heavy ordnance, mounted in Fort Meigs. The English fired some red-hot

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shot, but Harrison's block-houses, &c., would not take fire and burn, the wood being so very green. On the 5th of May, General Harrison's long-expected reinforcements made a rapid and sudden descent down the river in boats. They were 1300 strong, and under the command of General Clay. As the boats drew near, Harrison made a *sortie* to aid the disembarkation. For a moment the English batteries were in the hands of the enemy, together with some prisoners; but Procter, after pouring in one or two volleys of musketry, point blank, ordered a bayonet charge, and this charge not only repulsed those who had got into our batteries, but threw the whole of General Clay's force into confusion and headlong flight. The Indian warriors fell upon the fugitives; 550 were made prisoners, and the killed and wounded were estimated at as many more. After this brilliant affair the Indians returned to the Detroit frontier with their prisoners, their wounded, and their booty; the Canadian militia-men went home to attend to their farms; and Sir George Prevost had provided no regular force to support Procter's operations. That brave officer was therefore obliged to rest satisfied with what he had done, to abandon the notion of forcing Harrison to capitulate in his fortified camp, and to follow the Indians and the militia-men to Detroit.

The republicans now abandoned all intention of advancing against that frontier, until they could obtain a naval superiority on Lake Erie. Sir James Yeo had detached Captain Barclay, of the royal navy, to assume the command on that lake. Barclay was an officer of heroic courage and of distinguished ability; but the means put at his disposal were of the worst or most limited kind. He had been allowed to bring with him from the Ontario squadron only twenty-five regular sailors. But Sir George Prevost, who had shown so little alacrity in taking, told these brave men that the ordnance and naval stores they required must be taken from the enemy, whose resources must become theirs! But to take, one must have the power—to fight, one must have men proper for the service. On the 13th of July, Procter wrote to Prevost to tell him that "even 100 seamen pushed on immediately, would, in all probability, secure the superiority on this lake;" that he was already weakened on shore by his efforts to enable Captain Barclay to appear on the lake; that if he did not receive 100 seamen, he should be under the necessity of sending still more soldiers on board the vessels. On the 18th of August, Procter wrote again, telling the commander-in-chief that Captain Barclay had not received one seaman, and that the Americans were appearing on that part of Lake Erie in very superior force.

Still, a new fir-built vessel, called the *Detroit*, had been improvised, had been launched on the lake; "if we had but seamen, a few hours would place this district in security." "I entreat your excellency," added Procter, "to send me the means of continuing this contest!" And now it was that Sir George Prevost, instead of sending seamen, sent a letter, which, all the circumstances being considered, was ungenerous, insulting, absurd, and at the same time, horrible--horrible, as it went to inflame high-spirited officers, and to sacrifice the lives of brave men in a most unequal and hopeless contest. This precious commander-in-chief, who had so recently run away from Sackett's Harbour, wrote to Procter--"Although your situation may be one of difficulty, you cannot fail of honourably surmounting it, notwithstanding the numerical superiority of the enemy's force. The experience obtained by Sir James Yeo's conduct towards a fleet infinitely superior to the one under his command will satisfy Captain Barclay that he has only to dare, and the enemy is discomfited." And Barclay, to whom such a man as Prevost applied such a taunt, was a man of the Nelson stamp, and one who had lost a limb under that hero! General Procter said, in reply--"Your excellency speaks of seamen, valorous and well-disciplined. Except, I believe, the *twenty-six* whom Captain Barclay brought with him, there are none of that description on this lake. On board of his majesty's squadron there are scarcely enough hands (and those of a miserable description) to work the vessels, some of which cannot be used for want of men, even such as we have. . . . Seamen should be pushed on here, even by dozens."

At last Sir George Prevost did push on *forty* seamen, intimating his expectation that, as soon as this great reinforcement should arrive, Captain Barclay would "make his appearance on the lake to meet the enemy." But Barclay had now no option left him. On the 9th of September the last barrel of flour was consumed, and there was no alternative between his clearing the lake communication and the starvation of our troops. On the very next day, the 10th of September, the most desperate of all these lake actions was fought. Captain Barclay had the *Detroit*, which was rigged as a barque, and mounted eighteen guns; another three-masted craft of eighteen guns, a brig of ten guns, a schooner of fourteen, and two gun-boats, carrying, the first three guns, and the second one gun. These guns were not proper ship guns, nor was there any uniformity of calibre: they had been stripped from the forts on the Detroit frontier. One of the three-masted vessels, and the brig, had each guns of four different calibres on the same deck, from *twenty-four to two* pounders. For want of proper imple-

ments, the men were obliged to discharge these strange ship guns by snapping pistols over the touch-hole. The crews of the whole flotilla consisted of 61 British seamen, 85 Canadians, and 210 soldiers of two different regiments--total, 356. The American commodore, Perry, had two large brigs and eight schooners, heavily armed. The American squadron mounted altogether but fifty-four guns; but they were properly supplied with implements of gunnery, their guns were of better quality or of better assorted calibres, and, owing to the large proportion of their shifting and pivot pieces, they could present in broadside exactly the same number of guns as the British; while their aggregate weight of broadside was fully double that of their assailants. To complete his advantages, Commodore Perry had picked crews to all his vessels, particularly on board the *Lawrence*, his flag-ship, and her sister brig; and his total of men amounted, at the very least, to 580. It is not astonishing that the English flotilla was beaten; but it is astonishing that it should have been able to maintain the desperate contest for three long hours. The day was not lost until the first and second in command of every one of the English vessels had been killed or dangerously wounded. The heroic Barclay had lost one arm serving under Nelson, and now the other arm was mutilated before he quitted his deck. Of the ten experienced British seamen on board the *Detroit*, eight were killed or wounded. When every hope of success or of escape was gone, the second lieutenant of the *Detroit* (the first lying mortally wounded) ordered the colours to be struck. Two other English vessels struck about the same time; the rest of the flotilla were overtaken and captured in their retreat. The total loss on board the British vessels in killed and wounded was 135. The American loss in killed and wounded was 123. This catastrophe rendered inevitable the rapid retreat of General Procter and the Indian chiefs that were acting with him. They therefore abandoned all the positions on the *Detroit*, thus leaving the Michigan territory again in the possession of the Americans. But they could no longer retreat without fighting, for General Harrison passed over between 5000 and 6000 men to intercept them. The Indian allies had dwindled from 3000 to 500, and Procter's regular force consisted of about 500 effectives. The Americans gained what they do not hesitate to call a splendid victory. They killed the famed Indian chief Tecumthé, and cut up his skin into razor-strops, to be presented to Mr. Clay of Virginia, and to other bright ornaments of congress and the country.¹

¹ This is fact. Clay is said to have boasted of possessing such a razor-strop.

Once more the republican hopes ran high. They considered Upper Canada as almost conquered by the defeat of Procter; and their conviction was confirmed by the panic of Sir George Prevost, and by the orders he issued—orders which had the effect of disheartening the Canadians. Three American armies, or three gatherings of men which they called armies, were put in motion for different parts of the Canada frontier in the month of October. While Harrison proceeded along Lake Erie with his 5000 or 6000, General Wilkinson, taking his departure from Sackett's Harbour, crossed Lake Ontario with nearly 10,000 men, and effected a landing near Kingston; and a third force under General Hampton marched upon Montreal. General Rottenburg had left his command on the Niagara to General Vincent, and had moved with reinforcements towards Kingston. Vincent, destroying great quantities of provisions and stores, retreated to Burlington, where he was joined by the remainder of Procter's troops; and no sooner had Sir George Prevost heard of Harrison's success, than he despatched orders from Montreal to General Vincent to evacuate the whole of Upper Canada as far down as Kingston. If these mad, cowardly orders had been obeyed, Upper Canada would have been lost, the troops of Vincent and Procter would have been lost, with ordnance, ammunition, and stores; and Kingston also must have been lost, with its fortress, ships, and arsenal, for the place contained provisions for only seven days, and the depôt of provisions at York would have been lost before Kingston. But fortunately there were several officers of rank in General Vincent's army who took upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying the orders of the commander-in-chief. Vincent was persuaded to be disobedient; and the recovery of the Niagara frontier was the result. Nothing was ever more disgraceful than the panic of Sir George Prevost. The American corps were an undisciplined rabble, ready to fall into a panic themselves at any hostile movement or show of resistance. Hampton, Harrison, and Wilkinson were all put to a disgraceful rout. Only one of the three republican generals fought a battle, and he was beaten by a corps not a sixth part so numerous as his own, and lost, rather in the flight than in the fight, about 1000 men. By the middle of December both Upper and Lower Canada were entirely freed from the presence of the invaders. Some of them, before they fled back to their own country, committed sundry atrocities, which were soon afterwards avenged at Washington and elsewhere. They burned towns and villages to the ground, in order to punish the poor Canadians for their perversity and wickedness in not turning rebels and joining them. But the republicans could not

keep their own frontier free from invasion. Colonel Murray, with less than 500 men, crossed the water, attacked their fort of Niagara, at the mouth of the river of that name, carried it by escalade with a trifling loss, killed or took prisoners the whole garrison, and captured a large quantity of arms and stores. The American general, Hull, came hastily up to the town of Buffalo to check the further progress of the British: but, being attacked on the 30th of December by 1000 regulars and militia, and 300 or 400 Indians, he was entirely routed. All that part of their frontier was laid open and bare. Such armies as Hull's never rally: he had 2000 men when he came to Buffalo; but after the battle he could hardly collect 200.

While the Americans were struggling on the great lakes and on the outskirts of Canada, our blockading squadrons from the ocean sent light vessels far up several of their rivers, to seize or destroy the repositories of stores on the banks. In this manner the rivers at the head of the Chesapeake were all threaded in the course of the year 1813. These operations, to which nearly every part of the American coast on the Atlantic was exposed, relieved the monotony of the blockading service, and did something more—they increased the impatience of the inhabitants for reconciliation and peace, and greatly embarrassed and weakened President Madison's government. Before the end of the year 1813, some of the states declared in a very unequivocal manner that Madison was ruining the country, by persevering in a war which he had commenced without any necessity, and that rather than be denied any longer the advantages of a peace with England, they would sacrifice their advantages as members of the federal republic.

In the year 1814, the Americans once more made great preparations on the lakes for the conquest of Canada. They had scarcely one glimpse of success: the Canadians were more than ever loyal and on the alert, and reinforcements to the regular army arrived from Europe. In the month of April, a force under General Drummond embarked in Sir James Yeo's flotilla, crossed Lake Ontario, and stormed and carried the American frontier fort of Oswego. The garrison fled into the woods, after fighting for only ten minutes. The fort was destroyed, the barracks were burned; and the English troops were re-embarked. In May, an attempt was made to destroy some naval stores which the Americans were transporting to Sackett's Harbour, for the equipment of the flotilla there, but was repulsed with loss. At the beginning of July, a new republican hero, Major-general Brown, took the field, crossed the Niagara in force, obliged the garrison of Fort Erie to capi-

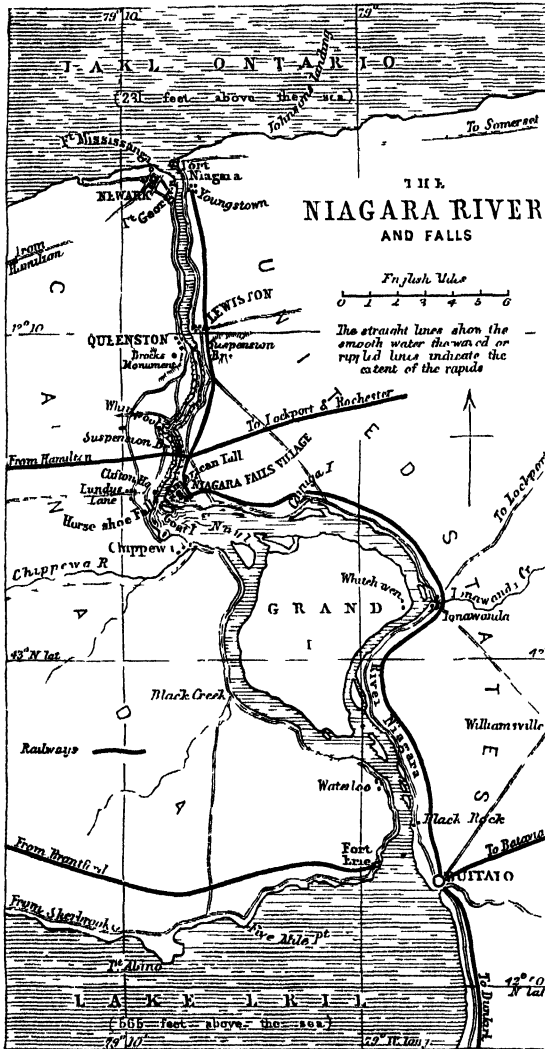
tulate, and advanced into Canada. As he approached the British lines of Chippewa, General Riall, with very inferior numbers, consisting partly of militiamen and Red Indians, made a sortie. A smart action followed, in which both parties sustained considerable loss, but in which the advantage clearly remained with the Ameri-

insular war came fairly into action, the very imperfectly disciplined republicans confessed their inferiority by retreat and flight. This battle was fought on the 25th of July (1814), at Bridgewater, close to the mighty cataract of the Niagara—so close that the dash and roar of the water were heard amidst the firing of twenty-four pieces of ordnance and 8000 muskets. The Americans engaged were estimated at 5000; the number of the British and Canadians did not exceed 3000. The Red Indians, our allies, ran away early in the battle. Our loss reached nearly 900 in killed and wounded. The republicans lost 1500. They retreated most precipitately to Chippewa, and from thence to Fort Erie, abandoning a camp they had fortified, and destroying their stores. On the 15th of August, Drummond was repulsed with great loss in a somewhat rash attempt to carry Fort Erie by storm.

On that same day rum was approaching the city of Washington, the nominal capital of all the United States, the seat of the central government, and the meeting-place of congress. Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, having on board the land troops of Major-general Ross, another hero of the Peninsula, entered the Patuxent river. At the proper point the troops were landed, and began to ascend the bank of the river on their way towards Washington, Admiral Cockburn, with a flotilla of launches, armed boats, and small craft, proceeding up the river on their flank. The American flotilla of Commodore Barney had sought refuge in the Patuxent; and as the British boats opened the reach above Pig Point they perceived Barney's flag flying in the headmost vessel, a large sloop, and the rest of his flotilla extending in a long line astern of this sloop. It was thought that Barney intended to dispute the passage of the river by fighting; but as Cockburn got near he discovered that some of the American ves-

cans. Riall retreated to a better position near Fort George. General Drummond, with part of Wellington's veterans, who had been embarked at Bordeaux after the battle of Toulouse, now came up and reinforced Riall. The American, Brown, counting on his superiority of numbers, which was still great, presumptuously risked a pitched battle in an open field. At first he gained a temporary advantage, during which General Riall was wounded and taken prisoner; but, when Drummond and the veterans of the pen-

sels were on fire. The British admiral called a timeous halt: the American craft barned fiercely, and blew up in succession. Sixteen were totally destroyed; the seventeenth fell into the hands of the British, little injured, together with about thirteen merchant schooners. Sailors and soldiers all believed that Commodore Barney had left his flotilla and his flag flying as a decoy, in the hope that the British would approach them precipitately, and so be blown up with them. In this light the incident on the Patuxent river was



noted down by the forces that were now getting close to Washington. On the 24th of August, Major-general Ross and his troops reached Bladensburg, a village within five miles of that capital. Here, on the right bank of the Potomac, and along a chain of commanding heights, 8000 or 9000 Americans were posted, to cover and defend their capital. President Madison was on the hills when the battle began; but he did not find it convenient to stay and see the battle finished, short as it was. To get at the position the British had to cross the Potomac by a single bridge, which the Americans guarded with artillery. But the bridge was carried in a trice by a light brigade, and then the rest of the troops passed over, deployed, and attacked the right and left of the enemy at one and the same moment. The whole affair did not occupy half an hour, and did not engage more than one British division, about 1600 strong. The Americans broke and fled, very few of them waiting to be either killed or wounded. That evening the British were in Washington, where they immediately began the work of destruction, which was the main purpose of the expedition. The president's house, the Capitol, the Senate-house, and House of Representatives, the treasury, the war-office, the arsenal, the dockyard, the rope-walk, were committed to the flames, and the great bridge across the Potomac and other public works were blown up and destroyed. A frigate ready to be launched, and a sloop-of-war, were consumed in the dockyard. Private property was to be respected, and strict discipline was to be observed by the troops. General Ross's orders to this effect were very positive, and the British accounts say that they were strictly observed. On the following night, the 25th of August, a leisurely retreat was commenced; and the British troops, having met with no molestation on their return, were re-embarked on the 30th. The town of Alexandria, lower on the Potomac river than Washington city, was attacked on the 27th of August, by Captain Gordon of the *Seahorse*, attended by other vessels. Fort Washington, built to protect the river at that point, was abandoned by its defenders after a very short bombardment. The town council of Alexandria agreed to deliver up all public property, and Gordon agreed to respect all private property. All the naval and ordnance stores, all the shipping and their furniture, were surrendered; and the captors loaded their own ships with spoil, and, stowing away the stores, &c., in twenty-one vessels which were found in the harbour, passed down the river, very little injured by the batteries, and got safely out to the *Chesapeake*. On the 12th of September, a very imprudent and unsuccessful attack was made on the strongly-fortified city of Baltimore, which cost the life of General Ross, and

the lives of a good number of his men; though here again a great force of Americans that attempted to defend the approaches of the town (within which there was a still larger force) was defeated and routed by a very inferior body of British regulars, and lost in killed and wounded some 600 or 800 men. The loud outcry made by President Madison proved how sensibly the Americans felt this desultory but destructive system of warfare. It allowed them no repose—it threatened every part of the coast at once—none could tell where the next blow would be struck. In the month of July, Colonel Pilkington took all the islands in the Bay of Passamaquoddy; and in another expedition, undertaken in September, the British sailed up the Penobscot river, took the fort of Castine, landed in a cove within three miles of the town of Hampden, defeated double their number, drove the Americans from a strong position, and compelled them to burn the *John Adams*, a fine frigate, which had run up the river for protection. They also captured the town of Bangor, and another fortified post, and reduced the whole district of Maine from Passamaquoddy Bay to the Penobscot river.

Sir George Prevost having now a large disposable force, including some of the finest regiments that had been trained under the Duke of Wellington, thought he could repay the Americans for their troublesome visits to Canada, by invading their most flourishing state, New York. Before moving, he ought to have made sure of the superiority on the waters of Lake Champlain. Nothing could better have contributed to this end, than the capture or destruction of the naval and other depôts at Sackett's Harbour; and this would have given him the mastery on Lake Ontario, which was an object almost as important as any that he could reasonably propose to himself in his more distant expedition. He had wasted some of the most valuable of the summer months in a camp at Chambly, while Sir James Yeo was blockading Sackett's Harbour (a doubtful sort of blockade, since the American commodore was already stronger than Sir James, and was only waiting to be made still stronger by the shipwrights and riggers hard at work in Sackett's Harbour); but, though Sir George had ample means of attack, and a few days' march would have brought him before the defences of that important arsenal, he made no effort whatever against it. When the veteran troops from Bordeaux landed, every man in the army, or in the provinces of Canada, expected that he would fall on. But no! there he continued to lie at Chambly doing nothing. The American government felt, though our commander-in-chief would not, that all other objects on the frontier were insignificant in comparison with Sackett's Harbour; and they sent

General Izzard, who now commanded on the Champlain frontier, with between 3000 and 4000 regular troops, to take post within it, and in its vicinity. This movement of General Izzard left nothing near the frontier of Lower Canada but some 1500 men, the very refuse of his army. From such refuse nothing was to be feared; the local Canadian militia would have been far more than a match for them. Sir George Prevost could not, therefore, plead that his inactivity in his camp at Chambly was owing to any apprehension of an attack on the frontier of Lower Canada. During the whole month of August, the peninsular troops, ready to march anywhere, and fit for any work, were detained in the camp for which Sir George had conceived so steady an affection. At last the note of preparation was heard; and now all eyes were directed towards Sackett's Harbour. But, says a truth-speaking man, "by a strange perversity of intellect, Sir George Prevost again shunned that place as a pestilence;" and Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, was found to be the object of the expedition! To complete the certainty of ill-success, Sir George in person took the command of the whole army. The force was composed of a regiment of light cavalry, a numerous train of artillery, and three brigades of the best infantry in the British service or in the world, led by Major-generals Brisbane, Robinson, and Power, and amounting in all to 11,000 men. On the 3d of September, these troops began their march, which was so managed by Sir George Prevost, that, though the distance was only twenty-five miles along the lake shore, four days were consumed in performing it. On the evening of the 6th, the army arrived on the left bank of the little river Saranac, on the opposite bank of which stood the village of Plattsburg, and on a ridge above it the American defences, consisting of some stockades, three unfinished redoubts, and two block-houses, armed in all with from fifteen to twenty pieces of ordnance. The American flotilla of Lake Champlain lay at anchor in Plattsburg Bay. It was at first confidently expected, and then eagerly proposed to the commander-in-chief, that an assault should be made that very evening. The British troops were fresh, having made but a very short march; the American troops were that refuse of General Izzard's army, of which we have spoken, and some 3000 or 4000 militiamen, who had run in haste and confusion to the spot, and who would have run much more hastily back again if hotly and closely attacked. The defences were altogether very incomplete; the American flotilla, as a flotilla, could have done nothing, either to defend

the works or impede the attack. One veteran British brigade, with a few well-served guns, and a few congrève rockets, would have done the work in half an hour. But Sir George Prevost, after losing four days on a march, chose to halt for other five days in front of this American rabble, as if for the express purpose of allowing them time to complete their works, and gain confidence, and receive reinforcements. The reason he assigned was the presence of the American flotilla, which could do nothing to check what ought to have been his immediate object, and which was perfectly well known to exist where it was before he began his march from Chambly. For ulterior operations, beyond the possession of Plattsburg, the assistance of a British flotilla and our superiority on the lake were requisite, and the commander-in-chief ought not to have commenced his march before his flotilla was ready. After wasting months, he might have waited a few days longer in his camp; but, having displayed his plan of operation, and having advanced to Plattsburg, he ought to have attained so much of his object as the reduction of that place; and he might have attained it with ease, and without the slightest necessity for the aid of a flotilla. But Sir George was of that class of men who expect everything to be done by others, nothing by themselves: and nothing would he undertake until our crazy flotilla should arrive, and destroy that of the enemy. Poor Barclay's squadron on Lake Erie was as bad as we have seen; but Captain Downie's, on this Lake Champlain, was infinitely worse. Early on the morning of the 11th of September, Captain Downie came up boldly with his squadron, and announced to the army the preconcerted signal of the scaling of his guns. The firing was heard by every man in that army. Then, "Forward columns of attack?"—"No such thing!—there came the order for the troops to *cook!* Not a platoon had been permitted to form when our ships rounded the promontory, stood into the bay, and attacked the Americans. Captain Downie told his crew that the troops would presently storm the works on shore, and his people began the action with much gallantry. The gallant Downie was killed about ten minutes after the battle began, but his ship was courageously fought for two hours longer, under almost every disadvantageous and discouraging circumstance, the army all the while not stirring a foot. After a determined struggle of two hours and twenty minutes, the ship, the brig, and one sloop, which in fact had maintained the battle against the whole of the American squadron, were successively reduced to strike their colours.² Sir

¹ *The Letters of Veritas*; containing a succinct narrative of the military administration of Sir George Prevost, during his command in the Canadas, &c. Montreal.

² *James's Naval Hist.*; *Quart. Rev.*, No. liv.; Official Account by Captain Pring, who commanded the British brig in the action; *Annual Register*.

George Prevost was a passive spectator of the slaughter and discomfiture of these brave men. Once, indeed, he gave the order to advance, but he gave it only to recal it again, just as our light troops were getting close in upon the American works. But the disgrace to our arms was not yet complete. Sir George said that there was nothing now to be done; that to gain possession of Plattsburg would cost more than the place was worth, and that consequently the army must retreat! Stung into madness, 800 British veterans deserted from the camp. The retreat commenced on the very night of that fatal and for ever disgraceful 11th of September, with the abandonment of immense quantities of stores, ammunition, and provisions.

The one single ability which Sir George Prevost had displayed during his command in Canada, was that of blinding the eyes of the British government to his incapacity, or of shifting upon other men's shoulders the crushing weight of his own misconduct and accumulated blunders. But now the dust was cleared from the eyes of the government, the mist of his false representations was dispersed; Sir James Yeo preferred most serious charges against him, and particularly for his neglect to co-operate with Captain Downie, and he was immediately recalled, to answer at the bar of his offended country. Disease and a natural death saved him from the vengeance of military law; but as a warning and example, may shame and infamy rest upon his grave!

On the 17th of September of this same year (1814), the Americans in Fort Erie, being joined by volunteers from their militia, made an attack in force upon the intrenched position of General de Watteville. Being repulsed with loss, they evacuated Fort Erie, demolished its works, and retreated to their own shores. This entire evacuation of the Canadian shore of the Niagara terminated all operations in the upper province. In abandoning the Michigan territory, we had kept possession of the important key-post of Michilimackinac. In the summer of 1814 the republicans made a great effort to recover this post, and did not recover it. It is scarcely necessary to mention the paltry skirmishes and inroads which took place on the frontier of the lower province during the winter. In 1815 the news of peace arrived before the season of the year which allows of extensive military operations in those frost-bound countries. It has been calculated that in three years of warfare, the attempts to carry out the grand plan of President Madison, or to effect the subjugation of the Canadas, were attended with the loss to the republic, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of nearly 50,000 men, besides an enormous expenditure of treasure and stores and warlike resources. In the course

of 1813, when the republican generals, Harrison, Hampton, and Wilkinson, were all in motion, co-operating in one great object, the frontiers of Canada were pressed upon by 30,000 men. Yet, when the conditions of the treaty of Ghent demanded restitution of all acquisitions which had been made by either party of the frontiers, the Americans had nothing but the defenceless shore of the Detroit to give in exchange for their fortress of Niagara and their key-possession of Michilimackinac.

In the last great land action of the American war, although there was no lack of courage, there was an almost incredible amount of imprudence and miscalculation. Not satisfied with ruining the trade of New Orleans, and all the towns upon the river Mississippi, by blockading that river, our commanders determined to ascend the river and attack the city of New Orleans. This town, upon the eastern bank of the Mississippi, is about 110 miles from the sea; it is built upon a narrow neck of land, confined on one side by the river and on the other by almost impassable morasses; and, though in itself unfortified, it is not easy to conceive a place capable of presenting greater obstacles to an invader. Below the town are some tremendous forts, which completely command the navigation of the river, the current of which is very heady and violent. The assaults could not possibly reach the town by water, and the march by land across the swampy country was difficult in the extreme. Our ill-fated expedition under Sir Edward Pakenham, went as far up the Mississippi as it could, and then landed. Three days were employed in landing heavy cannon, and making such preparations as were necessary. Having procured the *matériel*, one-half of the British army was ordered out on the night of the 31st of December, to throw up a chain of works: the men halted about 300 yards from the enemy's line; and here the greater part of them, laying down their muskets, applied themselves vigorously to their task, while the rest stood armed and prepared for their defence in case the Americans should sally. The night was dark, the British maintained a profound silence, and the Americans kept a bad watch, for it was the last night of the year, and rum and other means of conviviality abounded in the republican camp. In this manner six batteries were completed long before the dawn of New Year's Day, and thirty pieces of heavy cannon were mounted on them. There had not been much digging and trenching. Every storehouse and barn in the country was filled with hogsheads and barrels of sugar and molasses, and these barrels and hogsheads were used instead of earth. Rolling the hogsheads towards the front, the British soldiers placed them upright, to form the parapets of the bat-

teries. We had the sugar and molasses, the republicans had the cotton-bags and the unpressed cotton-bales, and hogsheds and barrels besides. The morning of the 1st of January, 1815, was very dark and foggy in those swamps and bogs of New Orleans. The day was considerably advanced before the Americans could distinctly discover how near the British had approached to their lines, or see the novel use they had made of their hogsheds of sugar. As the mist cleared away our batteries opened a tremendous fire. The first effect of this firing and of the astonishment of the Americans was seen in the breaking of the American ranks, in the dispersion of their different corps, which fled in all directions in the most visible terror and disorder. Even their artillery remained silent. By degrees the republican infantry rallied; and then their formidable artillery began to answer the British salute with great rapidity and precision. They landed a number of guns from a flotilla, they took every gun from every vessel in the harbour, they increased their artillery to a great amount, and they brought a heavy flank fire as well as a front fire to bear upon Pakenham's thirty cannon in battery. The hogsheds and casks were knocked to pieces, the sugar and molasses thrown all about, a good many of our artillerymen were killed and wounded, and some of our guns were knocked over. Moreover, towards evening our ammunition began to fail, and the incessant fire to slacken. The British were obliged to retire, leaving their heavy guns to their fate, but, as no attempt was made by the Americans to secure them, working parties sent out after dark removed such of them as were worth removing. Nothing could tempt the republicans to make a sally, or try their fortune in an open field. They knew their strength and their weakness, and they wisely kept behind their river and canals and bogs, and their breast-works of cotton-bales, trusting to their superiority in artillery and to their skill as riflemen.

A new plan of operations was invented: it was determined to divide the army, to send part across the river, who should seize the enemy's guns in battery there and turn them on themselves; while the remainder should make a general assault along the whole entrenchment. But, before this plan could be put into execution, it was necessary to cut a canal across the entire neck of land on which our army stood, to admit of boats being brought up for conveying the troops across the river. The men laboured by turns day and night, and at last by unremitted exertions they finished their canal on the 6th of January. The unexpected arrival of Major-general Lambert, with the 7th and 43d, two splendid battalions, mustering together 1600

effective men, raised the spirits of the besiegers. There also came up marines from the fleet, and a body of sailors ready to do or attempt anything. These additions raised Pakenham's force to about 8000 men. The number of armed Americans, of all classes, was estimated at 20,000; and every day brought them some reinforcement from the neighbouring country, from the killing regions of the Kentuckians, and from other parts far and near. Boats were ordered up to the newly-cut canal for the transport of 1400 men; and in these boats Colonel Thornton, with the 85th regiment, the marines, and a party of sailors, was to cross the river, and carry the terrible flanking battery, which mounted eighteen or twenty cannon. Thornton was to move in the darkness of night and in silence; he was to land at some distance from the American battery, to rush upon it and seize it by surprise in the dark, but not to begin his fire from it until he should see a certain rocket in the air, which would be the signal that Pakenham was commencing a general attack along the American lines.

This was the whole of Pakenham's bold plan. It was deranged by various circumstances. The boats could not arrive at the appointed time; the soil, through which the canal had been dug in so great a hurry, being soft, parts of the bank gave way, choking up the channel and preventing the heaviest of the boats from getting forward; these heavy boats again blocked up the passage, so that none of those which were behind could proceed, and thus, instead of a flotilla for the accommodation of 1400 men, all that could reach their destination were a number of boats barely sufficient to contain 350 men. And so much time had been consumed in getting these few boats into the river, that the dawn of day was beginning to appear before Colonel Thornton could get across. He made good his landing, and formed on the beach without opposition and alarm; but day had already broke, and Pakenham's signal-rocket was seen in the air while he and his 350 men were yet three miles from the battery, which ought to have been taken three hours ago. This was fatal to the plan; but blunders and negligences occurred in the main army. Besides their canal and their bales of cotton, the Americans had along their great line certain fixed, permanent ramparts. To mount these, and for laying down across the canal, Sir Edward Pakenham had ordered his attacking columns to be provided with ladders and fascines. But the order had been neglected; there was not a single ladder or fascine upon the field when the assault began, nor were any brought up until it was too late. The guns in the battery which Colonel Thornton was to take remained as Pakenham had seen them the preceding day: his signal-

rocket went up, but no fire was opened upon the enemy from that battery. The assault along the lines was, however, commenced under a tremendous fire of American artillery. On the left, a detachment of the 21st, under Colonel Rennie, stormed a three-gun battery and took it, this battery being in advance of the canal or ditch. On the right, a column, composed of the 21st and 4th, supported by the 93d, crossed the ditch without fascines or ladders; but to scale the parapet without ladders was scarcely possible. Some of the men tried it by mounting upon one another's shoulders, and in this way a few actually entered the works; but they were not supported in time, and were soon laid low by a concentrated crash of musketry. Right and left the columns of attack were compelled to give way; and as they ran back, the fire of the American artillery grew hotter and hotter, and some of the battalions betrayed symptoms of disorder and panic. Pakenham, leading on a fresh column of attack in person, received a slight wound in the knee from a musket-ball, which killed his horse under him. Mounting another horse, he again headed the troops, and he was seen, with his hat off, encouraging them on the crest of the glacis, when a second ball struck him, and he fell dead into the arms of his aide-de-camp. Generals Keane and Gibbs rode through the ranks, and endeavoured to encourage the assailants, till they were both carried off the field wounded, Gibbs mortally. Other officers were brought down by the keen American marksmen, who fired under cover, and with their rifles in rest. All was now confusion and dismay. Without leaders, without knowing what was to be done, almost without so much as a single subaltern officer left standing, the troops halted and opened, then began to retire, and finally the retreat became a disorderly flight. The strong reserve, however, closed up to cover the retreat, and give time for rallying; and so cautious were the republicans, that they would attempt no pursuit. They remained behind their strong lines, and merely plied their artillery. Thornton and his 350 men beyond the river did nobly, though it was too late. They drove the Americans, consisting in part of a corps of wild Kentuckians, from their positions; they drove three times their own number out of the battery; they took possession of their tents and of their eighteen pieces of cannon. The Americans, expecting no attack on this side of the river, had been taken by surprise, even though it was broad daylight; and the British soldiers, marines, and sailors had fought with the greater spirit from believing that Pakenham's attack (announced by the signal-rocket) was succeeding. But before they could turn the captured guns upon the enemy, Colonel Thornton learned the true state

of the case from the messenger who brought him an order to retreat immediately, recross the river, and join the main body of the army.¹ As Thornton retreated, the Kentuckians and their comrades began to return to their batteries; but, notwithstanding their great superiority of numbers, so very little stomach did they show for fighting in open ground, that they stopped by their recovered works, and gave no pursuit; and thus, under cover of some smoke which they raised by setting fire to a house, the British got back to their boats and crossed the river without molestation, carrying with them a good part of the American artillery which they had captured.

As soon as the whole army was reunited, a flag of truce was despatched by General Lambert, upon whom the command devolved, with proposals for a suspension of hostilities to collect and bury the dead. The Americans readily agreed to a truce of two days. General Lambert wisely abandoned the notion of making another attempt. But before he could begin a retreat, it was found necessary to make a road across an execrable morass some miles in extent. This work occupied nine days, during which the British army remained in position within cannon-shot distance of the American lines; and, although the fame of their success brought more and more volunteers to swell the force behind those lines, no sally was made—nothing was attempted beyond firing of long shots with their big guns. When General Lambert began to move off—which was not until the 18th of January, when the whole of the wounded, the baggage and stores, the civil officers, commissaries, &c., were well advanced on their way to the English fleet—nothing was abandoned except ten pieces of heavy artillery which had been mounted in front of the bivouac, and which were old ships' guns of little value, and extremely cumbersome, and these guns were rendered perfectly unserviceable before they were left. And such was the skill with which the whole retreat was managed, and such the shyness of the Americans—who even now would not quit their works or attempt any pursuit—that the whole of the army got safely back to the ships lying in the Gulf of Mexico, near the mouth of the Mississippi. It was every way a useless and lamentable expedition (peace had been concluded in Europe before it commenced), and it cost us nearly 2000 men and officers in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The last action of the war was the capture of Fort Mobile, in the new Alabama territory of the United States, by General Lambert, who had

¹ *The Campaigns of the British Army at Washington and New Orleans, in the years 1814-15, by the author of The Subaltern* Fourth edition, corrected and revised. London, 1836.—Despatches of Generals Lambert and Keane.

so ably conducted the retreat from New Orleans, and by Admiral Sir A. Cochrane. The troops were landed as early as the 7th of February, and by the 11th the place was ours, the garrison surrendering as prisoners of war.

During the progress of the war, the British government had made several overtures, direct as well as indirect, for a reconciliation, and every royal speech at the opening of parliament had expressed—with a determination to yield or commit none of our maritime rights—regret for the quarrel, or a wish that it might not be lasting. At first the overtures were met as a confession of fear and weakness—as an avowal that we were sinking under the weight imposed upon us by a war with France in the Old World, and with the republic of the United States in the New World; and, when their ship-of-the-line-like frigates had made old British frigates strike, it was fancied that our spell was broken, that the trident was falling from our hands. Bonaparte's grand disaster in Russia, which was well known all over the United States early in the year 1813, damped, but did not destroy, the hopes of the war party; for they could not conceive that so gigantic a power as that of the Emperor of the French could be destroyed at one blow. They hoped that the Man of Destiny would prevail against all the embattled crowned *despots* of Europe, in the plains of Germany, in 1813. This hope was shattered by the battle of Leipsic. But in the beginning of 1814, when Bonaparte was fighting on the soil of France—when the armies of the allies were engaging, far from their own frontiers, in the very heart of the most warlike nation of Europe—they trusted that the star of Napoleon would shine forth again more luminous than ever. It was needful for them to cling to this hope, for the most ardent lover of this war with Britain well knew that it could not be continued without ruin to the United States, if Britain should be relieved from the great French war, and be enabled to direct her whole attention to this little episode in America. But Bonaparte was beaten inside of France, as he had been beaten outside of France; and the 1814 hope was finished by the capture of Paris, and the abdication of Fontainebleau. Then, and not until then, President Madison and his party utterly despaired of the policy they had adopted, and became really eager for peace. Before this time, however, the pupil of Jefferson had been compelled to pretend a wish to treat. On the 7th of January, 1814, he communicated to congress copies of a correspondence between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Monroe. From these letters it appeared that Lord Castlereagh had proposed the appointment of plenipotentiaries to treat respecting terms of peace, either at London or at

Gottenburg, and that the American diplomatist, preserving his proper dignity, had acceded to his lordship's proposition, being authorized so to do by the president, who had made choice of Gottenburg for the scene of the negotiations. The anti-war and anti-French party bitterly assailed the president for not assenting to a like amicable proposition made on the part of Britain long before. They accused him even now of a design to protract the negotiations, and they told him that this delay would not be borne by the impatient and ruined people of the eastern states. Besides repeating the threat of breaking up the federal union, the people of these eastern states began to declare that they would contribute no money, no men, no stores to the armies set on foot by the central government; that they would keep their own militia at home for their own defence; that *perhaps* they might be driven, by their necessities, to seek a separate reconciliation with Great Britain, &c. So terrible, indeed, were these gales from the north-east, that President Madison, his government, and whole system were well-nigh blown away by them. Nor did the president escape without yielding to them: prostrating himself before the blast, he repealed his embargo and non-importation acts! This, he hoped, would tend to allay some of the discontents occasioned by the restrictions on commerce, and remove, at the same time, some of the evil and ruinous effects of those restrictions on the American revenue, which was already in a deplorable state. But England frustrated these hopes by the extension of the British blockade along the whole coasts of the United States, which was announced in April, 1814, by Admiral Cochrane. And throughout this last year of the war, Madison had no reason to complain, as he used to do in former times before the war began, that British blockades of coasts were merely paper blockades; for so closely were the rivers, the great outlets of America, watched—so incessantly was the coast scoured from south to north, and from north to south—so vigilant was the look-out, even close in shore, that a trading vessel could hardly put out to sea—nay, could hardly creep along the coast from one harbour to another—without the dead certainty of being captured by the British. The year 1814 must have been altogether a blank and black year for Madison. He saw Washington burned before his face, he could do nothing more on the side of Canada; great part of the province of Maine was wrested from the republicans by our expedition on the Penobscot river. He had scarcely a gleam of satisfaction, except in the results of Sir George Prevost's wretched Plattsburg expedition.

The negotiations for peace, which had been removed by mutual consent from Gottenburg to

Ghent, commenced in earnest in August, 1814. By means of various applications, and concessions not quite consistent with the severity of republican principles, though not inconsistent with American practice, Madison and his friends secured the mediation or friendly offices of the Emperor Alexander of Russia. So low was the state of public credit, that no loans could be negotiated. Six months of sternness and perseverance on the part of Great Britain would have taught the Americans a salutary lesson; twelve months' perseverance or energy in carrying out our blockade, and without any more expeditions by land, or any other risks and expenses, and the feeble ties which kept the northern and southern states together would have been snapped like a scorched thread. But it was a season of triumph and magnanimity in Europe: the Emperor of Russia was very magnanimous, Lord Castlereagh was very magnanimous, and the people of England were very forgiving, and cared more for a completeness of peace than for the prospective advantages to be derived from the wholesome chastisement which might have been inflicted (perhaps as much to the benefit of the Americans as to our own). The restoration of peace in

Europe, with the overthrow of the founder of the continental system, had indeed removed for the present many of the causes of differences between England and the United States; for example, we had no longer any present necessity to insist on our right of search, or on our right of excluding neutral vessels from the blockaded ports of an enemy. But we must deny that the prosecution of a war which could not by any possibility have lasted a year longer, would have been a useless expenditure of money, and an unjustifiable harshness on our part. The Americans had forced the war upon us in their way, and we ought to have finished it in ours. No principle ought to have been left unsettled—no question relating to boundaries or to anything else left open to be a perennial source of quarrel as soon as America should feel herself strong enough or bold enough to quarrel. As it was, the plenipotentiaries at Ghent resolved to waive every question at issue between us, and to take no notice whatever of the circumstance which had occasioned the war. On the 24th of December, 1814, they concluded and signed a treaty of peace and amity, which was ratified by both governments.

CHAPTER XI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1815—1819.

GEORGE III.

Proceedings of the allied sovereigns at the period of Bonaparte's escape from Elba—They continue their proceedings—Their arbitrary partitions and allotments of states—Their refusal of justice to Poland—Easy conditions imposed upon France—Moderation of Britain amidst the selfishness of the allies—The Holy Alliance—Its origin and professed purposes—The prince-regent invited to join it—His refusal—Unfavourable state of Britain at the commencement of 1816—Financial difficulties—Popular disappointment on the return of peace—General destitution—The Spafields riot—Marriage of the Princess Charlotte—Piracies of the Algerines—Lord Exmouth sent to suppress them—Bombardment of Algiers—Terms of surrender exacted from the dey—Continuation of the public poverty and discontent—The prince-regent insulted by the mob—The five acts passed—Plan of insurrection by the reformers at Manchester—Its suppression—Other attempts frustrated—Knowledge possessed by government of the purposes of the insurrectionists—Means by which the knowledge was acquired—Death of the Princess Charlotte—New royal marriages—The suspension of the habeas corpus act removed—Improvement of the national prospects—Plans for the instruction of the lower classes—Removal of the army of occupation from France—Death of Queen Charlotte—Indian affairs—Nepalese war—Its commencement unfavourable to the British—Subsequent defeats of the Nepalese—Terms on which they are reduced to submission—The Pindarees—Their destructive incursions into the Company's territories—War commenced against them—The war interrupted by revolts of the Mahratta rulers against the British—They are conquered and their territories taken under British rule—Prosecution of the war against the Pindarees—They are extirpated—Ceylon—The King of Kandy deposed—The whole island submits to the rule of Britain.



ON the overthrow of Bonaparte, and his imprisonment in Elba, the great task of the allied sovereigns was to re-adjust the balance of power which the ascendancy of the French emperor had so rudely subverted; and it was in the midst of this difficult process, that the congress of Vienna was startled by the

tidings of Napoleon's escape from Elba. As if all had fallen into their hands, to be arranged according to their own pleasure, they had applied their political scissors to the map of Europe, and were enlarging or diminishing provinces and kingdoms as if these had been mere strips of paper, when the news suddenly arrived that the Man of Destiny had broken loose; that their old

master was in the field, and preparing to call them to a strict account. Their answer, too, could only be an awkward one, as their proceedings in congress had been characterized by a despotism in some cases more severe and offensive than his own. But the idea of their being so strangely outwitted and caught, appeared so ludicrous, that they received the assurance of the emperor's escape with a peal of laughter, and the truth of the witty saying of Talleyrand was universally recognized, "The grand charlatan has out-tricked the little ones." But no need was felt for the congress to dissolve, and they accordingly continued their proceedings, so that nine days before the battle of Waterloo their work of partition and dismemberment was finished, and their general treaty signed.

Of the work thus effected, and at so critical a period, a short notice must suffice. Their principal aim was to reduce France to her ancient and natural limits, to restore the Austrian and Prussian dominions, and to compensate those smaller states which had joined their cause, at the expense of those which had sided with Napoleon. While France was to be no greater than she had been in 1792, Austria was to be no less than she had been in 1805, nor Prussia than in 1806. But where the landmarks of so many great states had been erased or altered, such a restitution was impossible, without an amount of injustice equal to that which had occasioned the evil. This, however, occasioned very little scruple among those who had now the power in their own hands; and in effecting the work of reconstruction, they took for their criterion the number of souls and square miles, and the amount of revenue, irrespective of the habits, feelings, interests, or even the language and religion of those millions who were to be transferred from one dominion to another. In this manner the monarchy of Austria was restored at the expense of the dissolved kingdom of Italy and the reconquered provinces of Illyria, and by the return of cessions that had been made to Bavaria and Russia, so that, while her own Germanic population amounted only to 10,000,000, she had an addition of 18,000,000 subjects, composed of Hungarians, Italians, Illyrians, and Poles. With all this, she also obtained a most important seaboard by becoming mistress of Venice and the Adriatic. Prussia, originally a patch-work, had been so rent in the late war that to restore it to the old geographical condition was impossible; and therefore in lieu of Anspach and Baireuth, which could not well be subtracted from Bavaria, she obtained the duchies of Berg and Cleves. In return for her cessions to Austria, Bavaria got a part of the left bank of the Rhine, Würzburg, Aschaffenburg, and a part of Fulda. Han-

over ceded Lauenburg beyond the Elbe to Prussia, and received from Prussia in requital, Hildesheim, East Friesland, the lower district of Lingen, Meppen, a part of Eichsfeld, and some districts belonging to the Elector of Hesse. Besides these Germanic changes, by which principalities and dukedoms were moved as lightly as pawns upon the chess-board, arrangements equally arbitrary were made in other portions of Europe. Thus, Savoy and Piedmont were restored to Sardinia, with the additional boon of the old republic of Genoa. Bernadotte, for his services to the allies in the late war, obtained Norway, which now, in accordance with the promise made to him in 1814, was torn from Denmark, and annexed to his barren kingdom of Sweden, irrespective of the wishes of the primitive Norwegians, who were linked to the Danes by the ties of ancient brotherhood. A still more obnoxious union which the great powers compelled, was that of Protestant Holland to Roman Catholic Belgium, comprising a state of 5,000,000 inhabitants, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, with the idea of establishing the ancient Netherlands into a new kingdom, as a barrier against French aggression and conquest. "The congress bartered provinces," says an eloquent living writer, "as if they were cattle-pastures, and computed men by the square league. A million of Saxons were ordered to forget their country, and become Prussians;—the Genoese were ordered to become Savoyards;—the Milanese, Austrians. With what indignation would Englishmen see themselves thus stripped of their old habits and privileges, and dis severed from their country by the diplomatic blade? How would the man of York listen to the order of congress that condemned him to be a Frenchman; or the man of Kent read the ukase that sunk him into a Russian serf, and bade him for the rest of his life to worship the boot of the czar? The whole transaction was a violence to law and nature. It must have broken up on the first shock of war. The Belgian insurrection is but a foretaste of the universal proof that the policy was as weak as it was *unchristian*, unlawful, and unnatural."

Amidst these restitutions there was one kingdom that had stronger claims than any, but which were treated with selfish indifference. It was Poland, once the greatest of European kingdoms; the bulwark of Christendom against Mahometanism and defender of Vienna against the Turks, and whose appeal for justice might well have been heard in the Austrian capital, which her valour had saved. This demand, indeed, England had made, and France to her honour had seconded it; and while the other three

¹ Rev George Croly, *Life and Times of George IV*

great powers were so liberally indemnifying themselves for their losses, it was thought that they might well atone for the great national iniquity they had committed in the partition of Poland. The high-minded and generous-hearted Lord Castlereagh was steady and earnest upon this subject; he recommended the reconstruction of the Polish nation, not only as matter of right and justice, but also as wise policy; and he predicted that the continuance of the old system would keep constantly alive a spirit of revolt and revolution; but his lordship found no real support in any one quarter, and the three great powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia—but most of all Russia—were resolutely determined to keep and to enlarge such portions of Poland as they had possessed or claimed before the victories and conquests of Napoleon. There was, too, a very general conviction entertained throughout Europe, that the reconstruction of Poland was a political impossibility—that there remained not in that unhappy country the materials wherewith to form a nation and a government. Russia, by absorbing the grand-duchy of Warsaw, retained by far the greatest part of the country. Prussia and Austria could not agree as to the possession of Cracow; and therefore that city, with its very limited territory, was erected into an independent state, its independence being recognized and guaranteed by all the powers that were parties to the great treaty of Vienna. This was a sad error, sure to be followed by disastrous consequences. Surrounded on all sides by the three great partitioning powers, who could not but entertain a perpetual fear or jealousy of anything that bore the name or recalled the remembrance of Polish independence, Cracow, from the first, was doomed to an uneasy and precarious state of existence; she was watched, barred in, and dictated to, now by Russia, now by Austria, now by Prussia, and now by all three together. When the French, by the revolution of July, 1830, gave encouragement and impetus to the revolutionary spirit throughout Europe, and when the Poles began their ill-prepared, rash movement at Warsaw, Cracow was crowded with Polish emissaries and political propagandists: when that war of independence was ended by the Muscovite bayonet, Cracow gave refuge to many thousands of the proscribed fugitives, and within the walls of the city these desperate men formed new and most desperate plots and projects. From that

moment the three great powers adopted the principle that the existence of Cracow as an independent state was incompatible with the existence of their own tranquillity; and, having the power, and not having due regard to the solemn decisions



THE CATHEDRAL OF CRACOW

of congress and the clauses of the treaty of Vienna, they have now annexed Cracow to the dominions of the Emperor of Austria. All this might have been foreseen while the congress was sitting and when the clauses were written. There ought to have been a larger Polish independence, or none at all.

While a wild sense of justice, or political expediency, or selfish covetousness, was thus swaying the congress by turns, and producing such havoc on the rights of communities and nations, France, the great culprit, whose destiny seemed now in their hands, was more gently dealt with than might have been expected. But France though fallen was still powerful, and might not be provoked with impunity; the necessity for her existence, as a counterpoise and a check, where each of the great powers was doubtful of his ally, was of itself a guarantee for her safety. Accordingly, the terms imposed upon her were such as could scarcely have been expected from conquerors in the full flush of their success. These were that she should confine herself within the territorial limits she had possessed before the commencement of the revolutionary war; that she should pay by gradual instalments the moderate sum of 700,000,000 francs; and that she should support at her own expense, for a number of years, the army of occupation under the command of the Duke of Wellington. These conditions were little relished by a power that had so long been accustomed to dictate, and had no tendency to raise in popular estimation the new Bourbon sovereign who pledged himself to

their fulfilment. On the other hand, Britain, upon whom the chief burden had fallen, and who had expended nearly £200,000,000 on the last three years of the war alone, asked and obtained nothing but what belonged to her already, or which she might have secured with little effort. The republic of the seven Ionian Islands was placed under her protection, with a British lord-commissioner for its governor. She obtained possession of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope, and the cession of the colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. Although these, with Gibraltar, only confirmed her naval superiority, with which the other powers at present had no thought of competing, they might well have been bestowed without a grudge, more especially as to her fleets and her commerce they had owed those resources which had saved them from ruin and crowned them with success. Instead of demanding any commercial advantages or privileged establishments in the countries she had rescued, all that was asked was the assent of the assembled powers to the abolition of the African slave-trade, and to concert, without loss of time, such measures as were necessary for the purpose. To this they agreed, and with this she was satisfied.

In this congress of the great sovereign powers, originated the coalition called the Holy Alliance. Europe, that had for so many centuries been accustomed to an aristocracy of nobles, by which the spirit of popular liberty had been suppressed, and every country ruled and tyrannized over in turn, was now to witness, for the first time, an

aristocracy of kings, banded together for their mutual support in the maintenance of national order, and the government of their respective subjects. As something more, however, than mere force or political skill was necessary for the establishment of such a new system of kingly rule, the sanctions of religion were called to its aid; and hence the title of "Holy" which was bestowed upon the alliance, although this distinction does not appear to have been claimed by its original founders. The first members of the Holy Alliance were the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, but afterwards they were gradually joined by most of the other European rulers. The merit or demerit of first proposing this royal coalition is due to the Czar Alexander, who at his visit to Paris in 1815 had the idea suggested to him by that notable female enthusiast, the Baroness de Krudener; and as it was a theory well suited to the crafty, but sentimental and mystical spirit of the czar, he soon drew up the plan of an association for Christian potentates, by which they bound themselves to govern their subjects upon the divinely revealed rules of equity and justice. But their subjects might well guess in what fashion these rules would be interpreted by such royal casuists, when ambition or interest happened to predominate, and the subsequent histories of Poland and Italy gave practical illustrations of their comments.¹ As it was desirable that the Prince-regent of Great Britain should be enrolled among the kingly converts, an application was made to him to that effect. But his answer, which he wrote to each

¹ The terms of this Holy Alliance, known also by the name of "The Christian Treaty," were the following. It is worthy of notice that the partition of Poland had been devoutly prefaced by similar language, and the Empress Catherine's iniquitous proclamation wound up in nearly the same words:—

"In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity: Their majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, having, in consequence of the great events which have marked the course of the three last years in Europe, and especially of the blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to shower down upon those states which place their confidence and their hope on it alone, solemnly declare that the present act has no other object than to publish, in the face of the whole world, their fixed resolution, both in the administration of their respective states, and in their political relations with every other government, to take for their sole guide the precepts of that holy religion—namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable only to private concerns, must have an immediate influence on the counsels of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections. In consequence, their majesties have agreed on the following articles:—

"Art. 1.—Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity; and considering each other as fellow-countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance; and, regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them, in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated, to protect religion, peace, and justice

"2.—In consequence, the sole principle in force, whether between the said governments or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying, by unalterable good-will, the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves as members of one and the same Christian nation, the three allied princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one family, namely, Austria, Prussia, and Russia; thus confessing that the Christian nation of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other sovereign than Him to whom alone power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all treasures of love, science, and infinite wisdom; that is to say, God our Divine Saviour, the Word of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught mankind

"3.—All the powers who shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations that those truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this holy alliance.

"Done in triplicate, and signed at Paris, the year of grace 1815, Sept. 14 (23).

"FRANCIA.

"FREDERICK WILLIAM.

"ALEXANDER."

of the three sovereigns, on 6th October, 1815, might have been anticipated by any one who was at all aware of the nature of our government. He told them that "the forms of the British constitution, which he was called upon to maintain in the name and in the place of the king, his father, prevented him from acceding to the treaty in the form in which it had been laid before him." Personally, however, he declared "his entire concurrence in the principles they had expressed, and in the declaration they had made that they would take the divine precepts of the Christian religion as the unalterable rule of their conduct in all their social and political connections, and confirm the union which should always exist between all Christian nations." In this way the head of the British empire did not, and could not, become a member of the Holy Alliance. And it was well that thus it should be; for although there were many statesmen of the period who laughed at this alliance as an impracticable theory or devout imagination, there were others who looked more thoughtfully into the future, and were filled with anxiety and alarm. The last embers of the French revolution had apparently been trodden out, and those sovereigns who dreaded every popular step in advance as a revolutionary movement, were the infallible expounders and irresponsible judges of this new gospel of Christian rule. For years this combination of sovereigns was continued, although its title was suffered to fall into abeyance; and many of the worst conjunctions which afterwards occurred throughout Europe for the suppression of popular rights, might be traced to the surviving principles and spirit of the Holy Alliance of 1815.

On the commencement of the session of parliament in 1816, the prince-regent's speech congratulated both houses on the prosperous condition of the nation. This was nothing more than an echo of the expectations which had been formed by all classes of the community. The greatest of all wars in which Britain had hitherto been involved was brought to a successful termination; the ablest enemy that had ever menaced our national welfare was now disarmed and a prisoner. What then remained, but to sit down and enjoy the happy reaction of peace manifested in the universal prosperity which, even already, must have commenced like a spring-tide? But the parliamentary statements and discussions that followed were enough to sober this flattering delusion. There was indeed an excess in the revenue over that of last year by somewhat more than a million; but still, there would be a deficiency of supplies to the amount of £2,500,000, which the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to meet by an income-tax of

five per cent. upon property; while to make this impost popular with the many, all incomes less than £150, and farms paying less than this of yearly rental, were to be exempted. But so great was the hostility in parliament, and so numerous the petitions against it from the towns and mercantile communities, that it was abandoned. There was, indeed, such a confusion in the financial accounts of this period, that a deficiency not of £2,500,000, but £17,000,000, was alleged to be the correct estimate. The minister's statement, however, was supported by a majority of the house, and the necessary sum was obtained by a loan of £3,000,000 from the Bank of England, at three per cent. interest, on condition of the bank being permitted to make an increase of one-fourth to its capital. Another keen subject of parliamentary debate was the amount of the army estimates. Peace, it was declared, was conclusively settled, and whence, then, the necessity of so large a standing army? To this the ministers replied, that not only the situation of the Continent, but the great increase in the number of our colonial dependencies, was commensurate with the demand: even Ireland itself would need 25,000 men for her share in the distribution of our forces. For the support of the infant peace, until it had acquired strength and consistency of its own, something like a war establishment was still necessary, and the specified number of 176,615 men was voted, including the 30,000 stationed in France. With similar reluctance, and after a keen debate, 33,000 men were voted for the navy. So hostile, however, was public opinion to these unexpected burdens, that considerable reductions were made both in our military and naval establishments during the course of the year.

The first consequences of the recoil from war to peace continued to increase in severity both among the agricultural and commercial classes. An inclement season and deficient harvest pressed heavily upon the farmers; and the proprietors of the soil were burdened, not only with an undue weight of taxes, but also with the support of those multitudes whom the change had reduced to absolute pauperism. The rush of English goods to the Continent on the opening of the ports—the enormous supply of these beyond the demand—the restrictions that were laid upon them in foreign countries by prohibitory duties—and the very inferior prices at which they had to be sold—quickly induced bankruptcy among the merchants, and misery and starvation in the manufactories and workshops of Britain; while money also became scarce, by the sudden reduction in the expenditure of our government to less than two-fifths of its former amount. This scarcity was increased by the change in the cur-

rency, in consequence of which speculators in land were no longer able to avail themselves of those money accommodations on which they had formerly relied. These evils, so productive of dear food, reduced wages, and diminished employment, created discontent among the working classes, and afterwards riot and revolt, in which peasant and artisan were alike ready to blame their employers, and take redress into their own hands. Threatening letters were sent, houses, barns, and stacks were fired; while among the iron-work and manufacturing districts, especially those in South Wales and Nottingham, violent outbreaks ensued which demanded the interposition of the military. Thus matters continued till near the end of the year; and at this period the political elements that had been thrown in produced the explosion. William Cobbett addressed the "Journeymen and Labourers" of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in a very cheap and exciting periodical paper; and numerous demagogues, with far less ability, but with an energy and activity quite equal to Cobbett's, spread themselves over town and country, seeking for poverty and disaffection. Innumerable political clubs were again organized, and great public meetings were called, which could not be held without some riot or disorder. The worst of these riots occurred on the 2d of December, in an open space (now covered with streets and squares) called Spafields, on the north-east skirts of London. While orator Hunt was haranguing the mob from one waggon, orator Watson, junior, jumped down from another waggon, and with a tricoloured flag in his hand, and a ragged mob at his heels, rushed away through the streets, to storm and take the Tower of London. A halt was called on Snowhill at the shop of Mr. Beckwith, a gunsmith. Young Watson rushed in demanding arms, and presently shot a gentleman who happened to be in the shop, and who remonstrated with him. The shop was soon plundered and destroyed; and the mob proceeded along Cheapside, firing their recently acquired arms, "like children with a new plaything."¹ At the Royal Exchange they were met by the lord-mayor and Sir James Shaw, who behaved with admirable firmness, and who, being aided only by a few constables, secured several of the rioters. With diminished numbers—for many now took to their heels—the Watsonians or Spencean philanthropists proceeded to the Minories, where they plundered some more gunsmiths' shops; and from the Minories they marched to the Tower, which was summoned in form by some vagabond who had a sonorous voice. We need scarcely say that the gates of the fortress did not fly open upon such a summons. Fearing that the troops

might be upon them, the mob presently fled in all directions; and so ended this incoherent and insane insurrection.

While the national discontent and depression had been going on, the gloom had been temporarily lightened by a royal marriage, in which all classes heartily sympathized: it was that of the Princess Charlotte Augusta, daughter of the regent, and heiress presumptive of the British throne, to his serene highness Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. Unlike such unions, it was entirely one of affection and choice; for the youthful couple had at first sight conceived a mutual regard for each other, which every further meeting had tended to mature. Happily, also, while the princess was the cherished hope of the nation at large, the noble and striking appearance of Leopold, his accomplishments and amiable character had so endeared him to the British people, that they cordially recognized him as the fittest partner for her whom they contemplated with pride as their future sovereign. No demur, therefore, was made to the very liberal settlement proposed for them; and accordingly an annual sum of £60,000 was voted to the pair during their joint lives, the whole to be continued to her royal highness if the prince should die first; and £50,000 to him if he should be the survivor; while £60,000 was granted by way of outfit. The marriage was solemnized on the 2d of May, and the frank readiness with which the regent, her father, had acceded to their union, tended in some measure to regain for him the popularity he had lost.

But a great national victory of this year, achieved as it also was on our favourite element and by the right arm of our conquests and triumphs, was better calculated than most events to cheer the public despondency. The piracies, man-stealing, butchery, and plunder which the Barbary states on the Mediterranean had been allowed to practise, had been for ages a standing reproach to Christendom. The dread of the naval power of England had for a long time secured British ships and subjects from the attacks of these barbarians; and if, now and then, a British sailor was captured and sold into slavery, it was while serving under some foreign flag. There were not wanting among us men of narrow hearts and narrower heads, who would fain have left these Barbary corsairs undisturbed, considering the immunity of the British flag as a great commercial advantage over the other European nations; but such thoughts found no place in the liberal mind of the nation; and Britain was the first to make a costly exertion for the abatement of a monstrous nuisance from which she herself was suffering nothing, and had nothing to fear. It has been well said that "the enterprise was still more distinguished for the generosity of its

¹ Charles Knight, *History of the Thirty Years' Peace.*

motives, than even for its brilliant success." Early in the spring of this year, Admiral Lord Exmouth, commanding in the Mediterranean, received orders to demand from the Beys of Tri-



ADMIRAL LORD EXMOUTH
From a portrait by Sir W. B. Echey, R. A.

poli and Tunis, and the Dey of Algiers, satisfaction and protection for the flags of the Ionian Isles, "which the congress of Vienna had left under our protection," and the flags of Naples and Sardinia, together with the total abandonment of Christian slavery. Tripoli and Tunis, taking counsel of their weakness, implicitly complied; but Algiers, relying on her great strength, offered only a partial satisfaction for the past, and refused or temporized for the rest.

Before taking any steps in fulfilment of his instructions, Lord Exmouth made all the arrangements necessary for an attack, which was to be the alternative if negotiations failed—a result much to be expected at Algiers, which had hitherto withstood so many formidable armaments. His lordship ordered Captain Warde of the *Banterer* to proceed to Algiers, and then carefully to observe the town, and the nature of its defences, to draw a plan of the works on the seaward side, to take soundings, to make his observations on the anchorage, &c. "Lord Exmouth's instructions on this occasion, and which were written with his own hand, afforded an admirable illustration of the forethought with which he provided for every contingency, and which was the chief secret of his constant success."² Captain Warde performed his difficult and important service with wonderful skill and secrecy.

The admiralty were greatly surprised when Lord Exmouth proposed to attack Algiers with only five sail of the line. Many naval officers,

upon being consulted by the board, considered those works as altogether unassailable by ships. His lordship was offered any force he required, but he firmly adhered to his first demand; for he had satisfied himself that five ships could destroy the great fortifications on the mole as effectually as a greater number, and with far more safety to themselves. After he had explained his plans, and marked the position which every ship was to occupy, the admiralty allowed him to act upon his own judgment. "All will go well," said this brave sailor and most excellent man; "All will go well, as far at least as it depends on me. I know that nothing can resist a line-of-battle ship's fire." On the 9th of August, the veteran was at Gibraltar. Here he found a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, commanded by Vice-admiral the Baron de Capellan, who, on learning the object of the expedition, solicited and obtained leave to co-operate. On Tuesday, the 27th of August, they came in sight of Algiers. As the ships lay nearly becalmed, Lord Exmouth sent Lieutenant Burgess in a boat, under a flag of truce, with the terms dictated by the prince-regent, and a demand for the immediate liberation of the British consul and some other persons whom the dey had cast into prison. At eleven o'clock A.M., Lieutenant Burgess was met outside the mole by the captain of the port, who received the communication, and promised an answer in two hours. In the meantime a breeze springing up, the fleet stood into the bay, and lay to, about a mile from the town. At two o'clock Lieutenant Burgess and the boat were seen returning with the signal that no answer had been given. The admiral's ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, instantly telegraphed to the fleet, "Are you ready?" And instantly the affirmative signal was displayed from every ship, and they all, English and Dutch, frigates and ships of the line, bore up to their appointed stations. The *Queen Charlotte* led to the attack. There was to be no firing from her until she came to anchor. The Algerines, confident in the strength of their works, also reserved their fire; indeed, they expected to carry the flag-ship by boarding her from their numerous gun-boats. The *Queen Charlotte* proceeded silently to her position; and, at half-past two she anchored, by the stern, just half a cable's length from the terrible mole-head. "The mole was crowded with troops, many of whom got upon the parapet to look at the ship; and Lord Exmouth, observing them as he stood upon the poop, waved to them to move away. As soon as the ship was fairly placed, and her cables stoppered, the crew gave three hearty cheers, such as Englishmen only can give. Scarcely had the sound of the last died away, when a gun was fired from the upper tier of the

¹ Wallace, *History of the Life and Reign of George IV.*

² Edward Osler, Esq., *Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth*
Vol. IV.

eastern battery; and a second, and a third followed in quick succession. One of the shots struck the *Superb*. At the first flash, Lord Exmouth gave the order, "Stand by!" at the second, "Fire!" The report of the third gun was drowned in the thunder of the *Queen Charlotte's* broadside.¹

The Algerines replied with the fire of nearly 500 guns. The mole was filled with cannon, like the side of a line-of-battle ship, mostly disposed in a double tier, with ports below and embrasures above, but the eastern batteries, next the lighthouse, had an inner fortification, with a third tier of guns, making sixty-six in these eastern batteries alone. These different batteries on the mole mounted altogether about 220 guns, eighteen being twenty-four or thirty-two pounders, and two of them being sixty-eight pounders, upwards of twenty feet long. All these guns were brought to bear point-blank upon Lord Exmouth's ships of the line. Some of his lordship's frigates and

some of the Dutch frigates took up positions which three-deckers might have been justly proud of. There were a few bomb-vessels, whose shells were thrown with admirable precision by our marine artillery. There was no lack of courage and resolution on the part of the corsairs. Shortly after the commencement of the battle their flotilla of gun-boats most daringly advanced to board the *Queen Charlotte* and the *Leander*. At first the smoke covered and concealed them, but so soon as they were seen a few well-directed shot sent thirty-three out of thirty-seven of these Algerine gun-boats to the bottom. At four o'clock a large Algerine frigate was boarded and set on fire. As she burst into a flame, Lord Exmouth telegraphed to the fleet the animating signal, "Infallible!" Before seven o'clock all the vessels in port, except a brig and a schooner, were burning fast to the water's edge. As for the tremendous works on the mole-head, they had been ruined



GENERAL VIEW OF ALGIERS—FROM L'UNIVERS PITTORESQUE

by the single fire of the *Queen Charlotte*, a very few minutes after the combat had commenced. The fleet slackened their fire towards night, while the guns of the enemy became silent, and when the necessity was felt of husbanding their ammunition. The expenditure had been beyond all precedent. Our ships had fired nearly 118 tons of powder and 50,000 shot, weighing more than 500 tons of iron, besides 960 thirteen and ten inch shells. Such a fire, close, concentrated, and well directed as it was, nothing could resist. The mighty sea-defences of Algiers, with great part of the town itself, were shattered and crumbled to ruins. As the night darkened the breeze freshened, and a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning came on, with torrents of rain; while the flaming ships and store-houses illuminated all the ruins on shore, which increased the awfulness of the scene. In scarcely any former

general action had the casualties been so great in proportion to the force employed. In the British ships 128 were killed and 690 wounded; and the Dutch, who had behaved most gallantly, had thirteen killed and fifty-two wounded. The veteran commander-in-chief escaped most narrowly; he was struck in three places, and a cannon-shot tore away the skirts of his coat, breaking one of the glasses and bulging the rim of the spectacles in his pocket.²

On the 28th, at daylight, Lieutenant Burgess was sent on shore with a flag of truce, and with the same demands he had carried the preceding morning; our bomb-vessels at the same time resuming their positions. Lord Exmouth was immediately given to understand that all his demands would be submitted to. On the morning of the 29th, Captain Brisbane, of the flag-ship, went on shore, and had a conference with the humbled and

¹ Oaler, *Life of Lord Exmouth*.

² Oaler.

astounded dey. The negotiations were intrusted to Sir Charles Penrose. They were very short, for the Algerines could do nothing but submit and agree. The chief conditions were—the abolition of Christian slavery for ever; the surrender of all their slaves of whatever nation; and the dey's humble and public apology in person, for the insult he had given to the British flag.

Three thousand Christians were delivered from slavery, and sent to their own countries and homes. Leaving a ship to receive a few more, Lord Exmouth sailed for England on the 3d of September. Scarcely Nelson himself had been in hotter fires than Exmouth, yet his lordship declared that he had never been under a fire so hot and terrible as this at Algiers. "The fire all round the mole," said he, "looked like pandemonium. I never saw anything so grand and so terrific; for I was not on velvet, for fear they would drive on board us. Their copper-bottoms floated full of fiery hot charcoal, and were red-hot above the surface, so that we could not hook on our fire-grapnels to put the boats to, and could do nothing but push out fire-booms and spring the ship off by our warps, as occasion required. . . . I never saw any set of men more obstinate at their guns, and it was superior fire only that could keep them back. To be sure, nothing could stand before the *Queen Charlotte's* broadside. Everything fell before it; and the Swedish consul assures me we killed above 500 at the very first fire, from the crowded way in which their troops were drawn up, four deep, above the gun-boats, which were also full of men. . . . I believe they are within bounds when they state their loss at 7000 men."

With the commencement of 1817, the public depression occasioned by the reverses which peace had so unexpectedly introduced was not alleviated. Industry in all its commercial and agricultural departments was still under arrest, and bankruptcies continued to multiply: the rich were suffering under the high price of the common necessities of life, and an income-tax of ten per cent.; while the working classes, whose wages had fallen from fifteen to five shillings a week, could scarcely procure the scantiest means of living. The prevalent poverty and distress was laid hold of as an opportunity to propagate a spirit of discontent and disloyalty; and both from the press and the platform, remedies of the most anarchical and destructive kind continued to be recommended by mischievous demagogues, who attempted to demonstrate that no relief could be obtained unless the present order of things was swept away, and a new government established. These evils were sadly acknowledged in the speech from the throne at the opening of parliament, on

the 28th of January; and in reference to those attempts which were making to take advantage of such a state of things, for the purposes of rebellion and change, it was announced, that no precautions would be omitted for preserving the public peace and counteracting the designs of the disaffected. A melancholy comment upon this speech followed on the regent's return; for as he passed through the park, he was assailed by the mob with loud clamours and revilings; stones and other missiles were thrown at his carriage; and from the manner in which the windows were broken, it was alleged that this effect must have been produced by bullets discharged from an air-gun. This alarming fact was announced in the afternoon in the House of Lords by Lord Sidmouth, secretary for the home department, and the two houses by proclamation offered a reward of £1000 for the apprehension of the daring perpetrators. But they could never be found; the air-gun was supposed to exist only in apprehension; and it was declared that insult rather than assassination had been the purpose of the mob, who had used no worse weapons than stones or gravel.

On the following day there was fierce altercation in both houses on this subject of alarm; and while it was ridiculed by Lord Dudley under the title of the "pop-gun plot," the opposition both in the lords and the commons saw in it nothing more than an argument for retrenchment in every department of government. Further discussion was suspended by the intimation of Lord Sidmouth, that in three days he should present a message from the prince-regent on the subject of the alleged defection of large bodies of the people. The message was delivered on the 3d of February, and on its being referred to a secret committee of both houses, they made their reports on the 18th and 19th. In these, a declaration was given of the general state of the country, and of the societies or clubs either existing or to be established throughout the whole of Great Britain, which, under the pretext of parliamentary reform, had for their main object the eversion of all law, religion, and morality, and the plunder of all property. After detailing at length the several districts in which these associations existed, and the variety of their aims and principles, but all sufficiently revolutionary and dangerous, the panic became so great that no measures were thought too stringent for the prevention of the evil. Accordingly five bills, called the "Five Acts," were introduced and passed by large majorities, who seem at the moment to have thought that no sacrifice could be too great when the state itself was on the point of perishing. They were as follows:—1. A bill to extend to the person of the prince-regent the act for the better protection of his majesty's person. 2. A bill to revive the act

¹ Lord Exmouth, letter to his brother, as quoted by Oaker.

of 1795 against seditious meetings. 3. A bill to revive the act of 39 George III. against corresponding societies. 4. A bill to revive the act against such as seduce soldiers and sailors. 5. A bill to suspend the habeas corpus act. All these were successively carried before the end of March. The last and most dangerous of them all, which gave to the executive power the despotic privilege of imprisoning without trial, was not carried without a struggle, in which Earl Grey, Lord Wellesley, Lord Darnley, Sir Arthur Pigott, and other members of both houses, distinguished themselves by their opposition to the measure. Who were the traitors, it was asked, on whose account the whole nation was to be coerced? They were miserable wretches, reduced to the lowest poverty and distress. And what did they propose to accomplish? To produce insurrection without plan or concert, and effect parliamentary reform by some move in the chapter of accidents. There were acts of parliament enough for the trial and punishment of such misdemeanours without having recourse to such a remedy for their cure. Although the suspension of the habeas corpus act was decreed, it was to continue in force only till the 1st of July, and it only passed in consequence of the fresh alarms of meetings and conspiracies with which the ears of parliament had been assailed. The event dismayed the leaders and orators of reform, who had been so active and so loud in the propagation of their doctrines; and they either retired into obscurity, or maintained a cautious silence. Even Cobbett, the boldest as well as ablest of them all, was fain to withdraw to America, until the season of danger had expired.

Although the habeas corpus suspension act was passed on the 3d of March, it did not become law until the 29th, and during this interval an event occurred in Manchester which seemed to prove the suspension unnecessary. That great manufacturing city and emporium of the cotton-trade had suffered more than an ordinary share of the prevalent distress, and was therefore more deeply involved in radical conspiracies than most of the disaffected districts of England. Its reformers were only awaiting the leading movement of their brethren of London to be up and doing; but although repeated meetings had been assembled at Spafields after the unsuccessful attempt of Hunt and Watson, they had dissolved either in silence or a few harmless speeches. Impatient of these delays, the Manchester leaders proposed that their followers should assemble in a body near St. Peter's Church, provided with knapsacks and blankets, and march in a body to London, to lay their complaints and petitions before the prince-regent in person. To this they were encouraged by the report that a large array

of reformers was on its way from Scotland to join them, and the hope that their numbers would be vastly augmented from the large towns that lay in their line of march. On the morning of the day, about 10,000 or 12,000 were assembled, furnished with the prescribed accoutrements; a temporary platform was constructed on a cart, with the leaders of the movement seated around it, inviting people to subscribe and join them; but while the business part of the proceeding was hopefully going onward, the magistrates of the town, who had been on the watch, aided by a few soldiers, unexpectedly surrounded the cart, and swept off the chief reformers as prisoners, while the advance of a body of cavalry, who had also been prepared for the purpose, sent the multitude fleeing in all directions. A considerable number of these blanketeers, however, pushed forward on their march, and entered the town of Stockport; but here the police and military were drawn up to receive them, so that only about 500 reached Macclesfield; and by the time they arrived at the borders of Staffordshire, such captures and dispersions had been made on the way, through the provident arrangements of the magistrates, that the originally huge force of the men of the blanket and knapsack, which might have increased threefold, had dwindled down to about a score of stragglers. Of the shoals who were captured, most of the offenders, after a few days, were let off by the magistrates, on expressing their contrition, and promising to be peaceful for the time to come.

After this, there was a short cessation of these open tokens of popular discontent; but it was only that they might assume a more secret and far more dangerous character. Such was the case especially at Manchester, where an insurrection was planned for the 30th of March, in which a rising of 5000 malcontents was to be made, the military barracks attacked, and factories burned down, the attention of the soldiers in the meantime being distracted, either by real attacks or false alarms while the principal mischief was going on. But on finding that their plot was discovered, and that a sufficient number of troops had been brought into the town, the project was abandoned. Such was also the fate of a still more formidable insurrection, which was appointed to take place about the middle of May. From the great centres of poverty and political discontent, the counties of Derbyshire, Nottingham, and the West Riding of York, a new expedition was to march to London, not like pilgrims or paupers muffled in blankets, but with arms in their hands, which they either had prepared for the occasion, or expected to seize by the way; and in this warlike fashion they were to take by force the redress which had been denied to their petitions. But

here, also, the magistrates stepped in, and the design was crushed before it could proceed to action. Undismayed by this failure, a party of reformers, in the month of June, numbering not more than 100 men, assembled at Pentridge, a village to the west of the river Derwent, and not far from the direct road to Nottingham, and marched towards that town through Ripley and Eastwood. They expected to be joined at Nottingham by the discontented of that quarter, and imperiously demanded the surrender of arms at houses on the way; but on coming nigh the town, they encountered a body of hussars, by whom they were put to flight, while their captains were made prisoners. These insurrections prolonged the suspension of the habeas corpus act, which, by a fresh vote of both houses, was not to end until the 1st of March, 1818. This highly unpopular measure, also, of arming government with despotic power, for the suppression of popular insurrections, was not the only offence with which ministers were charged. Every meeting held by the insurgents, and every plan they devised, was made known to the authorities; and hence the readiness with which every rising had been suppressed. But this knowledge, however useful, had in many cases been obtained by an un-British system of espionage, and not a few of the members of these reform societies were alleged to be in the pay of government. In some instances, also, the ministerial spies were supposed to have been, not merely passive observers, but the most active fomenters of the discontent; and to have instigated the worst outbreaks of the revolt, that they might make their services to government more remunerative, or further the political purposes of their secret employers. It was well for Britain that this season of trial was now upon the close, and that a happier era was about to dawn. The struggle of the South American provinces for independence, which had been going onward since 1794, was now assuming a promising character, especially in Mexico and New Grenada; and in its final success, which was thought to be not far distant, British industry hoped to find a new sphere for the employment of its activity and resources. And at home, the revival of our commerce and manufactures, the restoration of mercantile confidence and security, and a propitious harvest, were about to lighten that public discontent which clamoured for anarchical change under the name of reform, and to suppress that rebellion of hunger-bitten necessity which, in every state, has always been found the most dangerous of all rebellions.

These hopes, however, were but distant, and chequered with such misgivings that something more immediate was needed to recal the loyalty of the people, which the last two years had so

greatly unsettled. And that restorative was vouchsafed, but in a manner which none could have expected or desired. It was the death of the Princess Charlotte. Amidst these political commotions, her amiable character had only the more endeared her to all parties; and the nation universally rejoiced in the prospect that she was about to give birth to a future sovereign of the British throne, who should ascend it when her own reign had closed in prosperity and peace. On the night of the 4th of November she gave birth to a male child, but it was still-born, and in a few hours after she herself expired. In this sudden manner the hopes of millions were crushed: the desire of their eyes was taken away with a stroke, and in every house there was mourning. In this case, also, the public anguish was deepened by the report that both deaths were attributable to medical indecision; and that during the long-protracted and dangerous period of labour, those necessary stimulants which the mere village practitioner would have successfully administered to the wife of the humblest cottager, were timidly withheld. She was buried on the 18th of November, and on that day there was a cessation of business not only in the capital but over the whole empire.

The succession in the eldest line of the royal family being thus extinct, and no heir presumptive being left of the numerous race, although twelve of the fifteen sons and daughters of George III. were still alive, four new marriages took place among them during the ensuing year. The first was that of the Princess Elizabeth, now forty-eight years old, to the Prince of Hesse-Homburg; the second was the marriage of the Duke of Cambridge; and the third and fourth, of the Dukes of Clarence and Kent, both of whom were married on the same day. Of all these marriages, that of the Duke of Kent to the Princess Mary Louisa Victoria, sister of the widowed Prince Leopold, was the most welcomed, as the duke was a favourite with the popular party; and if their wishes had selected him as the continuator of the Hanoverian succession, we know that in this case they were not disappointed.

As a breathing interval was given by the present tranquillity, and the fair hope afforded of a return of our national prosperity, the principal efforts of 1818 were to redress the grievances of the past and prevent their recurrence. On this account, as soon as the speech from the throne was read, the opposition in both houses demanded an instant repeal of the suspension of the habeas corpus act; and accordingly a bill to that effect was passed without delay. A bill of indemnity was also passed in favour of ministers for the steps they had been compelled to adopt during the late insurrections; for they continued to be

heavily blamed for their proceedings in the employment of spies, and the apprehension and punishment of rioters. Happily, for the present, there were no more plots to detect, nor outbreaks to suppress; for the people, having felt the uselessness of resistance, as well as obtained repossession of their rights and privileges, along with the *habeas corpus* act, were disposed to improve their condition by lawful means, rather than intrigue and violence. In cheaper food, in more abundant employment, and better wages, they had substantial proofs that the true season of relief had at last arrived, and that it depended upon their own industry to avail themselves of its benefits. The following picture of the general state of matters, by Mr. Windham Quin, in seconding the address in the commons, although somewhat too glowing, was in its main particulars substantially correct, and acknowledged as such by those who listened: "Last year strong men were to be seen in distress for want of work; now, wages have advanced; industry, which is the staple foundation of national wealth, has a fair field for its exertion. The country, if I may so express myself, feels an increased circulation in every artery, in every channel of its commerce. Last year the fires were extinguished in most of the iron works; now they are in full activity, and the price of iron has risen from £8 or £9 to about £14 a ton. The demand for linen, the staple of the north of Ireland, is unprecedented, both as to quantity and price. The funds are now eighty, last year they were about sixty-three. Money is most abundant, and when lent at mortgage to good security, lowering in rate of interest, and to be had at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., at the same time that sales of land are effected at better prices than last year. Gold, too, has re-appeared, and the little request in which it is held, seems to declare, that a belief in the stability of our financial system is universal. Let me notice the return of confidence among all classes and descriptions of men—the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, all seem to feel its vivifying influence."

But something more than the return of national abundance was felt to be necessary for the establishment of peace and security. The late commotions, and the trials that followed, had disclosed a large amount of ignorance, vice, and irreligion among the lower orders, which, at every recurrence of public reverse, would be certain to produce the same disastrous consequences. The best safeguard of the state was the elevation of these classes through the means of education; and the commencement was made at the opening of parliament, by recommending that the sum of £1,000,000 sterling should be raised by exchequer bills for supplying the want of churches and chapels of ease, where the increase

of the population made this church accommodation necessary. This was a small sum as compared with the want; but it was justly calculated that the example of government, in this provision for religious instruction to destitute localities, would be extensively seconded by private benevolence. Another important step in this direction was Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham's motion for a committee of inquiry respecting the education of the poorer classes—the commencement of that great educational plan out of which so many public schools and literary institutions for the common people were afterwards produced. That such remedies were needful, was shown by the readiness of the operatives to continue their combinations for higher wages, and the disturbances that still continued to arise on that account, particularly at Burnley and Stockport, which required to be suppressed by the military.

The chief political event by which this year was signalized, was the full and complete reconciliation of the allied powers with France, by withdrawing their army of occupation. This occupation was a painful reminiscence of past wars and mutual injuries; it was galling to a high-spirited people like the French; and as long as it was continued, there was no assurance to Europe of international amity or a lasting peace. According to the terms of the original treaty, this military hold upon France would have continued two years longer, had not the present stability of the Bourbon throne, and the general tranquillity, given assurance that such a precaution was no longer required. A congress was therefore assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle during the autumn of the present year, where the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Austria, with their principal ministers, the Duke of Wellington and the representatives of some other powers, agreed that the army of occupation might be safely withdrawn, and the nation left to its own control. A negotiation to this effect was accordingly opened by the allied sovereigns with Louis XVIII.; the pecuniary obligations of France were discharged; and the army, with its commander the Duke of Wellington, was recalled in October, after having been in France three years.

The death of Queen Charlotte was the principal event that occurred in England towards the close of this year. She died at Kew, on the 17th of November, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. Although her disposition was not of that ingratiating character which had made her royal husband so popular, yet the zeal with which she seconded the efforts of George III. to purify the English court, and the decorum which her example introduced into the social life of the great and the fashionable, will be felt and remembered, long

after the recollections of her pride and parsimony have passed away.

We now turn to events in India, where the British arms, although encountered by occasional reverses, had been steadily proceeding in their career of conquest. On commencing his administration as governor-general, on the 4th of October, 1813, the Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, was obliged, almost immediately, to concert measures for the defence of our eastern empire, the frontiers of which were assailed by the Burmese in one quarter, and the Nepaulese in another. The first of these were kept in check for the present, and obliged to retire, but the Nepaulese were not to be so controlled. In May, 1814, and while negotiations were going on, they had treacherously attacked and murdered all the police-officers stationed in Botwul; and in the first campaign against them during the latter part of the same year, Major-general Gillespie lost his life in an unsuccessful attempt upon the fort of Kulunga, in the Doon district. Other reverses had been suffered by our troops in this disastrous campaign, by which the prestige of British invincibility was shaken, and the Nepaulese emboldened to bid it defiance. Nor was it difficult to account for these unfortunate results. The frontier of Nepaul, which was about 600 miles in length, and rugged and hilly, abounded in defensible positions; the people were brave and hardy; and the Ghorkas, the principal part of the population, whose chief trade was war and conquest, and who were so emboldened with success that they believed themselves invincible, had 12,000 soldiers, dressed, armed, and disciplined in imitation of the Company's sepoy. When the campaign was planned, our Indian government was lamentably ignorant of the country, and when our troops advanced upon it, they found the passes of hills, forests, and jungles, of which they had never heard, occupied by those hardy mountaineers, whose resistance was conducted with courage and no small portion of military skill. From all these circumstances, the Nepaulese war was considered to be the most arduous which the British had as yet waged in India; and, encouraged by his successes, the Ghorka commander had torn in pieces the letter of the British general, summoning him to surrender. But their pride and their confidence were tamed by a series of successes with which the operations of Sir David Auchterlony were attended; and the Ghorka Viceroy of Nepaul, yielding to necessity, agreed, in April, 1815, to an armistice, by which a large portion of their territory was surrendered to British military occupation. But when the terms of a treaty of peace were proposed, the viceroy protracted the negotiation to the close of the year, and finally

refused his signature. The war was therefore renewed, and on this occasion with every circumstance in favour of the British. They already occupied the whole of the low country to the



GHORKAS —From Fraser's Himala Mountains

banks of the Sutlej; they were now acquainted with the mountain passes and the nature of this new kind of warfare; and they were confident in the courage and skill of their leader, Auchterlony, by whom their campaign had hitherto been successfully conducted. He advanced in three columns towards the range of hills which forms the natural boundary of Nepaul; and when its few assailable passes were reached, which the Ghorkas had fortified, and were prepared to hold out to the uttermost, he penetrated through one of these passes which had been neglected, and totally routed them near Muckwanpoor, where they collected their whole army, in the hope of driving him back. In this battle, the Nepaulese troops not only behaved with great courage and spirit, but displayed an amount of military skill that seems to have astonished their conquerors. Their guns were fitted with tangent scales, an improvement that had been but lately introduced into our own artillery in India; and during the action they threw shrapnell-shells, which the French themselves were as yet unable to use. Muckwanpoor would soon have fallen, which would have opened up the way for an advance of the British upon the capital; but convinced of the hopelessness of further resistance, the Rajah of Nepaul submitted to the terms of peace. These were nothing more than had been demanded during the previous year, and which were now signed on the 2d of March, 1816. The rajah bound himself never to disturb the Company's frontiers, or the territories of any of its allies; never to advance any claim to the territories

which had formerly been disputed, or which were now ceded to the Company; never to retain in his service any British subject, or the subject of any European or American state, without the consent of the British government. A still more unpalatable condition, as being a badge of defeat and subjection, and threat of final subjugation, was yielded to by the proud Nepaulese: it was to allow the permanent residence of an English minister at their court, and to send accredited ministers of their own to reside at Calcutta. They also gave up the Turæe, a rich and spacious tract of territory lying between the Himalayan range of mountains and the Company's dominions, the possession of which by the British would suppress the incursions of the Ghorka chieftains, and confine them within the range of their own mountains. These articles, although so humbling, were executed by the Nepaulese with a fidelity seldom found among the nations of Hindoostan.

The disasters of the first campaign in Nepal encouraged the Pindarees to become assailants of the Company's territories. These men were not a distinctive race, but hordes of freebooters, collected from every country and creed, who were associated for the common purpose of devastation and plunder. As India was a soil fitted for the rapid growth of such evils, these Pindarees, who since 1805 had been growing in numbers, discipline, and audacity, could now muster in thousands, and make war, not upon petty villages, but cities and provinces, wherever booty was most plentiful. They were a light cavalry that could neither be avoided nor overtaken; the extent of their devastations was only matched by their cruelty, and the tortures they used on their victims, to wring from them their concealed gold and treasures; and as they had neither home nor country of their own, they were ready to settle upon the territories of those sovereigns who were willing to avail themselves of their services. Their chief settlement for the present was in the neighbourhood of Scindia and Holkar, from whose irregular bands they were largely recruited, so that in 1814 they could bring more than 40,000 horse into the field, all ready, like the Swiss, to sell themselves to the highest bidder, and, like the Scottish Borderers of old, to plunder friend and enemy alike. Their central situation at an equal distance from the three presidencies, facilitated their annual plundering expeditions against the British, whose line of posts along the frontiers they could easily penetrate; and with every year of late, these irruptions had been increasing in boldness and the wide extent of their devastations. At length, encouraged by the British reverses in the first Nepaulese campaign, a body of 8000 Pindarees crossed the Nerbudda, in spite of the cavalry

and infantry that watched them, and would have crossed the Kishna into the Madras presidency but for the swollen state of the river; but they swept along its rich and populous banks, leaving a highway behind them of massacre and havoc, retreating afterwards with perfect impunity. Another similar expedition was made soon after, in which, after crossing the Nerbudda, in one day they marched thirty-eight miles, and plundered ninety-two villages, while the next day they accomplished a march of equal length, and plundered fifty-four villages. During the twelve days of their stay in the Company's territories, they had also put 182 persons to a cruel death, mangled 505, and put 3603 persons to different kinds of torture. To repress these incursions and protect their territories, the Company, in 1816, established a line of defensive positions along the course of the Nerbudda, from Soonee to Serinagur, nearly 150 miles in length. This line, almost as soon as it had been completed, the Pindarees were daring and cunning enough to penetrate in three different bands, but without their former success; for they were overtaken, encountered, and so utterly broken and dispersed, that few of them recrossed the Nerbudda.

But something more decisive was needed against such enemies than a merely defensive warfare, and it was resolved, not only to crush the Pindarees, but to chastise all who had aided and abetted them. As this was a very comprehensive purpose, the plan was laid, and the preparations made upon an adequate scale. The territories in which the Pindarees abode were to be encompassed by a widely-extended cordon of the Company's troops, which were gradually to converge towards a common centre, surrounding and inclosing the marauders at every point. No sooner, however, had the different military divisions been put in motion for this purpose, than the plan was interrupted by the revolt of certain Indian powers, who, during this distant occupation of the British armies, hoped that the opportunity had arrived for re-establishing their own independence. The first of these was Bajee Rao, Peishwa of Poonah, who had repeatedly struggled in vain to free himself from the Company's control, and who was now encouraged to a decisive attempt on account of only one British brigade being left at Poonah. But Brigadier-general Smith, on hearing of Bajee Rao's rebellion, suspended his march against the Pindarees, and flew to the rescue of this solitary brigade, when it was surrounded, and on the point of being overpowered. This prompt arrival decided the fate of the peishwa; he was attacked, defeated, and deposed, and his territories were placed under British rule. A similar course

was adopted and a like fall experienced by Apa Sahib, Rajah of Nagpoor, who, in addition to his own troops, had a body of between 3000 and 4000 Arabs, men greatly superior to the Hindoo soldiers both in discipline and valour. But although the rajah's army was at least 20,000 strong, it was completely defeated on the 27th of November, 1817, near Nagpoor, by a British force of not more than 1400 men, and the rajah surrendered himself and his dominions to the victors.

These impediments being removed, the war against the Pindarees was resumed, and in every case with success, although the Mahrattas, alarmed at the growth of the British power, were now making common cause with these formidable marauders. This sympathy brought us once more into hostile contact with the two powerful Mahratta chiefs, Scindia and Holkar; and while the former escaped the punishment designed for him by temporizing and professing neutrality, the latter assembled his troops, and entered the field against the British. This event compelled Sir John Malcolm and Sir Thomas Hislop to unite their divisions, and turn aside from the Pindaree warfare; and after several skirmishes with the Mahrattas, they found, on approaching Mehudpoor, that Holkar's army was drawn up to receive them on the opposite bank of the Soopra. The British forced the passage of the river, and in the battle that followed, Holkar was so completely defeated that his power and hopes were broken, and he humbly sued for peace, which was granted to him in January, 1818. The terms deprived him of all further power to do mischief, by compelling him to become the dependant and ally of the British, to whom he was obliged, when demanded, to furnish an auxiliary force of 3000 cavalry, and without whose permission he could engage in no negotiations with any foreign power. Besides these conditions, he was obliged to cede a considerable portion of his territories to the conquerors. Thus, finally, was a combination of the native powers of India crushed, which, had it been formed more promptly, or executed in better concert, would have shaken the stability of our eastern dominion to its centre. In so very brief an outline, in which mere results only can be stated, no idea can be conveyed of the difficulties encountered by the British armies, and the extent of conquest by which their victories were rewarded. "Thirty hill-fortresses, each of which might have defied the whole Anglo-Indian army, fell in the course of a few weeks; and this vast Mahratta empire, which had over-shadowed the East, and before which the star of the Mogul had become pale, was annihilated."¹

The fate of the Pindarees, after their powerful allies had been suppressed, was delayed no longer. Robbers by profession, and the scourges of every country in turn—men whom no mercy could restrain or treaties and obligations bind, it was felt that in their case the humane usages of war must be dispensed with; and they were hunted down as criminals whose lives had already incurred the death-sentence, and whose extirpation both justice and necessity demanded. Accordingly, the widely-extended net which the British had thrown out, was drawn and closed together, and the scattered bands that sought in vain to escape were put to death in thousands. So complete was their destruction, that Sir John Malcolm, in his *Memoir of Central India*, thus writes of them:—"There now remains not a spot in India that a Pindaree can call his home. They have been hunted like wild beasts; numbers have been killed; all ruined. Those who espoused their cause have fallen. . . . A minute investigation only can discover these once formidable disturbers, concealed as they now are among the lowest classes, where they are making some amends for past atrocities by the benefit which is derived from their labour in restoring trade and cultivation. These freebooters had none of the prejudices of caste, for they belonged to all tribes. They never had either the pride of soldiers, of family, or of country, so that they were bound by none of those ties which among many of the communities in India assume an almost indestructible character. Other plunderers may arise from distempered times; but as a body the Pindarees are so effectually destroyed, that their name is already almost forgotten, though not five years are passed since it spread terror and dismay over all India."

During this Mahratta and Pindaree war events had taken place in Ceylon, by which that important island was established under the British dominion. It may be said to form the great threshold of our Indian empire, from its geographical position, being situated at the southern extremity of Hindoostan, from which it is separated by the Gulf of Manaar and Palk's Strait. On its transfer from Holland to the British, the latter found it held by a singular tenure; for while the ring of sea-coast was under European possession, the central portions were under the dominion of the native King of Kandy. Between this native independent sovereign and the new British rulers of the coast there could not fail to be misunderstandings and grounds of quarrel, so that since 1803 wars had occurred between them, in which the British were the principal sufferers. But the Kandian sultan had used his advantages with such cruelty, and had made his rule so oppressive to his own subjects, that even the

¹ *Journals of the Sieges of the Madras Army*, by Edward Lake, Lieutenant of Madras Engineers.

Singhalese themselves applied to the strangers for aid, which the latter, on account of their own grievances, were not slow to grant. The independent territory was invaded, and on the entrance of a British detachment into the capital, on the 11th of February, 1815, the town was found deserted of its inhabitants, while the king himself had fled both from the invaders and his own people. A few days after, the Singhalese apprehended and brought him to trial, and after deposing him for his numerous acts of cruelty,

oppression, and misrule, they unanimously transferred their allegiance to the British government. Thus easily, and without a drop of blood being shed, the whole island of Ceylon, the ancient Serendib of Arabian romance, became a portion of our Anglo-Indian empire. A rebellion of the natives which followed in 1817, was easily suppressed towards the close of the following year, and since that period, Ceylon has gradually been becoming one of the most valuable of our eastern possessions.

CHAPTER XII. —CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1819—1820.

GEORGE III.

Opening of the new parliament in 1819—Subjects of the royal speech—The Duke of York appointed guardian to the king—Motion carried for the revival of our criminal code—Motion on the national currency—Settlement of cash payments—Continuation of public discontent—Changes in the style and proceedings of the political reformers—Their alarm at the despotic edicts of the allied sovereigns—Increased demands of the reformers—Their public meeting at Manchester—It is assailed and dispersed by the yeomanry—Violence of the yeomanry on the occasion—Public meeting to condemn their proceedings—Trial and punishment of the leaders of the Manchester meeting—Passing of the “Six Acts”—Death of George III.



THE beginning of the year 1819 was signalized by the opening of the new parliament, which assembled on the 14th of January, and Mr. Mannors Sutton was re-elected speaker without competition. The royal speech congratulated parliament, and with justice, on the evacuation of France by the army of occupation, on the brilliant achievements of our armies in the East Indies during their late campaigns, and on the reductions that had been made in the expenditure for the army and navy. Mention was also made of the commercial treaty already existing between Britain and the United States of America, which was extended to a further term of eight years. But when the same congratulations alluded to the favourable state of the revenue, and the improved appearance of trade, commerce, and manufactures, it was felt that these were fallacious, or at the least premature. It was known that the most serious disturbances continued to ferment in the heart of the manufacturing districts, while the public income still fell short of the expenditure to the amount of £14,000,000.

In this state of feeling, the first question to try the temper of the new parliament, was the appointment of a guardian of his majesty's person, in consequence of the demise of the queen. For this office the Duke of York was proposed by Lord Liverpool, and the duke's right to hold it was universally admitted. But when it was

further proposed that the annual sum of £10,000, which the queen had enjoyed for the charge of the king's person, should be continued to her successor in the office, a violent opposition followed, and the measure was carried only by a small majority. Retrenchment was the order of the day, and at such a time it was no mere party or political outcry, but an urgent necessity. Connected with these provisions for the poor old king, who was unable either to understand or enjoy them, was the maintenance of the royal establishment at Windsor. For this £100,000 had formerly been allowed, which ministers offered to reduce to £50,000; but although such an establishment was represented as an absolute mockery in behalf of one who did not need a tenth part of it, the proposal of the ministers passed by a large majority.

A very important subject of this session was the revision of our criminal code. The sanguinary character of English law had long been a wonder and reproach among foreigners, as well as a matter of regret among the reflective of our own country; and it was felt that the time had come when the frequency of capital punishments might very safely be diminished. Repeatedly the subject had been brought before parliament by that upright and talented lawyer, Sir Samuel Romilly; but in consequence of his death in the preceding year, it was now adopted and advocated with equal ability by Sir James Mackintosh. The time also was favourable, on

account of a petition from the corporation of London, complaining of the increase of crime, and pointing out the advantage that might accrue from the commutation of capital punishments for others of less severity. This momentous inquiry it was resolved to consign to a committee employed upon the examination of prison discipline, when, on the following day, Sir James Mackintosh proposed that the examination of our penal code should have a distinct committee of its own. After showing the subterfuges which the severity of our laws occasioned, and the difficulty of obtaining a conviction, in consequence of which the worst culprits escaped and the statutes became a dead letter, he explained his views of those circumstances under which alone capital punishment should be administered, whereby not less than 150 offences needed to be expunged from the catalogue. His motion was carried, and before the end of the session a committee of inquiry was formed, of which he was appointed chairman.

Another very momentous affair of this session was the consideration of the national currency. The commencement of the war in 1793, and the return of peace in 1815, had equally produced an abrupt diversion of capital, which was keenly felt by the productive classes, and finally by the whole community. To this was added the want of money accommodations during the period of agricultural distress, in consequence of the Bank of England, at the return of peace, having been obliged to reduce its paper circulation, from the apprehension of soon being called upon to pay in gold. Country bankers were in like manner compelled to limit their issues, until the question of the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England should be settled. It was no wonder that a subject of such vital importance to every individual should have given rise to about fifty debates and conversations in both Houses of Parliament. The principal parts of the government plan, which was finally adopted, were the following :—That it was expedient that the restrictions on payments in cash by the bank should be continued beyond the 5th of July, 1819, the term fixed by law; that a definite period should be fixed for the termination of the restriction, and that in the meantime certain preparatory measures should be taken; that provision should be made for the gradual repayment to the bank of £10,000,000 of its advances for the public service; that from the 1st of February, 1820, the bank should be obliged to give in exchange for its notes gold, assayed and stamped, in quantities of not less than sixty ounces, at the rate of 81s. per ounce; that from the 1st of October, 1820, it should be obliged to pay gold for its notes in the same manner, at the

rate of 79s. 6d. per ounce; that after the 1st of May, 1821, the rate should be 77s. 10½d. per ounce; that from the 1st of May, 1823, the bank should pay its notes on demand, in the legal coin of the realm; and that the laws prohibiting the melting and exportation of the coin should be repealed.

The session was closed by the regent in person, on the 13th of July. In the close of his speech he adverted to the seditious spirit still at work in the manufacturing districts; and notwithstanding the self-gratulations of ministers at the opening of parliament, the existence of such a spirit was too notorious to be denied. The extravagant hopes which the many had founded upon the return of peace had been disappointed; for its benefits, instead of being instant and immediate, were of slow growth, while low wages and high-priced provisions were still the order of the day. Under such circumstances, it was easy for restless demagogues to persuade the ignorant multitudes that their continued depression arose from a corrupt court, a venal ministry, and unjust taxes; and that the blessings of peace and the fruits of their own industry could not be realized until these obstacles were removed. These sentiments were trumpeted in speeches at popular reform meetings, and disseminated in pamphlets and broad-sheets, until they became unalterable truths in the eyes of those who cared for no other kind of instruction. At this time, also, several changes had occurred among them which foreboded an increase of danger to the government. They had assumed the title of radical reformers, indicating the root-and-branch work which they meant to follow out, instead of stopping at half-measures, and their avowed purpose to make the members of parliament the true representatives of the people, or, in other words, the puppets and mouth-pieces of their own party; they had introduced female reform societies, for the purpose of co-operating with the men, and instilling into the minds of their children “a deep-rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers;” and finally, under the pretext of taking healthful open-air exercise after the close mechanical labours of the day, they met in bands at evening, and even at midnight, in the suburbs of the great towns, where their chief recreations consisted of military drill, of marching and counter-marching. No arms, indeed, were as yet brought to such meetings; but these apparently harmless parades would soon teach them not only where to find, but how to use them. In like manner, a cap of liberty became their favourite standard, and the French revolution their favourite theme of declamation.

While the minds of the working-class reformers of Great Britain were in this irritated state, the

proceedings of the allied sovereigns upon the Continent at this period exasperated them into double fury. Confident in their safety and power, now that their dreaded enemy was put down, and forgetful of the liberal promises they had made to their subjects while he was in the ascendant, these royalties were endeavouring to establish their rule more firmly than ever, by making it more despotic. This was distinctly evinced at the congress of Carlsbad, where the liberty of the press and liberal opinions in general were denounced, and menaced with severe penalties. In this way the Holy Alliance were redeeming their pledge, and governing upon the principles of Christian justice and humanity! The radicals took the alarm. They had persisted in believing that the regent was secretly a member of the alliance; that Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth were the purchased adherents of these foreign despots; and that under such agencies the same restrictions which had been imposed upon the liberties of the Continent would be speedily introduced into Britain. This was a new theme for the popular advocates of reform, and a justification of bolder measures than had hitherto been contemplated; and not only annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot became their prevalent demand, but the propriety also of the use of physical force in obtaining these important concessions was boldly asserted. It was even queried in their more private meetings, whether the people had not a right to destroy the Bank of England, and to equalize all classes by an agrarian division of the landed property of the country. In such a state of things the government could not look tranquilly on, or its adherents be without alarm; and the commencement of open strife and bloodshed was nothing more than a question of time and place, which circumstances were sure to settle. This was done at Manchester on the 16th of August, 1819. The reformers of that city having convened a great public meeting on the 9th, with the object of proceeding, in their own way, to the choice and election of a parliamentary representative, were apprised by the magistrates that the object was illegal, and that such meeting was illegal; upon which the design was modified, and a meeting convened for the 16th, to petition for a sweeping reform in parliament.

A little before noon on the 16th, the first body of reformers began to arrive on the scene of action, which was a piece of ground called St. Peter's Field. These persons bore two banners surmounted with caps of liberty, and bearing the inscriptions—"No Corn Laws," "Annual Parliaments," "Universal Suffrage," "Vote by Ballot." The flags, after being paraded round the field, were planted on a waggon, on which the orators

of the day had taken their stand; but other flags appeared and remained stationary in different parts of the crowd. Numerous large bodies of radicals continued to arrive from the towns in the neighbourhood of Manchester till about one o'clock, all preceded by flags, and many of them came up in regular marching order, five deep, as if they had been well drilled and trained. Two clubs of female reformers advanced, one of them numbering more than 150 members, and bearing a white silk banner. There was a body of reformers who timed their steps to the sound of a bugle, with much of a disciplined air; there was another that had assumed the motto of the illustrious Wallace, "God armeth the Patriot." The multitude now amounted to a number roundly computed at 80,000, and the arrival of the hero of the day was impatiently looked for by the radicals. Nothing less than a fearful riot, with murder and plunder, was expected by the merchants, mill-owners, and the prosperous classes generally. At last orator Hunt made his appearance, and, after a rapturous greeting, was invited to preside. Mounting a scaffolding, he began to harangue his admirers. A band of special constables, who had taken up a position on the field without resistance, now disposed themselves so as to form a line of communication from a house where the magistrates were sitting to the stage or platform erected for Mr. Hunt. The orator had not proceeded far when the appearance of the yeomanry cavalry advancing at a brisk trot excited a panic in the outskirts of the meeting. The civic force entered the inclosure, and after pausing for a minute to recover their disordered ranks, they drew their swords and brandished them in the air. The multitude, by the direction of their leaders, gave three cheers, to show that they were undaunted by this intrusion, and the orator had just resumed his speech to assure the people that this was only a trick to disturb the meeting, and exhorted them to stand firm, when the yeomanry dashed into the crowd, making for the platform. That immense mob offered no resistance; they fell back on all sides, overturning one another. The commanding officer approached orator Hunt, and brandishing his sword, told him that he was his prisoner. Mr. Hunt, after enjoining the people to tranquillity, said that he would readily surrender to any civil officer on his showing his warrant. Mr. Nodin, the principal police-officer, then stepped forward, and, producing his warrant, quietly received Hunt into custody. A few other persons, against whom warrants had been issued, were likewise apprehended; others who stood in the same predicament escaped in the crowd. Some of the yeomanry then cried out, "Have at their flags!" and upon this the troop began to strike

down the banners, raised in various parts of the fields, cutting to right and left to get at them. The people scampered off in all directions, and the yeomanry spurred after them, losing all command of temper. There was then a dreadful scene of confusion; numbers were trampled under the feet of men and horses; many women as well as men were cut down by sabres; several were slain on the spot, and among these were a peace-officer and a female—for the undisciplined heroes scarcely knew what they were doing, and slew where they wished to save. The whole number of persons more or less injured was set down at between 300 and 400; but it should appear that this number is exaggerated by the suffering party, and that nine-tenths of the injuries received were of a very trifling nature. In their retreat the reformers threw stones and brick-bats at the yeomanry. It is said that some stones were thrown in the same direction before the yeomen charged the people, and that the riot act was read by the magistrates before a sword was used; but some doubt rests upon one, if not upon both of these assertions. The yeomanry was chiefly composed of a set of hot-headed young men belonging to rich families, who entertained a too great contempt and dislike of spinners, and weavers, and dyers, machine-makers, and other artisans, who made up the reform assemblage. The riot act *was* read, but it seems to have been read when nobody could hear it. In less than ten minutes from the first charge of the yeomanry, the ground was entirely cleared of its former occupants, and was filled by various bodies of military, both horse and foot. Mr. Orator Hunt, with the broken staves of two of his banners carried in mock procession before him, was hurried before the magistrates, who sent him to prison on a charge of high treason. He was soon locked up in a solitary cell; and the other prisoners were confined with the same precaution. Before night the town of Manchester was brought into a tolerably quiet state, military patrols being stationed at the end of almost every street.

As soon as the news of this riot and its suppression reached London, a cabinet council was held; and acting on the partial statements of the despatch, the thanks of government were returned to the magistrates, and to all the military engaged, for their prompt and efficient conduct in the affair. This was a signal for the opponents of government and friends of reform in London; and at a numerous meeting held in the Palace-yard, Westminster, on the 2d of September, at which Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. John Cam Hobhouse, his colleague in the representation of Westminster, were the principal speakers, the affair of Peter's Field was denounced as a massacre, and a foul attempt to destroy the liberties of

Englishmen; and an address founded on these resolutions was sent to the prince-regent. The opposite party were provoked by the occasion to call meetings of their own, in which counter-addresses were drawn up, justifying the suppression of the Manchester meeting, and offering to raise yeomanry corps for the support of government, and the maintenance of public order. Under such auspices the prisoners were brought to trial; but the capital charge of treason against them was abandoned, and imprisonment, from one to two years and a half, was the utmost punishment inflicted upon five of the chief leaders of the meeting. Still the alarm had been too great, and the supporters of government were too numerous to allow the present state of affairs to go on unchecked; and to obtain the restoration of order and secure the inviolability of their own property, they were but too ready to place an undue power in the hands of the ministry. The well-known "Six Acts" were introduced, and were carried by large majorities through both houses. In the lords they were proposed by Viscount Sidmouth; in the commons by Lord Castlereagh. They consisted of the following bills. 1. To take away the right of traversing in cases of misdemeanour. 2. To punish any person found guilty on a second conviction of libel, by fine, imprisonment, and banishment for life. 3. For preventing seditious meetings, requiring the names of seven householders to the requisition which, in future, convened any meeting for the discussion of subjects connected with church or state. 4. To prohibit military training, except under the authority of a magistrate or lord-lieutenant. 5. To subject cheap periodical pamphlets on political subjects to a duty similar to that on newspapers. 6. To give magistrates the power of entering houses by *night* or by day, for the purpose of seizing arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes. The only one of these bills which passed without opposition was that for the prevention of secret military training. The entering of houses by night, and the restrictions on the press, were strongly objected to. These acts were to continue in force for the term of five years.

The year 1820 commenced with gloomy auspices in the political horizon. On the 21st of January, the humane, benevolent, and popular Duke of Kent died, leaving behind him an infant daughter, Alexandrina Victoria, who now so happily occupies the British throne. Only eight days after the duke's death, the great bell of St. Paul's again sent forth its deep knell, to announce a demise of still higher importance, for his father, the king of the realm, had departed.

George III. died in Windsor Castle on the night of Saturday, the 29th of January, 1820, in the 82d

year of his age, and (counting the ten years of the regency) in the 60th year of his reign. For some years before his death he had been totally blind; and it does not appear that any temporary return of reason allowed him to comprehend and rejoice at the issue of the momentous struggle in which he left his country engaged in 1810, when his malady drove him into retirement. We only know that when others desponded his hopes were high, and that, so long as he had reason, he never despaired of the final triumph of England. No man within his realms had a more thoroughly English heart, or a more ardent desire to promote the welfare of the people and the interests and honour of the country. Unpopular in his youth and earliest government, he

became endeared to the people in the midst of the misfortunes of the first American war; and perhaps no sovereign had ever been more popular than he was during the last twenty-five years of his reign. The time is not yet come for drawing up an impartial, dispassionate, and complete character; but it may be well remarked now, that nearly every circumstance concerning him which has been brought to light of late years, and nearly every conversation which has been reported, or letter written by him which has been published, have tended to clear away the prejudices of former times, and to raise our estimate, not merely of the goodness of his heart and intentions, but also of the powers of his intellect, and of his capacity for public business.

CHAPTER XIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1820—1822.

GEORGE IV.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1820—DEATH, A.D. 1830.

Accession of George IV.—Question of Caroline's right to the title of queen—The Cato Street conspiracy—Its purposes and proceedings—Apprehension of the conspirators—Their trial and punishment—Troubles occasioned by the radical reformers in Scotland—Inability of the British reformers to follow out the model of the French revolution—Manifestations of independent spirit in the new parliament—Changes affected in the penal code—Brougham proposes his plan of education—Proposal for the removal of restrictions on free trade—Queen Caroline's return to England—Popular triumph of her reception—The reformers identify her with their cause—Unsuccessful attempts of ministers to compromise with her demands—Her trial—Depositions of the witnesses—The queen proclaimed not guilty—Movements of parliament in the direction of reform—Motions for parliamentary reform—Motion for the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities—Its defeat through the opposition of the Duke of York—Approaching coronation of George IV.—Demands of the queen to be crowned along with him—They are refused—Her attempts to be present at the coronation—Her repulse from Westminster Hall—Her last illness and death—The funeral procession—Riot with which it is accompanied—Visit of the king to Ireland—Its inutility—His visit to Hanover—Parliamentary proceedings of 1822—Troubles in Ireland—Irish famine—Motion of Canning in behalf of Roman Catholic peers—Its rejection in the lords—The king departs on a visit to Scotland—Suicide of the Marquis of Londonderry—Indecent behaviour of the mob at his funeral—The Duke of Wellington sent as British delegate to the congress of Verona—Peaceful tone of the British government at the congress—Proceedings of the congress in the affairs of Italy, Spain, and Greece—Its empty and unmeaning character—The king's visit to Scotland—Enthusiastic nature of his welcome—Benefits resulting from the visit.



HE accession of George IV. to the throne was merely nominal, for virtually he had been king for the last ten years; but the glories of his regency, through the success of our arms, had eclipsed whatever could be expected from his sovereignty, surrounded as he was by political and domestic troubles, which his new position could only tend to aggravate. He had also passed the bright meridian of life, and at the period of his accession was laid upon a bed of sickness, from which it was at one time feared he would never rise. Even his assumption of the royal title was accompanied with a great embarrassment. George IV. was king, but who was queen of Great Britain? In the alteration of the form of prayer in

the church service, the name of her who was legally queen-consort had been omitted; and as Princess of Wales her allowance from the civil list had ceased with the death of George III. It was now asked in parliament whether she, their queen, was to be supported according to her high station, or left to wander in beggary through foreign lands. It was a perplexing question both for her friends and enemies, as the former saw no need for the claim of a title which they considered as hers by law already, while the latter were unwilling to concede it. A vote, therefore, of a royal yearly allowance was passed in her favour without a division, but also without specifying her royal right and title to such allowance. On the close of parliament, by commission, on the 28th of February, the lord-chancellor, in his

speech on the occasion, turned the public attention into a new channel, by announcing that a fearful conspiracy had been just detected, sufficient to justify the late passing of the obnoxious "Six Acts," and to open the eyes of the most sceptical to the dangers in which the country was involved.

The danger alluded to was the Cato Street conspiracy. Its chief leader was Arthur Thistlewood, once a subaltern officer in the West Indies, then a resident in France during the hottest of the revolution, and finally an associate of the Watsons in the Spafields riot, for which he was tried but acquitted; and on his acquittal, he had

sent a challenge to Lord Sidmouth, for which of fence he was visited with fine and imprisonment. On obtaining his liberty, he contemplated the mad design of assassinating the ministers, seizing the Bank, the Mansion House, and the Tower, and establishing a provisional government; while his only instruments for the accomplishment of such a vast design, were a handful of needy, ignorant, desperate men of the lower orders, who were more likely to attempt a burglary than effect the overthrow of a government. But one of their number, Edwards, was in the pay of the home office, and through his information every step of the conspiracy, until it had ripened into action, was fully known to the ministry. After various meetings and many delays, the conspirators learned from Edwards that there was to be a ministerial dinner at Lord Harrowby's house, in Grosvenor Square, on Wednesday, the 23d of February, upon which Thistlewood exclaimed, "As there has not been a dinner so long, there will, no doubt, be fourteen or sixteen there; and I it will be a rare haul to murder them all together." The plan which he settled was, that on the morrow, which was the day of the dinner, one of their number should go to the house, with a note addressed to Lord Harrowby; that on the door being opened, the rest should rush in, and dividing themselves into two parties, one was to be employed in securing and binding the servants, while the other should enter the dining-room and effect the massacre, being also furnished with bags, in which they were to bring away the heads of Lords Castlereagh and

Sidmouth, in token of their success. While the murderers were thus employed, other detachments were to fire the cavalry barracks, by throwing fire-balls into the straw sheds, and then attack the Bank and Tower, which they would take with the aid of the mob, who were expected to rise in their favour. During the whole of Wednesday Lord Harrowby's house was watched, to ascertain that no soldiers or police were admitted; and preparations for a banquet were apparently carried on there till eight o'clock, while a strong detachment of the Coldstream guards and Bow Street constables were gathering upon the

rendezvous of the conspirators, to surprise and apprehend them. The place was a wretched stable-loft, the ascent to which was by a ladder, in an obscure street called Cato Street, near the Edgeware Road; and while Thistlewood and his gang were preparing for action by the glimmering light of one or two small candles, the soldiers and constables rushed into the room. Instantly the lights were extinguished, a scuffle ensued, shots were fired and wounds inflicted; and in the confusion nine of the party were secured, while Thistlewood and



GEORGE IV.—From a portrait by Sir T. Lawrence

the rest escaped, but several of them, with their leader, were captured within three days after. In the trials which followed, Thistlewood, along with his principal accomplices, Ings a butcher, Davison a creole, and Brant and Tidd, shoemakers, were convicted and sentenced to death, with the horrible accompaniment of decapitation; but to the last they gloried in their fate as martyrs to the cause of liberty, and declared that one of their chief purposes was to avenge the "Manchester massacre," a declaration that secured for them an amount of popular sympathy which the atrocious nature of their plot would have extinguished.

Although such a foul, unnational conspiracy stood alone, and could find no imitators, the discontent in which it originated was still prevalent in the manufacturing districts, and overt acts of rebellion were not unfrequent. Such was the case in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where there were midnight trainings of the disaffected, with the collecting of firearms and manufacturing of

pikes, which had continued during the winter, as a preparation for a general rising; but when the time came, not more than 200 or 300 assembled at Huddersfield, and on the advance of a body of cavalry they fled, leaving their pikes and green flag behind them. In Scotland the cause of radicalism was equally rampant; and in Glasgow the walls were placarded with proclamations, supposed to proceed from a committee for the formation of a provisional government, requiring the manufacturers to suspend their employments till further orders from the committee—an imperious command, but readily obeyed by the weavers and colliers of Glasgow and Paisley, so that the streets were filled with thousands of loitering artisans, wondering at the mysterious mandate, and talking of a coming revolution. Happily, no worse outbreak resulted from this alarming state of matters in the north, than a paltry skirmish at Bonnymuir, where a party of armed radicals gave battle to a troop of cavalry and yeomanry, but were dispersed, after several of their number had been wounded, and nineteen taken prisoners. In all these cases, however, although there was a close imitation of the combinations, purposes, and manifestoes which had characterized the revolutionary proceedings of the French, there was an absence of that violent and sanguinary spirit with which they had been accompanied, and which had formed the source both of their crimes and success. The British reformers were new to revolutions, and were inapt imitators of their more oppressed and less scrupulous and reflective types upon the Continent. In every case, also, government kept a watchful eye upon the disaffected; and both through informers and professional spies, whom it appears the ministry did not scruple to employ for the purpose, they were warned of every intended movement, and enabled to crush it at the commencement.

The demise of George III. having occasioned a dissolution of parliament, the new elections were marked by few acts of violence, although in many cases party contests were keen; and from the late exposures of unconstitutional proceedings connected with the suppression of political riots, as well as from the increase of numbers added to the opposition, there was little promise that the new House of Commons would prove as compliant as the old. Of this an indication was given by a movement in the way of parliamentary reform. This was a bill for the disfranchisement of the corrupt borough of Gram-pound, which had been moved in the last session by Lord John Russell, and which now passed the second reading. The subject of the amendment of our criminal code was now brought forward by Sir James Mackintosh, in six bills, founded

on the suggestions of the committee of inquiry appointed during the last session; and of these bills, after much discussion, three were successfully carried, and passed into law. By this change, private stealing in shops to the value of forty shillings—the residence of gipseys for more than one year in the realm, or of notorious thieves taking up their abode in Cumberland or Northumberland—or for any person to be found disguised in the Mint, or injuring Westminster Bridge, were no longer punishable as capital crimes. Other acts hitherto capital were also modified into simple felonies; such as the receiving of stolen goods; the abduction of any maid, wife, or widow, for the sake of her fortune; the destroying of trees, breaking down the banks of rivers, or wounding cattle; the sending of threatening letters; and all the capital offences that had been connected with the laws of bankruptcy and the marriage act—the punishment of death in all of these many cases being changed into transportation, imprisonment, hard labour, or fine. It will be seen from the above enumeration, that this purifying sweep of the sponge over the defiled pages of our statute book was fully needed, while it will readily be surmised that much more still remained to be accomplished. Mr. Brougham also brought forward his comprehensive and national plan for the education of the poor, but without success; and owing to the jealousy of the dissenters, it had finally to be abandoned, but not until it had awoken a spirit of inquiry, by which the good that had been sought was to be effected by other agencies. And not the least important change that had commenced during the session, was that which had reference to free trade. During the war, when Britain by her maritime superiority had engrossed the carrying trade, and enjoyed a monopoly of commerce, our merchants had rejoiced in this profitable exclusiveness. But now that the war was ended, a period of stagnation had succeeded, and it was felt that a new impulse must be given to commercial industry, even though it should be at the cost of removing these restrictions, and admitting every nation into full competition with ourselves. The attention of parliament was called to the subject by petitions from the cities of London and Glasgow in favour of free trade, and the propriety of a change in our commercial policy was suggested in the House of Lords, on the 26th of May, by Lord Lansdowne, who moved for a committee of inquiry concerning the foreign trade of the empire. He was seconded by the Earl of Liverpool, and the motion was unanimously carried.

It was at this stage that every public movement was arrested by the entrance of a new personage on the scene. By the advice of

Mr. Canning, the Princess Caroline had retired to Italy in 1814. Of the life she had been leading during her exile there was many an unfavourable and even foul report; and although the "Delicate Investigation" had been extinguished, a new one had followed her in her wanderings, and all the reports that were multiplying against her were collected, and sent to London, as fresh matters of accusation, should circumstances compel such a step. Our ambassadors, instructed from home, refused to recognize her as Princess of Wales, and the courts at which they resided were closed against her entrance. But when her name was struck out of the Liturgy, and the recognition of her rank as queen withheld at the accession of her husband, she felt as if her silence would justify her condemnation—that she must come to England to demand an open trial, and vindicate her innocence and her claims. She may have felt, too, that from the irritated state of public feeling and the unpopularity of George IV., the bulk of the nation, right or wrong, would be ready to advocate her cause. Mr. Brougham, her principal legal

adviser, received her commands to meet her in France. He left London on the 1st of June, bearing the following proposition to the queen, which had been placed in his hands by Lord Liverpool, the premier: "The king is willing to recommend to parliament to enable his majesty to settle an annuity of £50,000 a year upon the queen, to be enjoyed by her during her natural life, and in lieu of any claim in the nature of jointure or otherwise, provided she will engage not to come into any part of the British dominions, and provided she engages to take some other name or title than that of queen, and not to exercise any of the rights or privileges of queen, either with respect to the appointment of law officers, or to any proceedings in courts of justice. The annuity to cease upon the violation of these engagements, viz., upon her coming into any part of the British dominions; or her assuming the title of queen; or her exercising any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than above excepted, after the annuity shall have been settled upon her."

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The princess, who ever proclaimed that she was supported by the consciousness of her own innocence, rejected these propositions with disdain, and declared that she would presently be in England to confront her enemies, and to appeal to a generous people. She was at Calais, on her way to London, on the 5th of June, and the intelligence was conveyed to Whitehall by telegraph. A cabinet council was assembled hereupon, and it sat through nearly the whole night. On the next morning—the morning of the 6th—



QUEEN CAROLINE.—From a portrait by James Lonada's

the king went in state to give the royal assent to such bills as had passed parliament; and this being done, he left Lord Liverpool to deliver the following message to the lords:—"The king thinks it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the queen, to communicate to the House of Lords certain papers respecting the conduct of her majesty since her departure from this kingdom, which he recommends to the immediate and serious attention of this house."

The papers referred to were laid on the table in a green bag, which was sealed. This was

the famous green bag which made such a figure in the chronicles of the day. A similar message was delivered to the commons by Lord Castlereagh. Both ministers announced the intention to move an address to the king, and to refer the papers to a secret committee on the following day. The lords were silent; but in the commons there was some vehement debate. On the 7th, Lord Liverpool proposed that the papers should be submitted to a secret committee of fifteen peers, to be appointed by ballot. Lord Liverpool, however, announced that the course to be pursued against the queen could not be an impeachment for treasonable conspiracy, seeing that Bergami, the alleged partner in her guilt, being an alien, was not amenable as a traitor to the crown of England; and that to constitute conspiracy there must be at least two criminals. The secret committee was appointed by ballot on the following day.

While this was passing in the lords there was another vehement debate in the commons. Mr.

Brougham presented a message from the queen, which set forth that she had come to claim her rights and maintain her innocence; that she protested against a secret tribunal appointed by her accusers; and finally, that she appealed to the justice of the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh declared that ministers were neither persecutors nor prosecutors in this matter; and that the illustrious personage would not and could not be judged without an open inquiry and examination of witnesses. Mr. Canning, who entertained a kind and generous feeling towards the princess, solemnly vowed that he would never place himself in the situation of her accuser. The same eminent orator and statesman declared that he would take no further share in these deliberations; and, finding the cabinet resolved to proceed, he very soon resigned his office.¹ Mr. Wilberforce moved the adjournment of the question to the next day but one, in the hope that during the interval some amicable arrangement would prevent a disgusting investigation, which might go far to taint the public morals, and which could not but degrade the two contending parties—the king as well as the queen. This motion was agreed to, and for several days there was silence in the house upon the subject.

Caroline of Brunswick had landed at Dover from the ordinary packet on the 6th, accompanied by Alderman Wood and Lady Ann Hamilton. Her entry into London was a kind of triumph, for she was received with joyful acclamations by the common people, and an immense mob followed her carriage, shouting, "The queen for ever!" and heaping vituperations and curses upon the heads of her husband's ministers. On the 14th, the somewhat radically composed common council of the city of London presented an address, congratulating her majesty on her arrival in this country. The example was speedily followed; and for many months the metropolis was kept in a ferment by addresses and processions, got up by all manner of people, of trades, and of bodies corporate and not corporate, in honour of the queen's happy return. In truth, from the first moment of her arrival, all the discontented and disaffected, all the radicals and all the reformers of whatsoever kind—all who wished for change, and all who wished for commotion and strife—rallied round this hapless, reckless woman. The cries for annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and vote by ballot, were all drowned in the louder shouts of "Long live the Queen!" "God save the Queen, and destroy her enemies!" For any one to have intimated in the streets of London a suspicion of her innocence and spotless purity, would have been to make a very perilous

experiment on the popular temper. It was very soon observed that the hosts of her admirers and champions were not made up of the respectabilities, and that the most ardent of her followers and processionists marched from the lower parts of the town, from St. Giles's and the Whitechapel suburb. With a very few exceptions, the ladies of rank, station, and character were exceedingly shy of her, whatever may have been the Whig politics of their husbands, or the speeches by them delivered in parliament; and the warmest of her supporters and panegyrists in the two houses showed no anxiety that their wives and daughters should visit her majesty in her own house. By a certain party, or rather by two certain parties—the Whigs and the Radicals—she was seized upon as an instrument proper to work out their own designs. They calculated that through her means the unpopularity of the king might be brought to a climax, and the long-seated ministry utterly overthrown. They were therefore determined from the first to set their faces against any amicable arrangement or compromise; to support her flagging spirits by incessant addresses, processions, and highly-seasoned compliments; and to prevent, by every means in their power, her withdrawing from the conflict. They had brought her to the stake, and they were resolutely determined upon keeping her at it. Yet apart from these political views, and wholly unconnected with them, there was a strong and generous feeling in a very considerable part of the community in favour of the unhappy princess. The heart of the people revolted at anything like oppression exercised upon a woman; her illustrious birth, the misfortunes of her family (her father and her brother had both fallen in battle during the late revolutionary war), her own misfortunes and sorrows, which had commenced from the hour of her union with George, Prince of Wales; her natural kindness, benevolence, and generosity of disposition; the long state of abandonment in which she had been left by her husband; her husband's youthful profligacy, the irregularities of his mature age, and certain connections which he was notoriously maintaining at the very moment he was causing his wife to be charged with adultery;—all these, and many other facts and circumstances, pleaded powerfully in behalf of Caroline of Brunswick.

The utter failure of the attempt to arbitrate was announced to the House of Commons on the 19th of June. Upon this the government pressed proceedings. On the 26th of June, whilst the secret committee was still sitting, Lord Dacre presented a petition from the queen, in which she protested against any secret inquiry, demanded time to bring her witnesses from abroad, and requested to be heard by her counsel. Messrs. Brougham,

¹ In the autumn of 1816, Mr. Canning had accepted office as president of the board of control.

Denman, and Williams being allowed to present themselves at the bar of the house, dwelt eloquently upon the hardships of the queen's case, and on the necessity of delay. On the 4th of July the secret committee gave in its report. On the next day Lord Dacre presented a petition from the queen to be heard against the report by her counsel. This was refused; and Lord Liverpool, in pursuance of the report, brought in a bill of pains and penalties, intituled "An act to deprive her majesty Queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges, and exemptions of queen-consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between his majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth." The bill was read a first time, and a copy of it was ordered to be sent to the queen.

We have no space for details of proceedings, or for the eloquent pleadings of Brougham and Denman. On the 19th of August, Lords Grey and King made successive attempts to quash the investigation by motions; but the respective divisions were 181 to 65 and 179 to 64. After these divisions had taken place, the attorney-general stated his case in support of the bill. His statement occupied two days, the 19th and 21st of August. As it was ending, on the 21st, drums, trumpets, horns, and the shoutings of a tremendous multitude, announced the approach of her majesty. She entered the House of Lords. Then, in her presence, the examination of witnesses was commenced; and then—in a very few minutes—there was an incident and a scene. Upon hearing the clerk of the house call the name of Teodoro Majocchi, the third witness, the queen started from her seat with a faint cry, and rushed out of the house. This man had been her servant, and a close eye-witness of most of her proceedings for a long time. It was assumed by some that her emotion and her cry proceeded from conscious guilt, taken by surprise at the production of such a witness; it was reasoned by others that she might have been excited only by disgust and indignation at the ingratitude and treachery of an old servant.

The scandalous investigation went on, and day by day the disgusting reports of proceedings and examination of witnesses filled the newspapers, until it came to this—men who regarded the purity of their wives and daughters interdicted the journals in their houses. On the 7th of September the case against the queen was closed; and an adjournment took place to allow time to her counsel for preparing her defence. On the 3d of October, Mr. Brougham delivered the defence at great length and with astonishing eloquence and effect. He was ably followed by Mr. Williams. The examination of the queen's witnesses continued till the 24th of October. When

it was closed, Mr. Denman went over the whole case with vast ability, and with equal boldness. The witnesses against the queen had in some instances prevaricated; and although a good deal of their testimony was perfectly convincing (and particularly to such persons as had lived in Italy and were conversant with Italian manners), the case, in the apprehension of what was perhaps the majority of the nation, was left in that state which Scotch lawyers call "not proven." Yet none but political fanatics or utter enthusiasts in generosity and charity could doubt but that this daughter of a most ancient and illustrious house had, during her foreign sojourn and rambles, behaved with the greatest levity and indecorum. Those who judged of her with most severity were travellers who had followed her footsteps, or who had lived in Italy at the time that she had resided in that country; those who judged most favourably of her were such as had never quitted their own shores, who knew nothing of foreign life, and who knew nothing of her foreign story except what they took upon trust from the newspapers of the day. Dr. Lushington supported Mr. Denman. The king's attorney and solicitor-general occupied the 27th, 28th, 29th, and 30th, in replying. The bill of pains and penalties was read a second time on the 6th of November, by a majority of 123 to 95. The house having gone into committee, a discussion was raised on the divorce clause of the bill. Some bishops, and other supporters of the bill, resisted this clause from religious scruples, or from the dread that the queen would recriminate upon her husband. In fact, such recrimination had been threatened by Mr. Brougham at the very outset of the proceedings. But a parliamentary manœuvre was resorted to; the opposition peers voted for the divorce clause, and it was carried by a majority of 120 to 62. This majority proved highly injurious on the third reading. Many peers who would have voted for the bill without the divorce clause, voted against it when the divorce clause was made a part of the bill; and thus, on the 10th of November, the third reading was carried by only nine votes, the numbers dividing being 108 against 99. Lord Liverpool declared that, looking at this small majority, and at the state of the public feeling, he and his colleagues abandoned the bill. The house adjourned to the 26th of November. On that day, just as Mr. Denman was commencing to read a message from the queen, the usher of the black rod presented himself at the bar; and at this unexpected apparition, the speaker left the chair, and, followed by ministers and the members of the ministerial party, proceeded to the House of Lords, there to be informed that the session of parliament was prorogued by his majesty. And thus ended, in

defeat and disgrace to the king, an indecent, obscene contest, which had filled right-minded men with unutterable disgust, and which had made every Englishman residing or travelling on the Continent hold down his head and blush for his sovereign and his country.

The parliament of 1821, which commenced its session on the 23d of January, was characterized by the exhibition of a new spirit. From the late commotions it had perceived what was absolutely needed for the progress of the age and the wants of the nation, and that neither peace nor order could be assured until the demands of the nation were complied with. But before any step in this direction could be taken, it was felt that the present ministers must be got rid of; and for the purpose of defeating them, the Whigs coalesced with the Radicals, and adopted the queen's name as their watchword and signal of attack. Here, however, their calculations were at fault, for the queen's popularity was now on the wane. Calm reflection had succeeded the wild enthusiasm that had welcomed her to England, and her trial had convinced many of her warmest adherents that however free she had been from actual guilt, her conduct had been chargeable with much imprudence and indecorum. Accordingly, when Lord Archibald Hamilton moved for a vote of censure on ministers, for the omission of her majesty's name in the Liturgy, the motion was defeated by a large majority. Another motion of Lord Tavistock, for a direct censure on the whole of their proceedings in the case of her majesty, which was brought forward for the purpose of procuring the ejection of the ministers, was in like manner defeated. Thus also it fared with the third and last effort, by which it was proposed to replace her name in the Liturgy; it was decisively negatived. A more important proceeding was the introduction of the subject of parliamentary reform, which had been dinned into the ears of the legislature by the long and loud outcry from without, and which could no longer be safely neglected. One motion on the subject, which defeated itself by its own violence, was that of Mr. Lambton (afterwards Lord Durham), who proposed to divide the kingdom into elective districts, extend the franchise to every householder, and limit the duration of parliaments to three years. Another, and a more moderate one, was that of Lord John Russell, who proposed to extend the right of election to the more populous towns that were still unrepresented, and to disfranchise every borough which might thereafter be convicted of corruption. It was lost, indeed, but the subject itself was too firmly implanted to be rooted out, and after years of blight and storm, it was to produce the desired fruits. An earnest even already was afforded of this result, by the disfranchisement of the

borough of Grampound, from which the right of election was transferred to the county of York. It was a most important feature in the history of this session that the cause of parliamentary reform had commenced in it. Another question which in like manner was to wait its time, and be successful at last, was that of Catholic emancipation, which was brought forward by Mr. Plunkett on the 28th of February, and supported by Mr. Canning. It consisted of two bills, one for repealing Roman Catholic disabilities; the other, for securing the safety of the Protestant church, and the Protestant succession to the crown. They were thrown out in the lords, chiefly through the protest of the Duke of York, the presumptive heir to the throne. "Educated," said his royal highness, "in the principles of the Established church, the more I inquire, and the more I think, the more I am persuaded that her interests are inseparable from those of the constitution. I consider her as an integral part of that constitution; and I pray that she may long remain so. At the same time, there is no man less an enemy to toleration than myself; but I distinguish between the allowance of the free exercise of religion, and the granting of political power." By these sentiments the duke took the place of his venerated father, and was recognized as the head of those who were opposed to Catholic emancipation.

While these important parliamentary proceedings were going forward, the tables of both houses continued to be inundated with petitions in behalf of the queen. The opening speech had recommended a suitable provision to be made for her, instead of that which she had enjoyed as Princess of Wales; but she had expressed her firm determination to accept of no settlement while her name was omitted in the Liturgy. Not deterred by this declaration, £50,000 had been voted to her for life; and after some demur, the pressure of poverty prevailed: she consented to accept the boon, and by doing so lost much of that popularity which her previous rejection had procured for her. But the coronation, which her arrival had delayed, must now be solemnized at every risk, for George IV. valued the pomp of royalty more than even its power, and he could not feel himself "every inch a king" until his head had been surmounted by the crown. The 19th of July was therefore fixed for the pageant; and here the queen had determined to take her final stand. On the 25th of June, she lodged her claim to be crowned, like her royal predecessors, and her claim was ably supported by her law advisers, Messrs. Brougham and Denman; but after a long antiquarian and historical exploration, it was found that the coronation of a king did not necessarily imply that of his consort, and that

since the reign of Henry VIII. only six out of thirteen queen-consorts had been crowned; so that, on the strength of these precedents, her claim as a right was rejected. Caroline then wrote to Lord Sidmouth, stating her determination to be present at the ceremony, and desiring that a suitable place should be provided for her accommodation; and when this was refused, she made a similar application to the Duke of Norfolk, as Earl-marshal of England, but with the same result. Rejected in these appeals, she now tried one that looked like downright insanity; she requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to crown her alone on the following week, while the Abbey of Westminster was in preparation for the final ceremony, which could be done without further national expense. But to her letter containing such a singular request, the astonished primate returned the following brief reply:—"The Archbishop of Canterbury has the honour to acknowledge with all humility the receipt of her majesty's communication. Her majesty is undoubtedly aware that the archbishop cannot stir a single step in the subject matter of it without the commands of the king."

The coronation took place, with unwonted splendour and magnificence, on the 19th of July. The queen resolved to be present, or to make a scene by seeking admittance in the eyes of the people. It is said that the more prudent of her friends endeavoured to dissuade her; but it is to be apprehended that most of those who surrounded her, and who were making use of her merely for party or factious purposes, without any regard to the shock her feelings might sustain, strongly urged her to go down to the Abbey. She went, and stopping before the Abbey door, was there refused admittance by the door-keepers and military officers on guard. She then wandered round the Abbey walls, in a vain search of some other entrance, and having thus exhibited her humiliation, she retired through the dense multitude, applauded by some, but hissed and hooted and called foul names by others. It has been concluded that this was her death-blow; but for many months she had been living in a state of excitement sufficient to kill a younger and stronger woman. She expired at Brandenburg House on the 7th of August; having directed that her only epitaph should be—"Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England." Blood was shed almost over her coffin. Ministers had ordered that the funeral procession, which was to proceed from Brandenburg House towards Harwich (where the body was to be embarked for Brandenburg), should make a circuit, in order to avoid passing through the populous parts of London, where some rioting was to be feared. On arriving at Kensington,

the procession, finding every road but that leading through London blocked up or barricaded by the mob, was obliged to take part of the forbidden route, intending, however, to get into the high north road by passing through Hyde Park. The park gate by Apsley House was found closed and barricaded, but it was soon forced open by the military; and, followed by a rabble, the funeral procession moved up to the Cumberland gate of the park. This upper gate was also barricaded, and the mob seemed to be determined to prevent its being opened, for they stood in a dense mass behind their barricade, and some of them threw stones and pieces of brick-bat at the soldiery. A conflict ensued, in which two of the mob were shot dead on the spot—one by a common soldier, and one by an officer of the guards. The gate being at length forced open, the procession would have moved along the Edgware Road, and have soon reached the quiet open country; but the mob renewed the conflict with a very unusual show of resoluteness; their shouts and shrieks were terrific; and to prevent bloodshed, the directing civil magistrate, Sir Richard Birnie, after consulting with some of the military, gave orders that the mob should have their own way. The corpse was then borne right through London, and no very serious mischief happened. But the government forthwith dismissed Sir Richard Birnie, and also deprived that distinguished officer, Sir Robert Wilson, of his commission in the army, for having remonstrated with some soldiers and an officer on duty. Sir Robert's disgrace or deprivation continued until the accession of William IV.

After the coronation, the king was impatient to visit the more distant parts of his dominions; and on the 11th of August—four days after the queen's decease—he set sail for Ireland, and landed at Howth on the following afternoon. His arrival threw the Irish into a delirium of loyalty, and they hoped all kinds of impossible blessings from the event, of which boundless plenty and uninterrupted peace occupied the foreground. It is needless to add how their hopes were disappointed, and how the reaction only deepened the general poverty and disorder. Heralded by shouting mobs, and scattering his smiles and compliments among all classes, he entered Dublin on the 17th; and when the accounts reached him of the riots at the funeral procession of the queen, he expressed himself in no gentle terms about his ministers, for not making better arrangements for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. The king left Ireland on the 7th of September, after making a proclamation exhorting the people to mutual agreement; but at his departure the national disturbances were resumed with double violence, while this unmeaning visit was blamed by the Irish as the cause of their suf-

ferings and misfortunes. After resting a few days in London, George IV. embarked at Gravesend, on the 20th of September, to visit his Hanoverian dominions, the capital of which he entered on the 11th of October, after travelling from Calais, where he landed, through Lisle, Brussels, Osnaburg, and Nieuburg. Here he spent ten days, and here also he enjoyed the pleasures of a second coronation; while he secured the affections of his German subjects by adopting their manners and using their language, so that, unaccustomed to such royal condescension from their former sovereigns, they regarded him as the *beau idéal* of a patriot king.

Notwithstanding these royal tours and public pageantries, which at other times might have arrested public attention and animated the national spirit, the general depression still continued, and the year 1822 had arrived without realizing the hopes which seven long years of peace seemed to have warranted. Considerable distress was felt among landlords and farmers. Owing to the accelerated return to cash payments, which the government had insisted upon, the value of money rose, and the prices of agricultural produce fell still lower. There had been great county meetings, and many petitions had been presented to government, praying for some relief to the agricultural distress. To increase their strength, ministers opened the doors of office to the Grenville-Wynne party. Lord Grenville retired from public life, and the Marquis of Buckingham, as chief of the party and leader of the landholders, was created a duke. Mr. Charles Wynne was made president of the board of control. At this time Lord Sidmouth also retired, and was succeeded in the home department by Mr. Peel. This latter change proved of inestimable benefit to government and the country. Lord Wellesley, who entertained very liberal principles, was appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in the place of Lord Talbot.

The king opened the session of parliament on the 5th of February. His speech dwelt upon the distresses of the landed interest, and upon a new spirit of riot and outrage in Ireland; and his majesty recommended parliament to consider of the best means to restore order and law in that country. The Marquis of Londonderry (Castlereagh), who had succeeded to this title upon the death of his father, introduced two bills for re-establishing the insurrection act, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act in Ireland. Both were passed without difficulty.

Lord Wellesley had the satisfaction of soon seeing an end put to the Irish outrages; but he could not control the seasons; and a dreadful famine came on, produced by the failure of the harvest, and especially of the potato crop. The

southern and western counties suffered most. Government hastened to abate these horrors, sending over £500,000 to be placed at the disposal of Lord Wellesley, and to be dispensed by him in charitable relief or in public works. Private benevolence came to the aid of national generosity. Great subscriptions were raised in England and Scotland; and wherever there was an English colony or settlement, or any place where a few Englishmen were congregated, some money was raised for the suffering people of Munster and Connaught.

It was conceived that Mr. Canning, by his conduct in the matter of the unfortunate queen, had given mortal offence to the king. The fact may be doubted. Mr. Canning was now appointed to succeed the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-general of India. As an exciting and noble leave-taking of the House of Commons, this illustrious orator, on the 30th of April, moved for leave to bring in a bill which should restore to Catholic peers their right of sitting and voting in the House of Lords. He had spoken so frequently on the Catholic question, that it seemed difficult for him to introduce any fresh matter or novel illustration; but the genius of Canning was never so bright as now; and genius can make old things new, and give fresh, vivid, and startling illustrations to that which is trite. He was strongly opposed by Mr. Peel, who professed himself unable to discover any valid reason for exempting Roman Catholic peers from political restrictions to which a whole community, professing the same religion, were subject by law. Mr. Charles Wetherell was against partial concessions to the Catholics. If this bill passed, Catholic commoners would naturally expect to be admitted into parliament next year, and without restrictions. He would rather deal with the measure of emancipation *in toto* than in this mutilated form. Mr. Canning's bill passed the commons by a small majority of five voices, but it was thrown out by the lords.

Early in the session Mr. Brougham moved that the landed interest should be relieved by an extensive reduction of taxes. This motion, being opposed by ministers, was negatived. On the 18th of February Lord Londonderry procured the appointment of the agricultural committee; and, on the 29th of April, in pursuance of a report of this committee, his lordship proposed a plan of relief—the repeal of the annual malt-tax, and a loan of £1,000,000 by exchequer bills to the landed interest, upon the security of warehoused corn. This scheme of relief was ultimately agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer (Vansittart) produced some financial schemes, which were not very successful, and which were afterwards re-

modelled; but in the course of the session an important reduction of taxes, exceeding £3,000,000, was effected.

The king in person prorogued parliament on the 6th of August, and on the 10th he embarked at Greenwich for Scotland. As his majesty was sailing from England to Ireland he had received the news of the death of his wife; and now, as he was sailing from England to Scotland, he received intelligence of a death which affected him much more—the deplorable suicide of Lord Londonderry. This high-spirited and, in private life, most amiable nobleman, had been overwrought and over-excited. As the king left London for Scotland, the Marquis of Londonderry withdrew, in a very excited state, to his pleasant villa at North Cray, in Kent, and there, on the 12th of August, he destroyed himself by cutting the carotid artery with a sixpenny penknife, which he had bought for the purpose a day or two before. Thus lamentably perished, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, an honest and fearless minister, one of the handsomest and most elegant of men, whether of his own or of any other time—the most amiable and attaching of men in private life—the warmest, and at the same time the steadiest of friends. A shameless rabble rout, with their heads muddled by gin and radical newspapers, set up a demoniacal yell as his lordship's coffin was removed from the hearse to be conveyed into the interior of Westminster Abbey. But let not this un-English display rest upon us as a national reproach; it was but the deed of a few ruffians and drunkards, and the universal disgust expressed at it cleared the national character.

The death of Lord Londonderry compelled a remodelling of the cabinet. The place of leader in the House of Commons was left vacant, and must be filled. Who could presume to fill it while Mr. Canning was in life, and yet in England? Prejudices and objections were removed, all obstacles were levelled by the necessity of the times, and Mr. Canning, relinquishing his splendid India appointment, took the high office of secretary for foreign affairs.

The Duke of Wellington consented to fill Lord Londonderry's place at the congress of Verona, and repaired to Italy early in October. Mr. Canning, as secretary, may have somewhat modified the foreign policy of Lord Londonderry, and may have entertained the earnest wish of restricting despotism and of encouraging constitutional principles on the Continent; but the time had not come for action; England was not disposed to bully when she could not act; the liberal party on the Continent generally—all pupils of the French school, violent, anarchic—had little real claim on the sympathies of Englishmen; and

the Duke of Wellington acted at Verona precisely as Lord Londonderry would have done if he had lived to be there: he protested against conduct and views which he considered wrong or excessive, he refused the countenance of his government to the hostile projects entertained by Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France against the Spanish constitutionalists, and he recommended to those sovereigns circumspection and moderation in other quarters. Up to this point there had been, and there could have been, very little change effected by Mr. Canning, who had been for so very short a time in office. The bolder tone in foreign policy was adopted at a later period. Now, peace was to be preserved, and no stronger measure resorted to than that of an occasional protest. Lord Londonderry had been equally prepared for protests, and neither more nor less anxious for the preservation of peace. A certain party, who had been eternally clamouring for peace when war was necessary, would have now rushed into war when a continuance of peace was indispensable; and in such a war as they contemplated, England would have had no other ally than a disorganized band of revolutionists, Carbonari, and other secret-society men and anarchists. As if to precipitate a war of this kind, an amount of insult was heaped upon the heads of the continental sovereigns which has perhaps never been surpassed. Their system and procedure had in many instances been most censurable, but the liberals ought to have come in for a share of the blame; and if these intemperate, and, in good part, unprincipled reformers had been enabled to establish a system of their own, it may be doubted if Europe would have been benefited by the change.

On the question of a possible interference in the affairs of Spain, Mr. Canning was very decided; though even here he did not contemplate any resort to war. He wrote to the Duke of Wellington:—

“If there be a determined project to interfere, by force or by menace, in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his majesty's government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference—so objectionable does it appear to them in principle, as well as utterly impracticable in execution, that when the necessity arises, or (I would rather say) when the opportunity offers, I am to instruct your grace at once frankly and peremptorily to declare, that to any such interference, come what may, his majesty will not be a party.”

Strong opinions were expressed in the congress of Verona as to the origin and tendency of the Spanish revolution, which was considered as the proximate cause of all the other revolutions of the years 1820 and 1821, with the single excep-

tion of the rising of the Greeks against their Ottoman masters. It was urged by the sovereigns and ministers of Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France, that no governments would be safe if military revolt was to be sanctioned; that civil political reforms were begun with a bad grace by the soldiery; that if some check were not put to secret societies the whole of Europe would be disorganized; that the liberals of Spain were exercising far more cruelty and oppression than had ever been known under the unconstitutional government of Ferdinand VII.; that the example set by these revolutionists must produce disastrous effects in other countries, and that their excesses would be fatal to their own country, ending in anarchy and carnage, which no man could contemplate without horror, and of which none could calculate the possible or probable duration. France, as bordering upon Spain, and as containing within her own bosom the ready elements of discord and civil war, considered herself most immediately interested in this question. She advanced many arguments in justification of an interference by force of arms; but she did not openly declare, at the congress of Verona, that she was determined to attempt such interference.

As to the re-settlement of Italy, which had been completely effected before the congress of Verona assembled, England had little to say and nothing to do. Yet was it made evident to all in that congress that the British government and people would have beheld with satisfaction a settlement of that beautiful peninsula made upon less despotic principles.

The affairs of Greece, which will come under notice hereafter, were submitted to much discussion; but the congress then ended without adopting any very positive resolutions on that head. The Greeks were left to continue their struggle for independence, and no remonstrance was offered to the Turkish government on the dreadful cruelties exercised by some of its armies against a Christian people. In truth, that Christian people had betrayed a spirit quite as cruel as that of the Mahometans. Some serious apprehensions had been entertained of a war between the czar and the sultan, for the Russians were co-religionists of the Greeks; they had lent a selfish assistance to the Greeks in their former insurrections; and ever since the days of the Empress Catherine they had counted upon the Greeks as powerful instruments for opening their own way to Constantinople. This war between Russia and Turkey was prevented for the present by the deliberations at Verona; and this in reality was the one great act of that great congress, which left other things to run their natural course, and which advanced no new principle nor

proposed any new arrangement whatsoever. The style of compliment adopted in this congregation of sovereigns bordered in some instances upon the ridiculous. The old Bourbon, Ferdinand of Naples, though he had his good qualities, and no small share of humour and untrained sagacity, was notoriously the least educated, and the most thoughtless, indolent, and ignorant king in all Europe; but, as he chanced to be the oldest of the kings that met at Verona, they called him the Nestor of that royal congress. Upon the whole, the grand assemblage may be said to have been a vapid, unmeaning affair. The wordy and flowery Chateaubriand, who was present as a French negotiator, has turned it into a book, and into a romance.

The visit of George IV. to Scotland, viewed as a conciliatory act of royalty, was of greater importance than political calculations could have promised. It gratified the national pride of the Scots, and roused their old feudal affections for the descendant and representative of their ancient dynasty of kings. It edged anew the loyalty of the well-affected, and abated the rancour of political discontent and the extravagances of radical reform. No king had visited their bleak and barren land since the undesirable advent of Charles I. in 1617; and on account of this neglect, it was felt as if Scotland was unthought of, or merely regarded as an English province or county. When tidings, therefore, arrived that their sovereign was about to visit them, every town, village, and hamlet—the remotest of Scottish isles and the most secluded of Highland straths—were roused at the intelligence, and all poured forth their populations into the ancient capital of the kingdom, to grace his court and welcome his arrival. It was an occasion on which the regal bearing and frank debonnair manner of George IV. had their fairest field for action, and the people forgot his faults and follies in the elegance with which he played his part, and the cordiality with which he received their enthusiastic homage. On the 14th of August, the royal yacht and its accompanying war vessels cast anchor in Leith Roads; and on the following day the king landed, and went in state to Edinburgh, and to the home of his ancestors, the venerable palace of Holyrood, while not only every street, window, and house-top, but the neighbouring fields, Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, the Calton Hill, might be said to contain the population of the kingdom itself, who with a nation's universal voice welcomed his coming among them. It was a reception such as might well compensate for the scoffs and groans of the London mobs. During his sojourn of a fortnight in Scotland, the king, who took up his residence in Dalkeith Palace, within six miles of Edinburgh, held frequent

levees at Holyrood, and in that brief space he purchased an amount of popularity which years of substantial favours, if churlishly accorded, would have failed to secure. Nor was this visit without its substantial benefits, independently of the public impulse it had imparted. Several of the Scottish peerages had been attained through the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and their hereditary owners were still in the condition of commoners, through the errors of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. But now their case was taken into account, and in the following year the attainders were reversed, by which they were restored to the rank of nobility. It was a boon happily selected, by its appeal to the ancient feudality and historical remembrances of Scotland—feelings to which her people clung the more intensely, that they still formed part and parcel of their national identity. Another

gift fully as national was accorded during the same year. From the wide extent of the Highlands, and the smallness of the population, the parish churches were few and far between, so that many persons found it difficult to partake in the public ordinances of religion, and whole families were utterly deprived of them. An act of parliament was accordingly passed in 1823, for the erection of forty or more churches in the more destitute of the Highland localities, with a manse for the minister, and a stipend of £120 a year. In this way the religious and presbyterian, as well as the patriotic feelings of the Scots, were gratified by the visit of George IV. It was an auspicious introduction to the happy change which was to commence in less than a quarter of a century, when Scotland was to become not a place of casual advent, but a home of royalty.

CHAPTER XIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1823—1826.

GEORGE IV.

State of the country at the commencement of 1823—Peaceful policy of Mr. Canning—French invasion of Spain—Spanish revolution—British protest against a foreign invasion of the Spanish colonies in America—Inutility of British interference in behalf of Spain—Prohibition of a French conquest of the Spanish-American colonies—Motion on the Catholic claims—Quarrel on the question between Canning and Brougham—Improvements in our penal code—Parliamentary resolutions in behalf of negro slaves—Uproar occasioned by them in our West India colonies—Rebellion in Demerara—Case of the Rev. John Smith—Gratifying prospects at the commencement of 1824—Sudden influx of prosperity—Pacific policy of Britain in its foreign relationships—Parliamentary proceedings in favour of free trade—Renewal of the alien bill—Spanish affairs—The Dey of Algiers reduced to submission—War in Africa with the Ashantees—Charles X. becomes King of France—Suppression of unlawful associations in Ireland—Duke of York's opposition to the Catholic claims—Removal of restrictions on free trade—Abatement of taxes—The mercantile crash of 1825—Its causes—Its alarming effects—Remedies adopted by government—Gradual abatement of the panic—A dearth—Means adopted to supply the deficiency—State of Portugal—Its new constitution—A fresh revolution menaced through French and Spanish aid—Necessity of British interference—Mr. Canning's eloquent speech on the occasion—A British expedition sent to Portugal—The revolution prevented—Unfortunate state of the affairs of Greece—Nefarious proceedings of speculators with the contributions for Greek aid—Indian affairs—Burmese war—Its origin—Aggressions of the Burmese—Their defeat in several encounters—Rangoon captured by the British—Sir Archibald Campbell's successes over the Burmese near Rangoon—He defeats them at Kemendine—Death of the Burmese commander—His army disperses—Continuation of the campaign—Melloon captured by the British—Victory of Sir Archibald Campbell over the Burmese at Pagham-mew—The Burmese sue for peace—Terms on which it is granted—Advantages of the treaty to the British empire in India.



HE year 1823 opened with better prospects for the country than those of several years past. In the financial report it was announced that the revenue exceeded the expenditure by £7,000,000, of which £5,000,000 was to be applied to the payment of the debt, and the remaining £2,000,000 to the reduction of taxes. Trade and manufactures were improving, and the distresses of the farmers abating; while the government of Mr. Canning, now secretary for foreign affairs, was strengthened

by the accession of two of his supporters to office. These were, Mr. Frederick Robinson, who was made chancellor of the exchequer in the room of Mr. Vansittart, who became Lord Bexley, and Mr. Huskisson, who was appointed president of the board of trade. The violence of radical reform, and the frequency of mob-meetings had also abated; the spirit that had inspired them was finding a more chivalrous outlet in volunteerings upon the fields of Greece, Spain, and Portugal, and vehement protests against the proceedings of the Holy Alliance. But to secure the promised

benefit, a peaceful policy was necessary, and to this Mr. Canning strictly adhered. He had no sympathies with the congress of Verona, although it was necessary for the present that Britain should be represented there; and as for that dangerous conspiracy of kings against the liberties of nations—the Holy Alliance—his hopes were, that by silently withdrawing from it the aid and countenance of Britain, it would dissolve and pass away.

The session of parliament was opened by commission on the 4th of February, and the speech gave general satisfaction. This was especially the case when his majesty declared that he would be no party to those proceedings of the congress of Verona which sanctioned the interference of foreigners with the internal affairs of Spain, and that he would use his best endeavours to avert the calamities of war between that country and France. But France had decided for war; and the armed *cordon sanitaire* became an army of invasion, that crossed the Spanish frontiers for the purpose of suppressing the liberal constitution which the patriots of Spain had enforced upon their king at the sword-point, and for restoring that unworthy Bourbon to all the despotic power which he had so grossly abused. This aggression roused the opposition in the British parliament, more especially as they had hoped that this would be a signal for an armed intervention in behalf of Spain, and a remonstrance with the Holy Alliance, by whom the invasion was encouraged. But such interference, besides incurring the risk of a fresh European war, would have been useless for Spain, the bulk of whose population knew nothing about liberty, and preferred the old regime of priestship and kingship. It was necessary in this case for Mr. Canning to explain and justify his principle of non-intervention, and this he did on the 14th of April. He showed how all the attempts of British mediation had failed, and how necessary it was to adopt a system of entire neutrality. He then pointed out the conduct which must be pursued in reference to Portugal and the South American colonies of Spain, in the event of certain contingencies. Should Portugal unite with Spain in repelling the French, Britain would have no call to interfere; but if Portugal, remaining quiescent, should be attacked, we must then come forward to support the independence of our ancient and faithful ally. As for the South American colonies, it was clear that Spain, though still claiming them, had lost all power over them. If in the course of the war, Mr. Canning added, France should capture any of them, so that it became at last a question whether they should be ceded, and to whom, it would be necessary for all parties to know the mind of the Bri-

tish government upon the subject, which was to the following effect:—that she “considered the separation of the colonies from Spain to have been effected to such a degree, that she would not tolerate for an instant any cession which Spain might make of colonies over which she did not exercise a direct and positive influence. To such a declaration the British government had at last been forced.”

These sentiments of forbearance were little relished by the friends of Spanish patriotism, both in parliament and out of it; and, notwithstanding their past experience, their hopes of the regeneration of Spain were as high as they had ever been at the commencement of the peninsular war in 1808. Their national pride was touched, as they had looked upon their own country as the champion of liberty, and the bright exemplar of nations that were struggling to be free. The invasion of Spain also was so wanton and unjustifiable, that every heroic and disinterested feeling was enlisted on the side of the oppressed. Indignant remonstrances followed, and a motion was made in the upper house, by Lord Ellenborough, for an address to his majesty, strongly condemning the conduct of France and the other allied powers, as well as of the British cabinet, in requiring Spain to alter her constitution at their dictation; but it was shown that ministers had used every effort to prevent this attack upon Spanish liberty, and the motion was thrown out by a very large majority. The same was the fate of a similar motion introduced into the House of Commons, after a debate which lasted three nights. On this occasion, Mr. Canning's arguments were so eloquent and convincing, and his statements so clear, that he satisfied the house that everything had been done which duty and sound policy required in our transactions with Spain and the allied powers. To avoid the shame of a defeat, the opposition members sought to leave the house in a body; but their purpose being perceived, some ministerial members called for a division, and about twenty found themselves shut up in the lobby, while attempting to make their escape. They were therefore obliged to pass muster as an opposition, and were out-voted by 372. Subsequent events showed the wisdom of our forbearance in regard to the affairs of Spain. Within a month after Mr. Canning had advocated and explained its propriety, the French army entered Madrid, having traversed the country almost without resistance; the royalists themselves being fully a match for the constitutionalists, the Spanish revolution was swept away, and the king was restored amidst the welcomes of his subjects, and the plaudits which they bestowed upon the French as his liberators. Nor was the warning to Britain contained in Spanish affairs

exclusively; for as soon as the French army had advanced into Spain, their march was a signal to the Portuguese royalists, headed by the queen, and her second son, Dom Miguel, who on the 2d of June destroyed the flimsy constitution which had been set up, and Miguel, by the deposition of his father, became king, with absolute irresponsible power.

Having been so successful in their Spanish aggressions, which they had commenced with doubt and hesitation, the French now contemplated the reconquest of the Spanish American colonies, for the purpose of restoring them to the dominion of the mother country. But here the forbearance of Britain was at an end, and Canning interposed. "We will not," he said, "interfere with Spain in any attempt which she may make to reconquer what were once her colonies, but we will not permit any third power to attack or reconquer them for her." Accordingly, in October, he applied to the French government for an explanation of its intentions regarding these colonies. The answer of the French minister, the Prince de Polignac, was in the true spirit of the Holy Alliance school of politics. He could not understand, in the present divided and distracted state of these colonies, what was meant by recognizing their independence, and thought that giving such a recognition while there was no solid established government among them, would be nothing less than a real sanction of anarchy. It was for the interest of humanity, he added, and especially of the colonies themselves, that the European governments should concert measures for stilling the contentions of these remote regions, and restoring them to a principle of union in government, whether monarchical or aristocratical. To this the reply of Mr. Canning was, "that however desirable the establishment of a monarchical form of government in any of these provinces might be on the one hand, or whatever might be the difficulties in the way of it on the other hand, his government could not take upon itself to put it forward as a condition of their recognition." The hopes of conquests in South America, whether for Spain or herself, which France had entertained, were dispelled, and her warlike preparations for the purpose arrested. Having thus vindicated the right of a people to choose the form of government under which they preferred to live, instead of having one thrust upon them by a foreign power, the British government recognized the independence of these colonies, by appointing consuls at their different ports, an example which was soon afterwards followed by the United States of America.

This was the most important parliamentary business of the session; the rest of it may be dis-

missed with a more summary notice. On the 17th of April, Mr. Plunkett moved for a committee on the Catholic claims, but the motion was lost. This incident would be unworthy of mention, but for the quarrel it originated between the two most distinguished members of



GEORGE CANNING — From a portrait by Sir T. Lawrence

parliament. Mr. Canning, during the debate, was reproached by Mr. Brougham with monstrous truckling and political tergiversation, in having accepted office by the abandonment of the Catholic question, upon which the accused party slowly and indignantly exclaimed, "I rise to say that it is false!" The expression was utterly unparliamentary, and the speaker interfered, but for no persuasion would Mr. Brougham explain away his imputation, or Mr. Canning retract "his sentiment." By the law of the house, the two recusants would have been committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms; and by the law of modern honour they would afterwards have been compelled to bring their quarrel to deadly arbitrament. Happily, however, the knot was loosed by an unusual stretch of explanation, when it was alleged that the charge of Mr. Brougham referred, not to the private, but political character of Mr. Canning. Such an event, however, arising out of the Catholic controversy, showed that the worst parts of the *odrum theologicum* are not necessarily confined to clerical conclaves.

The great work of purifying our penal code was still going onward, and on the 21st of May, Sir James Mackintosh moved several resolutions, the first of which was the abolition of the penalty of death for larcenies committed in shops and dwelling-houses, and on navigable rivers.

His proposals were negatived; but four bills were afterwards brought in by Mr. Peel, by which the sentence of death was exchanged for hard labour in several offences short of murder. In the same month a bill passed for the abolition of the barbarous and ignominious law respecting the funeral of suicides; and it was now judged sufficient that they should be buried in private, without the usual religious rites. In the same month, Mr. Peel's currency bill of 1819 came into operation; but the Bank was prepared for the difficulty, and had already commenced its payments in specie.

During the session, the advocates of the abolition of negro slavery were not idle, and on the 15th of May, Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton moved, "That the state of slavery is repugnant to the principles of the British constitution, and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be abolished gradually throughout the British colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned." It was expected that this resolution being adopted, not only the present condition of slaves would be ameliorated, but that all their children born after a certain assigned date would be declared free. Mr. Canning, who upon the question of abolition steered a middle course, proposed resolutions which on the whole were favourable to the motion of Mr. Buxton. These were declaratory of the fitness of immediately ameliorating the condition of the British slave population, of the hope that such amelioration might fit the slaves for freedom, and of the desire of the house that these objects should be accomplished at the earliest period that was consistent with the safety of all parties. These resolutions were carried without a division; and although they fell short of the mark, they were hailed with triumph by the abolitionists, who had thus got more than they really expected. But very different were the feelings of the West India interest, who saw in these resolutions the defeat of their cause, the approaching extinction of negro slavery, and the subversion of what they claimed as their rights of property; and in the sugar islands of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and in Demerara, the planters refused compliance, indignantly talked of rebellion, and threatened to establish their own independence. These were big, and in most cases empty words; but in Demerara a deed was done during this year which showed what they would have attempted had their power but seconded their wishes—a deed, also, which, more than any other, tended to deepen the odium of negro slavery, and accelerate the progress of emancipation. John Smith, a Methodist clergyman, had officiated as a missionary in that colony for seven years, and

his negro flock were distinguished for their sobriety, orderly conduct, industry, and piety. But just before these regulations came into action, the governor of Demerara commenced a crusade against all sectaries, by issuing a prohibition of negroes attending public worship, except by means of a pass from their owners; and as this was a virtual prohibition of attending any church except that by law established, the negroes rose in rebellion, but without committing bloodshed, and in two days after the rebellion was suppressed with unrelenting severity. And now came the trial of Mr. Smith, who had nothing to do with the rebellion, and whose teaching had inspired it with so gentle and forbearing a character; and although nothing could be established against him, he was condemned to death. He was not publicly executed, indeed, the sentence being remitted by the home government, but before the remission arrived he died of an imprisonment so close and unwholesome, that it was nothing else than an execution by protracted torture. Even his widow had to attend the funeral of her martyred husband by stealth, for the governor had prohibited her performance of this last duty, and had ordered her apprehension if she attempted it; and when two negroes of Mr. Smith's congregation attempted to rail in and cover over the grave of their pastor, the brickwork was dislodged, and the paling torn down by official orders. In no way could the slaveholders and their supporters have more effectually damaged their cause, and insured its destruction; the guilt of a martyr's death was laid at its door, and the public voice of Britain pronounced its condemnation.

Although the previous year had been an improvement upon the past in the progress of our national recovery, the prospects of the nation at the opening of 1824 were more gratifying still; employment for the working classes was abundant, and food was at a moderate price. The cotton and woollen manufactures were in great demand, and the opening of the South American markets promised a large increase to our commerce. Even the complaints of the land-owners, who were benefited by this mercantile reaction, became less loud and frequent. From the statement of the chancellor of the exchequer it also appeared that there was an improvement in our finance, so that there remained a clear balance of £1,710,985 over the expenditure, independently of the established sinking fund of £5,000,000. The removal had been gradual, but since the peace of 1815, £20,000,000 of taxes had been repealed. This increased the incomes of individuals and the means of industrial activity. The public prosperity was evidenced in the vast increase of domestic comfort, in the abundance of capital,

and in the consequent low rate of interest. The Bank of England reduced its rate on advances, and other great companies followed the example. In this rapid falling of interest in the money-market, capitalists were induced to seek foreign investments, which promised a higher percentage. There was scarcely a state in the Old or the New World for which loans were not raised on our Stock Exchange. Ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five per cent., without good security, was preferred to the humble three and a half or four per cent., with the infallible security of the British government and the national faith. In the prosperity of this year was prepared the panic of 1825.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 3d of February; and the opening speech congratulated the United Kingdom on the prosperity it was enjoying, and on the state of public affairs at home and abroad. The Marquis of Lansdowne deplored the fate of Spain, and censured the British cabinet for not remonstrating with more energy, and for not advancing more rapidly towards a recognition of the independence of South America. In the commons Mr. Brougham went over the same and some more ground, censuring the Austrians in Italy as much as Ferdinand and the French in Spain; but in the midst of these censures the orator expressed, more strongly and pointedly than had ever been done, the belief that the amount of our national debt must preclude us from war. "England," said he, "stands bound over in recognizances of £800,000,000 to keep the peace." This expression, which could have been uttered only by a man of genius, sank deep in the public mind, and was often quoted in bar of the foreign policy which Mr. Brougham and his party continued to recommend. If that policy had been pursued war would have become inevitable, or England must have sunk to the degraded character of a bully—to a protest-uttering machine—to an encourager of insurrection and revolution abroad, but devoid of the means or intention of supporting her friends and disciples. The opposite policy of Mr. Canning was sanctioned by large majorities.

The new chancellor of the exchequer announced that the public revenue continued to improve. Further steps were taken towards the free-trade system. The protecting duties between Ireland and Britain were repealed; the laws respecting the silk-trade were altered; and the absolute prohibition on foreign manufactured silks was removed, and a considerable blow thus struck at smuggling. Commercial treaties were entered into with the Netherlands, Prussia, and Sweden. It was agreed that the four per cents. should be reduced to three and a half. Injudicious bounties,

which had never done any good, were removed. It had been a reproach to the British government for many ages that so little had been done for the encouragement either of literature or of the fine arts. In a trading country everything had been left to be done upon the commercial principle, or by private effort and private munificence. Ministers would not see—and they will not yet see—that the commercial principle is altogether inapplicable to the production of many of the highest intellectual things which a nation requires. In the course of this session, however, the sum of £57,000 was voted to the purchase of Mr. Angerstein's collection of pictures for the public, to serve as the foundation of a national gallery.

The renewal of the alien bill was resisted by Sir James Mackintosh and others. The powers granted by the bill seemed, however, necessary at a time when England was becoming the refuge of half the fiery spirits of the Continent, and the bill was renewed; yet were its powers exercised in only one single case, and that case had no relation to politics. The refugees from Italy and Spain were treated with especial kindness and hospitality by government as well as by the people: had it not been for public and private charity, many thousands of them must have starved in the streets of London. Pity it is that more of them did not, during their long residence in England, learn more moderation and political wisdom than they have since shown! Seven years of exile and proscription would have been more than compensated for, if the men who have since revolutionized and ruled in Spain had learned the real workings of a constitutional form of government, and the means by which a people is fitted for such government.

The offence of engaging in the slave-trade was now declared piracy, subject to be punished with death. A dangerous spirit of insubordination manifested itself amongst the negroes in our West Indian colonies, arising out of the mistaken idea that parliament had decreed their emancipation, and that the colonial houses of assembly were opposed to the execution of the measure. The session of parliament was closed by the king in person on the 25th of June.

Much as the intervention of the French in the affairs of Spain had been abused, it was indisputably owing to the presence of their troops that the mad vindictive fury of the royalists was restrained, and that any tranquillity was enjoyed in the country. By a third convention, concluded in the month of December, the number of the French army of occupation was reduced to 22,000 men. No period was fixed for the duration of this occupation. An insane attempt made by Valdez and some other constitutionalists upon

Tarifa, ended in court-martials, extensive shootings, and imprisonments.

The Dey of Algiers had been at least as unable as he had been unwilling to put a stop to piracy and Christian slavery. He involved himself in a quarrel with the British consul, who was constantly remonstrating with him; and when an Algerine ship was examined and captured for having seventeen Spanish slaves on board of her, war was declared against the Algerines. On the 24th of July, Sir H. Neill, our admiral in the Mediterranean, appeared off Algiers, with twenty-two ships of war, bombs, &c. The heart of the dey failed him; he implored to be allowed to negotiate; and he forthwith bound himself very solemnly to observe, and cause to be observed, every clause of the treaty which his predecessor had concluded with Lord Exmouth in 1816.

There was a new war on a grand scale in India,

to be more fully mentioned hereafter, which was proceeding with a good prospect of ultimate success; and there was a war on a very small scale on the coast of Africa, which was attended by disastrous circumstances. Being much troubled by the plundering and warlike Ashantees, Sir Charles Macarthy, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, prepared to march up the country against them. The barbarian king summoned all his vassal states to his standard, calling on them to arm against the English "the very fishes of the sea;" and he sent a message to tell Sir Charles that if he moved on he would flay off his skin and make a war-drum of it. Sir Charles did move, and it is said that the fierce African did by him what he had threatened. On the 21st of January, the governor—a very corpulent man, who had acted with remarkable want of military judgment—and the small force with him, were



CAPE COAST CASTLE.—From a view by W. Bartels 1841

surrounded in a hollow near the bank of a river, by 10,000 Ashantees. Sir Charles received a mortal wound in the breast from a musket-ball; and there was a terrible slaughter of officers and men. A hasty retreat was made upon Cape Coast Castle. On the 21st of May, Major Chisholm gained a victory over a great Ashantee army, but not until the barbarians had fought with great spirit for five hours. The king now died; but his brother, who succeeded him, was not less inveterate in his hostility to the English. He sent a message to Colonel Sutherland, who now held the command, importing that "if the walls of Cape Coast Castle were not high enough, the colonel ought to build them higher; and that if they were not sufficiently furnished with cannon, he ought to land those belonging to the ships of war; but that all he could do would not prevent the king from throwing the whole into the sea." Notwithstanding various threatening movements, the Ashantees did not venture upon an attack. After burning and destroying all the

villages near Cape Coast Castle, they withdrew a short distance into the interior. On the 4th of July a few fresh troops arrived from England; and on the 11th another fierce and long battle was fought. The Ashantees, who showed 16,000 fighting men on the field, suffered a terrible loss, and many of their greatest chiefs were killed or wounded. They very faintly renewed the combat on the 12th; but on the 20th they withdrew altogether.

Louis XVIII. of France died on the 16th of August in this year, and was succeeded by his brother, the Count d'Artois, under the name of Charles X. The first act of the reign of this unfortunate prince was of a popular character—it was an act of grace towards the anarchists, who, five years afterwards, drove him from his throne and from his country for ever. He published a decree, declaring that he did not judge it necessary to maintain any longer the measure which had been adopted under different circumstances against the abuses of the liberty of the press; and that

he, therefore, by the advice of his council, ordained that "the ordonnance of the 15th of August last, which enforced anew the laws of the 31st of March, 1820, and the 26th of July, 1821, should cease to have effect;" and thus the censorship of the newspaper press ceased once more in France. M. de Villèle was continued in power, and no material alteration was made in his cabinet. A very large portion of the press called Charles X. "the noble son of France, the model of honour and loyalty, the best prince that could have been called to reign over a loyal people."

The sixth session of the existing parliament was opened by commission on the 3d of February, 1825, and in the speech a gratifying picture was given of the state of public affairs, both foreign and domestic, with the exception of Ireland. There the Catholic Association had acquired such power as to occasion serious alarm to the ministers; but they felt that they could not justly suppress it, without suppressing the Orange societies also. Accordingly, a bill was introduced by Mr. Goulburn, "to amend the acts relating to unlawful associations in Ireland," which, after a keen opposition through four nights, was carried by a large majority. The Catholic Association accordingly closed its existence, but only to revive under a different but still more dangerous form, and to pursue bolder measures than ever. So little was the cause of Catholic emancipation affected by the passing of this bill, that the subject of the removal of civil disabilities from the Roman Catholics was again brought into parliament, and passed through the commons, the majority largely increasing at each step of the three readings. But on the 23d of April, and before it had passed its third reading, the Duke of York, while presenting a petition against it from the dean and chapter of Windsor to the lords, uttered his memorable protest, which for the time arrested the progress of the bill. "To the last moment of his life," he said of these claims, "he would oppose them, so help him God!" This decisive declaration from the heir presumptive to the throne, who was supposed also to express the sentiments of the king, was so effectual, that when the bill was brought into the House of Lords, it was lost by a majority of 178 to 130.

A more successful measure, effected during this session, was the removal of restrictions on the system of free trade. Already some concessions had been yielded in the trade between our colonies and the mother country, by which the former were allowed to participate in the advantages which had been exclusively confined to the latter. But this was not enough; and it was now alleged that the still continuing restrictions were equally injurious to the mother country and the colonies. In this state the whole

subject was brought under the review of parliament by Mr. Huskisson, on the 23d of March. It was against a great amount of old-established prejudice and many individual interests that he boldly took the field; but he successfully demon-



WILLIAM HUSKISSON

From the portrait by R. Rothwell, M.R.H.A.

strated, in a long and able speech, that those manufactures which had been the most highly cherished had languished the most—that excessive duties, while they produced disappointment to the manufacturer, and fraud against the exchequer, had only benefited the smuggler—and that the only true wisdom, as well as source of real profit, was to reduce these duties, so as sufficiently to counterbalance whatever might be imposed upon the raw material. His arguments were successful, and his proposals were adopted. By these our colonial ports were opened to all friendly powers on the same footing, with a few modifications, as those of Jersey and Ireland. Our trade and that of our colonies with the countries of South America was to be encouraged, by extending to certain colonial ports the regulations and immunities of the warehousing or bonding system. The large fees, also, which were levied in almost all their ports for the benefit of public officers, were abolished. The duty on sugar imported from the Mauritius was lowered to the same rate as that from the West Indies, and corn was allowed to be imported from Canada for the limited period of two years, on the payment of a moderate duty. This was much, but it was only a part of Mr. Huskisson's plan, the rest of which he brought forward on the 25th. It referred to the reduction of duties on the cotton, woollen, and linen trade; on foreign paper, books, and glass; on metallic substances, especially iron, copper, zinc, and lead; on raw materials used in our manufactures; and on foreign imported

wool. Mr. Huskisson also proposed the removal of quarantine duties, the abolition of all fees on commerce with our colonies, and the removal of duties payable on the transference of ships, or the shares of ships, from one owner to another. Not a few members were apprehensive of the consequences of so many and such important changes in our commercial system; but these propositions were approved of by the majority, and afterwards, when embodied in bills, were unanimously carried. Parliament, indeed, was buoyant in the prospect of general prosperity, and could well afford to be liberal; and as the finances still continued to improve, so that there was a surplus of £1,000,000 beyond that of the present year, other taxes were lowered with equal cordiality, to the amount of £1,500,000. These were on hemp, coffee, wines, rum, British spirits, and several other articles, the imposts on which pressed the most heavily upon the poorer classes. After these successful achievements, parliament was prorogued on the 6th of July, and the members retired to their homes, elate with the present prospects, and still happier anticipations for the future.

But now came a crash, like that of an earthquake in the midst of a noontide brightness, silence, and security. To understand its causes aright, and the calamities of 1825—a year so eventful in our mercantile history—we must again revert to the condition and prospects of 1824. Money, as we have noticed, had then become abundant, while the rate of regular interest had lowered so much, that money-holders became impatient for a more profitable investment of their capital. They were in that state in which men's wits are proverbially said to waver; and we know, by many a melancholy proof, that this wavering can affect whole communities and nations, as well as individuals. Hence, in regular merchandise a spirit of over-trading commenced, in which vague prospects were accepted for certainties, and promises and paper for the substantialities of gold and goods. But this was not enough for the headlong spirit of enterprise that had now started into full activity; and joint-stock companies were formed, by which every possible or impossible improvement was to be effected for the community, and pecuniary benefit to the shareholders. The humblest details of every-day life, also, were not beyond the reach of this mania of speculation; and there were joint-stock companies for baking, for washing, for baths, for brewing, for coal-portage, for wool-growing, and the like, after it had laid its hold upon the higher departments of life assurance, steam navigation, railroads, and canals; while gold and silver were to become so abundant under this mercantile millennium, that England would pay off the

national debt in a single day, and not know how to dispose of the surplus that remained. But the recognition of the independence of the South American colonies, and the establishment of British consuls at their principal ports, formed the chief outlet for that accumulated volume which could no longer be satisfied with the ordinary channels, and the lands of Cortez and Pizarro were to yield a richer produce to British talent and industry, than ever they had bestowed upon Spain. There were share companies for the working of gold and silver mines, and for the gathering of pearls and precious stones; while merchants hurried their disposable goods to America without selection and without stint, in the hope that their value would be returned fivefold. In this way, warming-pans were sent to those countries whose inhabitants sweltered upon their beds under the lightest of coverlets; and skates, which were to be used on rivers that glide through a perennial blaze of sunshine. One of these many speculations will suffice as a specimen of the rest. It was found that the united provinces of Rio de la Plata abounded in good pasture and excellent cows, while the people of Buenos Ayres had no butter. Here, then, was a profitable investment; an English company was formed, and a ship-load of Scottish milk-maids was sent out to enrich the bread of the Buenos Ayreans, and the pockets of their sanguine employers. On landing, however, they found that the cows were wild cattle, that could neither be milked nor even approached, instead of the civilized creatures to which they were accustomed, and had to be lassoed by the Guachos before they could be manipulated by the milk-maids. When this difficulty was overcome, butter enough was produced to overstock the whole province, when a serious error was discovered in the calculation: on account of the climate, the butter would not keep, and the people of Buenos Ayres liked oil better. The unfortunate damsels were obliged to return to their own home dairies, and their employers to resign themselves to their disappointment.

This frenzy had lasted until the middle of 1825, but with the latter part of the year the reaction commenced. Few or no returns were made for the money advanced, or for the goods sent out, and there was nothing to encounter the responsibilities that had been incurred and the waste which these empty expectations had encouraged. The losers had recourse to the banks, for the purpose of averting the evil consequences and repairing their failing credit; but the Bank of England had contracted its issues, and the provincial bankers followed their example. Then came a crash among the commercial houses of the least established standing; soon there was a following of those that had been rich and stable; and finally,

as a necessary consequence, there was a downfall in the banks themselves, which extended from Lombard Street, its centre, to the very extremities of our island. In the short space of five or six weeks, from sixty to seventy banking establishments had stopped payment. When paper money had thus lost its value, and gold became alarmingly scarce, cabinet meetings were held in rapid succession, to devise some remedy, and the first steps were an issue of one and two pound notes for country circulation, and a brisk coinage set on foot at the Mint, where for more than a week the rate of coinage was 150,000 sovereigns per day. Such was the state of the country at the end of 1825 and the commencement of the following year; and when parliament met on the 2d of February (1826), being opened by commission, the king's speech recommended an inquiry into these evils, to ascertain how much of them had been occasioned by bad laws, and how much of them had been independent of legislation. The House of Commons in this case concluded to protect public and private interests against sudden changes and reverses, by placing the currency on a secure basis, and for this purpose, resolved itself into a committee on the bank charter. A proposal was made by the chancellor of the exchequer that the issue of small notes below the value of £5 should be prohibited, and that those already in circulation should be withdrawn after a period of three years—this prohibition not to extend to Scotland, where a different system of banking made it unnecessary. This measure for the extinction of small notes was carried by a majority of 232 to 89. Two other bills were brought in, by which it was proposed that the directors of the Bank of England should establish branch banks in the commercial centres of the provinces, and permit the number of partners in each country bank to be unlimited. These were complained of as imperious measures, and an invasion of guaranteed rights; but the arrest upon the small note circulation was an urgent necessity, on account of its undue multiplication in previous years, and the depreciation into which such money, which was chiefly in the hands of the poorer classes, had now fallen; it was also necessary for bringing back the metallic currency, which had become scarce throughout the kingdom. Before the month was ended, also, the Bank agreed to advance deposits on merchants' goods to the amount of £3,000,000. This offer restored public confidence, by showing that money was to be had; and the whole amount was not applied for. Trade, now unshackled by old restrictions, betook itself once more to active enterprise, with improved experience and happier effect than before. During this melancholy period, also, the remedy of emigration was adopted upon a regular and

wholesale plan, instead of the local, temporary, and hap-hazard mode in which it had hitherto been tried. It originated in a motion, made on the 14th of March, by Mr. R. Wilmot Horton, "that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of encouraging emigration from the United Kingdom." The inquiry which was instituted taught the nation to repudiate the idea of merely expatriating our paupers to get rid of their helplessness and importunity, and showed that emigration was the most effectual means of extending our empire, opening up new fields for our commercial aggrandizement, benefiting the world at large, and perpetuating our own advantages to coming ages and future empires.

The present parliament was prorogued, after six sessions, on the 31st of May, and dissolved on the 2d of June. During the interval that followed, a necessity occurred which accelerated the meeting of the new parliament. Towards the end of August there was a deficiency in the harvest, which caused the prices of grain to rise above the importation limit. The season had been so unusually hot, that while vegetation was withered by the drought, men had been killed by sun-stroke, not only in the midst of work, but even while assembled for the election of new representatives. This calamity was a fruitful source of political agitation; and the parliamentary tables were loaded with petitions, chiefly from the manufacturing districts, demanding that the corn-laws should be altered. Although a motion for inquiry into the operation of these laws was rejected, it was still felt that some concession was necessary; and as the averages could not be taken, or foreign corn legally brought to market before the 15th of November, ministers were obliged to meet the temporary dearth on their own responsibility. Foreign corn was accordingly admitted on the 1st of September, and it was necessary that parliament should meet on the 14th of November, to give indemnity to the ministers for the alteration. But as there was an average crop of wheat, and a plentiful one of potatoes, in addition to this supply of foreign grain, the apprehended dearth was soon surmounted. Another and still more urgent affair, which occasioned this early meeting of parliament, was the troubled state of the affairs of Portugal, which called for British interference.

As has been previously noticed, the hostile entrance of the French into Madrid in 1823 had produced a counter-revolution, headed by Dom Miguel, second son of John VI., aided by his mother, by which John was deposed, and Miguel exalted to the throne with arbitrary power, having for his chief supporters the priests and peasantry of Portugal, to whom liberal opinions were strange and blasphemous innovations. But

in 1824 the wheel of revolution turned; Miguel was driven out of the country, in spite of the French faction by which he was backed; and John, his father, was restored. Brazil had proclaimed its independence during the great South American revolution, an independence, however, which Portugal had refused to recognize until 1825, when John VI., acting by the advice of Mr. Canning, and under English influence, acknowledged Brazil to be free and independent of the Portuguese crown; while the Brazilians, who had no purpose to establish a republic, still continued to recognize the sovereignty of the Braganza family over them. On the 10th of March, 1826, King John died, and his elder son, Dom Pedro, at that time in Brazil, was in a strait between the choice of ruling over the ancient kingdom of Portugal or its transatlantic empire; for by a decree of the Brazilian constitution, the two crowns could not be united on the head of one prince. Pedro compromised the difficulty by retaining the throne of Brazil for himself, and appointing his eldest daughter, Donna Maria de Gloria, to that of Portugal. With this appointment he also drew up a constitution for the Portuguese nation, which the latter joyfully accepted; and to prevent the evils of a disputed succession, he directed that his daughter Maria should marry her uncle, Dom Miguel, and share the throne of Portugal with him. Such incestuous unions, however revolting to Christian or to natural feelings, had been no unusual event in the royal family of Braganza, and they were sanctioned by the spiritual court of Rome, when the welfare of dynasties and nations was supposed to require them.

These measures were certain to bring into fierce collision the two political parties between which Portugal was divided. The liberals had now a constitutional or representative form of government, with the young queen at its head; and the advocates of the old despotic system saw that Miguel, by the new arrangement, would be lost to their cause if he became joint sovereign with Donna Maria. It was necessary for their interests that he should reign without a partner, and in this purpose they were supported by the representatives of the foreign despotic powers; it was even said that French gold was liberally circulated in Portugal, to accomplish a revolution, by which Miguel should be sole king. Several Portuguese regiments, also, and many of the malcontents, crossed the Spanish frontier, that they might organize a revolution; and there they were secretly aided by the Spanish government with arms, ammunition, and equipments. As an invasion of Portugal was evidently at hand, the Marquis of Palmella, the Portuguese ambassador at London, invoked the aid of the

British government, and this aid we were bound to give, on the faith of ancient treaties, that had been continued to the present hour. A message to that effect was brought down to both Houses of Parliament from the king on the 11th of December (1826), and the proposal for an address to the throne on the occasion, produced from Mr. Canning one of the most thrilling of his many eloquent speeches. The conduct of the enemies of Portugal had been so unjustifiable and so violent, her danger was so imminent, and the call upon British honour and British faith to interpose in her behalf so just and urgent, that no alternative remained, whatever might be the issue. "The consequence," he said in conclusion, "of letting loose the passions at present chained and confined, would be to produce a scene of desolation which no man can contemplate without horror; and I should not sleep easy on my couch if I were conscious that I had contributed to precipitate it by a single moment. This is the reason—a reason very different from fear—the reverse of a consciousness of disability—why I dread the recurrence of hostilities in any part of Europe; why I would bear much and forbear long; why I would put up with almost anything that did not touch national faith and national honour, rather than let slip the furies of war, the leash of which we hold in our hand, not knowing whom they may reach, or how far their ravages may be carried. Such is the love of peace, which the British government acknowledges; and such the necessity for peace, which the circumstances of the world inculcate. Let us flee to the aid of Portugal by whomsoever attacked, because it is our duty to do so; and let us cease our interference where that duty ends. We go to Portugal not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe constitutions, but to defend and to preserve the independence of an ally. We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted, foreign dominion shall not come."

The effect of this speech upon the house was electric. Mr. Brougham, himself a master and judge of eloquence, was won by it into unqualified admiration; and in supporting the motion, he declared "that the burdens of the country, however oppressive, would be borne cheerfully through the impending struggle, if war should be the result; for now we were governed on wise, liberal, and truly English principles." The Portuguese constitution, he added, was worthy of that distinguished statesman's patronage who had the present management of our foreign affairs: the subject had inspired his eloquence with a degree of fervour unprecedented in effect even—and he could not rank it higher—beyond

that right honourable gentleman's former most eloquent orations. As if to heighten its effect, also, Mr. Joseph Hume made one of his cold, hard, dry speeches, complaining of the cost of the contemplated war, and moving that "the house be called over this day week;" but the reply of Mr. Canning, which even surpassed the eloquence of his previous speech, bore down opposition as with a resistless whirlwind, and the resolution passed unanimously, with the exception of three or four members. It was also passed in the lords, although the Duke of Wellington deplored the necessity, and endeavoured to apologize for the treacherous dealings of the Spanish king, Ferdinand the Beloved. So quickly, too, was the resolution followed up, that only two days after (December 14th), 5000 troops, under the command of Sir William Clinton, were marched to the coast upon this expedition, and on the 25th were in the Tagus. The effect of this decision and promptitude was, that Ferdinand of Spain was cowed into neutrality, and French intrigue in Portuguese affairs was abandoned. While Portugal was thus rescued, a still weightier effect was produced by the wonderful speech of Mr. Canning. The report of it, and the sentiments it contained, were diffused over Europe, to shake the thrones of despotism, and give courage to those hearts that longed to free their country from the oppressive bondage of foreign rulers. It was an immense transition which the British cabinet had made from the political school of Castlereagh to that of Canning, his successor.

In another country, with the wrongs of which Britain could not so justly interfere, the cause of liberty had a still more unequal conflict to wage than in the case of Portugal. The Greek revolt against Turkish oppression was still continued, but with disastrous consequences to the Greeks; and Missolonghi, the key of Western Greece, had fallen before the merciless attacks of Ibrahim Pacha, the ruler of Egypt. In this strait, the Greek national assembly made an affecting appeal to the patriotism of Europe at large, and especially to Britain, as the natural home of freedom, but our government could offer nothing more than its sympathy, tied up as it was by treaties, and a regard for the general peace of the world. Contributions, however, to a large extent from individuals were not wanting, and Greek scrip assumed a poetical and classical

character in the money-market, on account of the cause to which it was consecrated. But here selfish speculators stepped in, who turned this liberality to their own aggrandizement; the fund was mismanaged, and a large portion of it, instead of finding its way to Greece, was embezzled by selfish contractors, who would have set their own country to sale, if they could but have found a purchaser. But the time was drawing nigh when British sympathy was to find a more effectual vent, and to vindicate the cause of Greece upon our own favourite element, by the battle of Navarino.

On the 13th of December parliament adjourned till the 8th of February.

Long before this, intelligence had arrived of the triumphant close of the Burmese war in the East.

The Burmese or Burmans had long been elated



BURMESE ¹ 1, Kee Wongee, or Prime Minister 2, A Trooper 3, A Cassay Horseman

by conquests easily made over their unwarlike neighbours. They had conquered Pegu; they had subdued Assam; they had reduced a congeries of small independent states, and they had concealed themselves into the belief that nothing in Asia could resist their arms. Not even in the East had conquest often been attended with such extermination and cruelty as had been practised by these semi-barbarians. Towards the end of the year 1823, their conquests having brought them into immediate contact with the frontiers of the British-Indian empire, they began to make sundry unprovoked aggressions upon it. In a sudden night attack they drove away a small guard of British troops, and took possession

¹ From Snodgrass's *Narrative of the Burmese War*, Cox's *Residence in the Burman Empire*, and Symes' *Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava*

of the little island of Shapoorée, on the coast of Aracan. Our Indian government sent in a very gentle remonstrance, which the arrogant court of Ava considered as a pusillanimous attempt to deprecate the resentment of the warlike, conquering Burmese. They triumphantly appealed to the paper as a proof that the British dreaded to enter upon a contest with them; and they intimated that unless their right to the island of Shapoorée was distinctly admitted, the "Victorious Lord of the White Elephant and the Golden Foot" would invade the Company's dominions. In the meanwhile, two companies of our 20th regiment landed on the disputed island, drove off the Burmese, and stockaded themselves; and, on the other side, the Burmese seized on the mainland the commanding officer and some of the crew of the Company's cruiser *Sophia*, loaded them with chains, and carried them up the country. War could no longer be avoided; but while we were preparing for it, from 4000 to 5000 Burmese and Assamese burst across the south-east frontier of Bengal, and claimed the province of Cachar as their own. At daybreak on the 17th of January, 1824, Major Newton attacked them in their stockades, gave them a terrible defeat, and drove them back to their hills. Major Newton had scarcely retired when they repeated their attack in greater force than before. They were defeated by Captain Johnstone on the 13th of February. On the following day Lieutenant-colonel Bowen came up, and, taking the command over Captain Johnstone, marched in pursuit of the retreating enemy. They were driven by the bayonet from some of their stockades; but one of these works was so formidable, and the fire from within so well sustained, that five of our officers and about 100 of our sepoy were killed or wounded; and Lieutenant-colonel Bowen was obliged to call off the attacking party, and retire to Chayrapoor, at a short distance. On the 27th of February (1824), Colonel Innes came up with four guns and a battalion of fresh troops, and assumed the command; but in the meanwhile the Burmese had retreated from their formidable position, and retired into their own country.

But before this time the great Burmese chief, the Maha Bandoola, had collected a large army near the southern extremity of our frontier, and had marched into Aracan, provided with golden fetters, in which the Governor-general of India was to be led captive to Ava. This Maha Bandoola had convinced his king that with 100,000 men the conquest of Bengal might be achieved. Therefore the "Lord of the Golden Foot" now laid claim to all the territories east of Moorshedabad, as having formerly belonged to the kingdom of Aracan, which he and his ancestors had conquered.

On the 10th of May, 1824, a British fleet and a land force of from 5000 to 6000 men arrived within the bar of the Rangoon river. The Burmese discharged a feeble ineffectual fire from some batteries, and then fled. Our troops being landed took quiet possession of Rangoon; but it was an utterly deserted town, from which everything had been removed except the miserable houses. Oxen, horses, boats, provisions, everything that was at all likely to be of use to an invading army, had, by order of the court of Ava, been previously carried far up the Irrawadi river. This system hampered Sir Archibald Campbell's movements from the first; and as it was steadily and effectually pursued afterwards, our advances were slow, and the war became a long one. The British troops and sepoy were compelled by the rainy monsoon to take up a long residence at Rangoon, situated in the midst of unhealthy swamps and rice-grounds. A fearful mortality soon began. Many bold attempts were made by the Burmese to drive the invaders from the town. The river was covered with long and gilded war-boats, the warriors in which often fought desperately. A series, a perfect continuity of stockades was erected, and was gradually pushed nearer and nearer to Rangoon. Like the Singhalese, the Burmans rarely met an enemy in the open field: their conquests had all been made through the system of stockades. Instructed and trained from their youth in the formation and defence of these works, they had attained to great skill and judgment in the use of them. By making gradual approaches, and by carefully stockading all their positions as they advanced, their wars had for many years been an uninterrupted series of triumphs. When they were getting rather too near to Rangoon, Sir Archibald Campbell beat up their quarters. There was some very hard fighting before the stockades could be destroyed. On the last day of June all the woods in Sir Archibald's front again exhibited bustle and commotion; 8000 men had crossed to the Rangoon side of the river; the jungles around seemed full of life; clouds of rising smoke marked the encampments of the different corps of the Burmese army in the forest, and their noisy preparation for attack formed a striking contrast to the still and quiet aspect of the British line.¹ The Shoo Dagon, or the Golden Dagon Pagoda, was the key of the British position. On the morning of the 1st of July the enemy, with their stockading materials, issued in dense masses to the right and front of the pagoda. They were very soon repulsed by two field-pieces served with grape and shrapnel, and by a brilliant charge of the 43d Madras native infantry. On the 8th of July, Sir Archibald Campbell advanced to

¹ Major Snodgrass's Narrative of the Burmese War.

Kemendine, attacked a great army stockaded there, and inflicted upon them a terrible loss. The commander-in-chief, several chieftains of high rank, and 800 men were found lying dead

the night of the 13th of August, but it was only to encounter defeat and a slaughter more terrible than they had ever yet sustained. The Invulnerables ventured no more near any of our posts.

But a far more terrible enemy had gotten within our lines—the dysentery broke out among our troops, killing many of them, and reducing more to a most emaciated and feeble state. At one time scarcely 3000 duty-soldiers were left to guard our lines.

Giving up for the present the notion of conquering Bengal, the great Maha Bandoola quitted the southern extremity of our frontier, and marched to the Irrawadi to reinforce the army there. His own army was reinforced on its way down to the river. He began his march about the end of August, at a season of the year when none but Burmese could have



PRINCIPAL APPROACH TO THE GOLDEN DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON
From Moore's Views in Rangoon

within the stockades, and the neighbouring jungles were filled with the wounded.

A detachment under Colonel Miles subdued the maritime possessions of the Burmese to the eastward, in the hope that their loss might induce the court of Ava to sue for peace. Tavoy surrendered; Mergui was taken by storm; and the people all along the coast of Tenasserim gladly placed themselves under British protection. But these achievements occupied time, and when the result was known at Ava it seemed to produce no effect on the determined temper of that court. The "Lord of the Golden Foot," who had recalled all his unsuccessful commanders-in-chief who had not been slain in battle, now sent his own brothers, the Prince of Tongboo and the Prince of Sarrawadi, with a whole host of astrologers, and a corps of "Invulnerables," to join the army, to direct the future operations of the war and to drive the English into the sea—or die. The astrologers were to fix the lucky moment for attacking: the Invulnerables had some points of resemblance to the Turkish Delhis; they were the desperadoes or madmen of the army, and their madness was kept up by enormous doses of opium. The corps of Invulnerables consisted of several thousand men, divided into classes, the most select band of all being called the "King's Invulnerables." It was soon found that they were as susceptible of wounds and death as the astrologers were incapable of interpreting the stars. Upon the arrival of the two princes the Burmese resumed the offensive. They made a fierce attack upon the Golden Dagon Pagoda on

kept the field for a week; and he reached Donoo-pew, on the Irrawadi, before Sir Archibald knew that he had left Aracan. Happily our troops, though wofully reduced in numbers, were now fast recovering their health and strength; and two fresh British regiments, some battalions of native infantry, a regiment of cavalry, a troop of horse-artillery, and a troop of rockets, arrived from Calcutta and Madras, together with some admirable draught cattle. 500 native boatmen came round from Chittagong, and were busily employed in preparing boats for river service.

A small detached force, under Lieutenant-colonel Godwin, sailed from Rangoon on the 13th of October to Martaban, once the splendid capital of the kingdom of Pegu. The Burmese were soon driven with loss from the town and from all their defences. The inhabitants of Martaban, being chiefly Talains or Peguers, received the British troops with every appearance of satisfaction. Another frontier-fortress of the Burmese, called Yeh, next fell into our hands. In all this part of the country the native population were eager to be released from the iron sceptre of Ava, and to be included among the subjects of the British.

By the end of October the rains had entirely ceased at Rangoon. Sir Archibald Campbell was preparing to put his army in motion, when Maha Bandoola came down to meet him at Kemendine, with 60,000 fighting men, of whom 35,000 were musketeers, a considerable train of artillery, and a body of Cassay horse, the best cavalry of this part of Asia. It was thought

best to wait for him. Our troops were thus spared much fatigue, and a great decisive battle might bring the court of Ava to reason. On the 1st of December the Maha Bandoola attacked both by water and by land. War-boats and rafts, filled with combustible materials, and favoured by wind and current, were poured against our flotilla on the Irrawadi; but the skill and intrepidity of British seamen proved too much for the numbers and devices of the Burmese. Not one of our ships was injured. The fire rafts exploded like mere fire-works; our sailors clapping their hands at the pretty spectacle they afforded. On land the Burmese were still less successful. They were driven from their stockades, were cut to pieces, or scattered to the winds by the gallant Major Sale (afterwards the hero of the Afghan war), and the no less gallant Major Walker, who unfortunately fell in the action, together with a good number of his brave comrades and men. This fighting lasted in all, and at all points, through the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th of December. On the 6th, Bandoola was employed in rallying his defeated troops. On the 7th he made his last and grand attack on the Shoo Dagon Pagoda. Here his troops were beaten again, driven back to their entrenchments, then driven out of them, and forced back into the jungle at the point of the bayonet. During these seven busy and fiery days the Burmese, in addition to a prodigious loss of lives, had lost every gun they had, and the entire materiel of their army.

On the 11th of February, 1825, the British began to move up the Irrawadi. A few wretched families were found wandering in the woods, and looking like spectres from starvation and misery; but, with the exception of these poor people, the country seemed to be left to the dominion of the tiger and wild hog. A mistake was committed by Sir Archibald in dividing his small force; and Brigadier-general Willoughby Cotton, commanding one of the divisions, and acting with very little judgment, failed in an attack upon the works of Donoopew. No fewer than 150 of our men were there killed or wounded; and the retreat was so precipitate and so shamefully managed, that the wounded were not carried off, although it was well known that they would all be put to a cruel death. The next day most of our killed and wounded men who had been left in the stockade were crucified and put upon rafts, which were sent floating down the river towards our flotilla. On the 25th of March, Sir Archibald Campbell himself sat down before the truly formidable works of Donoopew, and commenced making regular approaches. On the 1st of April, after several sorties had been made and repulsed with loss, our mortar batteries and rockets began

their work of destruction, and continued firing at intervals during the day and part of the succeeding night. The Burmese remained close under the protection of their works, making at first little, then less, and at last no return at all to our fire. "This excited much surprise, but on the next morning the mystery was explained. At daylight on the 2d of April, just as our breaching-batteries began to open, two lascars, who had been prisoners in the fort, came running out, and informed our people that the great Bandoola had been killed the day before by one of our shells or rockets; that after his death was known no entreaties of the other chiefs could prevail upon the Burmese to remain at their posts; and, in short, that the whole army had fled or dispersed during the dark hours of the night."¹ By possession of Donoopew, that magnificent river, the Irrawadi, was entirely under our command, from its broad mouths on the ocean to the valley of Ava and Amarapura, where it contracts and becomes unnavigable. On the 4th of April, two days after taking possession of Donoopew, our main army recommenced its march for Prome. On the 24th of April it came within sight of that city. On the next day the Burmese set fire to Prome, and fled higher up the river. By the exertions of our troops a considerable part of the town was saved from destruction. The rainy monsoon now set in, and rendered necessary a suspension of operations. By order of the "Golden Foot," fire was set to every town and village that was likely to be in or near to the British line of march; and horses, cattle, provisions, and all things were removed towards Ava. At the same time, the court of Ava took most vigorous measures for recruiting the army, and for providing it with powder and weapons. A truce was agreed to, which was not observed by the Burmese, and a negotiation for a peace was entered upon by the court of Ava, solely as a means of gaining time and lulling the British into a false and perilous security. At last the Burmese negotiated, and sent the following laconic epistle to Sir Archibald:—"If you wish for peace, you may go away; but if you ask either money or territory, no friendship can exist between us. This is Burmese custom." So soon as this letter was sent, the Burmese, who had collected all the force they could assemble, left a reserve of 10,000 men in a strongly-fortified post at Melloon, and advanced against Sir Archibald with 60,000 men. Although he had received reinforcements, Sir Archibald, after providing a garrison for Prome, had a field force of not above 5000 men, but of these 3000 were British. In the first encounter the Burmese were successful, beating back two brigades of

¹ Macartney's *Indian Empire*.

native Madras infantry, killing Colonel M'Dowall, the commander, wounding four of the junior officers, and killing or wounding a great many of the sepoys. But about a fortnight after this

encounter, or on the 1st of December, the great Burmese army was most thoroughly discomfited; and those who rallied were beaten to pieces on the 2d of December Sir Archibald Campbell



PROME, from the Heights — From a sketch by Lieut Willoughby Bengal Artillery

then proceeded to Melloon. On the 12th, while the army was on its march, the cholera broke out, and ere it could be checked, it carried off many men of the native Madras divisions, and rendered two British regiments almost unfit for duty. On the 26th of December, when our troops were within ten miles of Melloon, a flag of truce was sent to Sir Archibald Campbell from the last-named place, with letters communicating the arrival of a high commissioner from Ava, with full powers to conclude a treaty of peace. This was another delusion; but time was granted in order to see whether the Burmese had been beaten enough, and were really sincere in their desire for peace. It was soon found that they required more beating. On the 19th of January, 1826, when two pieces of artillery had opened the way for our storming column, the works of Melloon were stormed and taken, and from 10,000 to 15,000 Burmese were driven away in a confused and helpless mass from the strongest works they had ever erected. The beaten army, and all the beaten divisions and detachments of it, continued to retreat upon Ava with all possible speed. On the 25th of January, Sir Archibald Campbell resumed his march over a barren country and execrable roads. On approaching Pagham-mew, a town about 100 miles above Melloon, he obtained positive information that a levy of 40,000 men had been ordered, and that the people had been induced to enrol by means of a high bounty and several honourable privileges and distinctions; that the "Golden Foot" had bestowed upon this new army the flattering appellation of "Retrievers of the King's Glory;" and that this army had been

placed under the command of a savage warrior, styled Nee Woon-Breen, which has been variously translated as "Prince of Darkness," "King of Hell," and "Prince of the Setting Sun." Upon the 8th February, when within a few days' march from Pagham-mew, Sir Archibald ascertained that the "Retrievers of the King's Glory" and the "Prince of Darkness" were prepared to meet him under the walls of that city. On the 9th the British column moved forward in order of attack, being much reduced by the absence of two brigades, and considerably under 2000 fighting men. The advanced guard was met in the jungle by strong bodies of skirmishers; and, after maintaining a running fight for several miles, the column debouched into the open country, and there discovered the Burmese army, from 16,000 to 20,000 strong, drawn up in an inverted crescent, the wings of which threatened the little body of assailants on both their flanks. But Sir Archibald pushed boldly forward for their centre, threw the whole weight of his column upon that point, broke and shattered it in the twinkling of an eye, and left the unconnected wings severed from each other. The "Retrievers of the King's Glory" did not fight so well as those who had been accused of forfeiting his majesty's glory. they all fled as fast as their legs could carry them to a second line of redoubts and stockades, close under the walls of Pagham-mew; but the British column followed them so closely that they had little time for rallying in those works, and so soon as a few English bayonets got within the stockades, all the Burmese went off, screaming like a scared flock of wild geese. Hundreds jumped into the river to escape their assail-

ants, and perished in the water; and, with the exception of 2000 or 3000 men, the whole army dispersed upon the spot. The unfortunate "Prince of Darkness," or "King of Hell," or "Prince of the Setting Sun," fled to Ava; and he had no sooner reached the court than he was put to a cruel death by order of the king.¹ The court of Ava now gave in, and sent commissioners to treat honestly for a peace. Sir Archibald, however, continued his advance until he reached Yandaboo, only forty-five miles from the capital. Some prisoners, British subjects and others, who had been residing up the country when the war broke out, and who had been treated with execrable barbarity, were now liberated, and were the principal negotiators for the Burmese sovereign. On the 24th of February, 1826, the treaty of peace was settled and finally signed at Yandaboo. By this treaty it was agreed that there should be perpetual peace and friendship between the honourable Company and his majesty the King of Ava; that the King of Ava should renounce all claims upon, and abstain from all future interference with, the principality of Assam and its dependencies, as also with the contiguous petty states of Cachar, Iyntein, and Manipoor; that his majesty should cede to the Company in perpetuity the conquered provinces of Aracan, including the four great divisions of Aracan, Ramree, Cheduba, and Sandoway; that the Aracan Mountains should henceforward form the boundary between the two great nations on that side; that his majesty should also cede the conquered provinces of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim, with the islands and dependencies thereunto appertaining, taking the Saluen river as the line of demarcation on that frontier; that his majesty, as part indemnification for the expenses of the war, should pay the sum of one crore of rupees; that henceforth accredited British ministers, with a body-guard of fifty men, should be allowed to reside at Ava, and that an accredited Burmese minister should be sent to reside at Calcutta; and that free trade should be allowed to British subjects in all the dominions of his majesty, who should abolish all exactions upon British ships entering his ports, &c.; and that "the good and faithful ally of the British government, his majesty the King of Siam, having taken a part in the present war," should, to the fullest extent, as far as regards his majesty and his subjects, be included in the above treaty.²

The money demanded as part indemnification was far too moderate a sum. The king was rich, and both gold and silver bullion abounded in Ava. A crore of Sicca rupees at par were barely equivalent to £1,000,000 sterling. The war had cost us from £7,000,000 to £8,000,000. With an easy liberality our commissioners waived all claims for indemnities or recompenses for the cruel sufferings of our unfortunate prisoners, or for the losses they had sustained, not only in property but in health, by their long and torturing captivity; and although they stipulated in an article that private debts owing by Burmese to British subjects should be liquidated, they consented to consider a part of the property which had been seized by the king, at the time when he threw the Englishmen at Ava into prison, as *confiscated* by the laws of the country, and so removed out of the operation of any treaty of peace. In other respects the treaty was such as it should be. The cession of Aracan gave us an admirable mountain frontier, and amply provided for the freedom from Burmese interference with our Indian territories on that side. The possession of the Tenasserim provinces, and of the islands that lie off that coast, and off the coast of Aracan, gives increased security to our commercial navigation, opens the road to an inland commerce with the Siamese, Shans, and other distant people; places at our disposal teak-forests of enormous extent, and productive of the very best timber. Moreover, a variety of valuable raw produce is procurable, or may be raised, from these new territories, to be replaced by the manufactures of India or of Great Britain. The whole country of Tenasserim is known to be rich in minerals; iron ore of good quality is found in abundance in the vicinity of Tavoy; and extensive coal-measures have been lately discovered in several places on the banks of the Tenasserim river. The discovery of these coal-measures must have an advantageous effect on the steam navigation of the Gulf of Bengal and the Straits of Malacca. The provinces of Cachar and Assam, though holding out less promising prospects to commerce, help to form a well-defined and strong frontier; and in the approximation they afford to Tibet and China, our trade may possibly be extended, in process of time, in those directions. Nor was there wanting the consolation that the condition and prospects of some millions of natives were improved immeasurably by being placed under our rule. On the whole, the Burmese war is a grand episode in the history of the nineteenth century.

¹ Charles Macfarlane, *Our Indian Empire*.

² *Ibid.*

CHAPTER XV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1827—1828.

GEORGE IV.

Death of the Duke of York—His character—Parliamentary affairs—The corn laws—Claims of the Roman Catholics—Offensive proceedings of the Irish claimants—Mr. Canning appointed premier—Formation of the new cabinet—Complaints at Canning's acceptance of office—Opposition to the new administration—Penryn disfranchised—Motions on the corruptions of parliamentary elections—Enactments on the subject—Unsuccessful attempts to modify the game laws—Improvements in the criminal law—Coalition of England, France, and Russia, in behalf of Greece—Death of Mr. Canning—Lord Goderich becomes premier—The Goderich ministry—Cruelties inflicted on the Greeks by the Turks—Feroocious proceedings of Ibrahim Pacha in the Morea—The admirals of the three allied powers interfere—The Egyptian fleet consents to remain at Navarino—It attempts to escape, but is compelled to return—The barbarities in the Morea continued—The allied admirals block up the Egyptian fleet at Navarino—Battle of Navarino—The Egyptian fleet totally destroyed—Dissolution of the Goderich ministry—The Duke of Wellington appointed premier—Parliament opened—The battle of Navarino condemned—Mr. Brougham's speech on the public fears of a military dictatorship—Misunderstanding between the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson—State of finance—Appointment of the finance committee—Its report—Proposal of a pension to Mr. Canning's family carried—Motion for the repeal of the test and corporation acts—Discussion of the subject in both houses—The acts repealed—The repeal opens the way for Catholic emancipation—Motion on the subject made and negatived—Mr. Huskisson inadvertently resigns office—The resignation accepted—He endeavours unsuccessfully to retract his resignation—Others of the cabinet go out with him—Parliamentary proceedings in law reform and the corn bill—Parliament prorogued.



THE year 1827 was commenced with a breach in the royal house—the death of the Duke of York—who expired, after a short illness, on the 5th of January. His early private life had been disfigured by the licentiousness that marked the career of his elder brother, while his ambition to distinguish himself as a soldier had cost the country much unprofitable expense, as well as loss to its military reputation. He was also overwhelmed with debt, which he had no means of liquidating, and which he recklessly suffered to accumulate to the last. And yet, in spite of these faults, which were attributed to his imperfect education and constitutional thoughtlessness, he was beloved by those who knew him best, on account of his many good and amiable qualities; while his administration for thirty-two years as commander-in-chief had improved our armies, and endeared his name to the British soldiery at large. Even by the anti-Catholic portion of the religious community, it was felt that a better man could have been better spared, on account of his steadfast resistance to the claims of Popery, on which account he had been considered as the chief break-water of the advancing tide. As naturally as if it had been an established inheritance, his office of commander-in-chief devolved upon the Duke of Wellington, while an increase was made to the income of the Duke of Clarence, who was now presumptive heir to the crown.

Parliament re-assembled on the 8th of February.

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ary, when the prospects of the country were very flattering. The first important question brought under discussion was that of the corn laws. On the 1st of March, Mr. Canning proposed a scale of the average prices of the various kinds of grain within the kingdom, at which, upon the payment of a specified scale of duties, foreign grain should be admissible into the market. The debate upon the question was protracted, and there was a great divergency of opinion and theory. Ministers took the medium price of wheat at sixty shillings. The landed interest would have taken it higher; the manufacturing interest much lower. In the end the ministerial measure passed the House of Commons by large majorities.

The Roman Catholic claims were revived by Sir Francis Burdett, who was charged with a petition from Ireland. The tone and attitude of the Roman Catholics of that country had exasperated the English people; and the table of the house was covered with anti-Catholic petitions. The tone of the Irish was indeed calculated to excite feelings of anger, or alarm, or annoyance, in unprejudiced minds. The Catholic Association, in about six months after it had been put down by law, reappeared under a new form, and pursued its object with more animation than ever, while "the rent" in support of its measures was exacted from the people as usual, under the name of "free gifts." Part of this money was avowedly spent in influencing the elections of members of parliament. Mr. Daniel O'Connell and the other orators who presided over, and

directed as they listed, this remodelled association, preserved no measure towards England, or the religion or morals of the English people. Their harangues had become, at every new meeting, more and more intemperate, and they had long been threatening and bullying the English and Scotch portions of the Union. Ever since Mr. Pitt's second administration, the Catholic question had been left in the cabinet an open one. Mr. Canning was as eager as ever to go the full length of emancipation: some of his colleagues, and foremost of all Lord-chancellor Eldon and Viscount Sidmouth, were strongly opposed to the measure, or to any further concessions. But Mr. Canning had now his foot on the step of the highest office in the government. The health of Lord Liverpool, the premier, had long been declining. He had been seized with paralysis in the month of February; he partially recovered, but had a relapse which left him in a hopeless state. On the 28th of March, Mr. Canning attended the king, on his majesty's summons, to consider how the cabinet was to be continued. The king required that some one holding the opinions of Lord Liverpool on the Catholic question should be called to supply his place. Mr. Canning declared that if an opinion favourable to the Roman Catholics was to be a disqualification for the office of prime minister, he would not be the individual in whose person that principle of exclusion should be established, and advised the king to form an anti-Catholic administration. His majesty, who knew the importance of retaining Mr. Canning, dissented, and nothing was settled at that meeting. The anti-Catholics thought they could count upon the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel; and they were desirous that a new cabinet should be formed, with Peel and Wellington at the head of it. But Mr. Canning's popularity was at its very spring-tide; difficulties stood in the way of any other arrangement; and on the 10th of April, the king commissioned Mr. Canning to propose a plan of his own for the re-construction of the ministry. To form an entirely pro-Catholic or pro-emancipation cabinet was still impracticable; and there was some difficulty for Mr. Canning in constructing any cabinet of which he was to be the head. The Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, Lord Westmoreland, Lord-chancellor Eldon, and Lord Bathurst preferred resigning. It was expected that these resignations would alarm the king and induce him to part with Mr. Canning; but his majesty confirmed the appointment of the great leader of the commons as premier; and the announcement was vociferously cheered by the great majority of the House of Commons. One circumstance clouded the joy of the new premier's ardent friends: his health had been seriously

affected; in December and January he had suffered a severe illness; and now the increase of toil, anxiety, and the perpetual excitement to which he was exposed, boded ill for his recovery.

Lord Melville joined his resignation to those who had followed the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel. There therefore remained of the Liverpool cabinet only Lord Harrowby, and Messrs. Huskisson, Robinson, and Wynne. The morning after the resignation of Lord Melville, who had been the first lord of the admiralty, Mr. Canning brought about the appointment of the Duke of Clarence as lord high-admiral—a dignity which had long lain dormant—and as lord high-admiral the duke became head of the navy and supreme over the lords of the admiralty. His acceptance of office under Mr. Canning is thought to have had no small weight among official men. Lord Bexley immediately retracted his resignation, and Sir John Copley, the master of the rolls, who had differed with Mr. Canning, now condescended to become lord high-chancellor, with a peerage by the title of Baron Lyndhurst. Lord Anglesey was appointed master-general of the ordnance, with a seat in the cabinet, as successor to the Duke of Wellington. Mr. Sturges Bourne took the home department. To supply the remaining places in the cabinet, Mr. Canning opened a negotiation with the Marquis of Lansdowne and other Whigs. No official arrangements ensued; but Lord Lansdowne, and the main body of the Whigs, with Sir Francis Burdett, and most of the Radicals that followed that baronet, volunteered their unofficial support of the new government. Upon Mr. Canning's appointment to the chancellorship of the exchequer, Mr. Prosperity Robinson was called to the House of Peers as Lord Goderich, and the accomplished Lord Dudley and Ward succeeded Mr. Canning in the foreign office.

The House of Commons, which had adjourned on the 12th of April for the Easter holidays, re-assembled on the 1st of May. Mr. Canning detailed the circumstances which had preceded his appointment as head of the government. "If," said he, "I had submitted in my person to the principle of exclusion as a friend to the Catholic claims, I should have dishonoured myself. Such a submission would have been a badge of helotism, and the indelible disgrace of my political life." In the upper house explanations were given by most of the ministers who had resigned. In both houses it was evident that the opposition to Mr. Canning would be vehement. A portion of the Whigs joined the Tories in denouncing the new cabinet, and thereby increased the difficulties of the premier's position, but some of the Whigs took office as soon as they saw that the premier was firmly seated. Before the close of

the session, Lord Lansdowne became secretary for the home department; Lord Carlisle accepted the privy seal, and Mr. Tierney became master of the mint. But at the same time Mr. Peel put himself in a hostile attitude, and complaints were made to ring through the country of Mr. Canning's abandonment of his old party connections, of his latitudinarianism in religious questions, and of his too great boldness in political ones. The corn bill, which had been sanctioned by the late Lord Liverpool, was so cut and hacked in the upper house, that Lord Goderich was induced to abandon it. To provide against a scarcity during the recess of parliament, a temporary bill, permitting the release of foreign corn from bond, was brought in by Mr. Canning, and was passed expeditiously through both houses.

A fixed design to overturn the new administration was now very apparent, and the strife of party was waged with very little moderation or delicacy. The genius of Mr. Canning was not respected as it ever ought to have been. The opposition in the House of Commons, as well as in the lords, assumed a most formidable and irritating character; but though the premier was suffering under extreme anxiety of mind and sickness of body, his rhetorical powers and his sparkling wit never for one moment failed him. The impatient Whig reformers joined the Tories in attacking him. It was in these debates that Mr. Canning repeated his determination to oppose parliamentary reform, and declared himself hostile to the repeal of the test and corporation acts. On the test act, however, he had never before fully delivered an opinion to the house; and his opposition to its repeal, or the agitating that question *then*, may have arisen out of a natural fear of complicating and prejudicing the Catholic question. All the more moderate Whigs were disposed to put off any serious discussion of the question of a sweeping reform; but the subject was, to some extent, forced upon parliament. The reports of the election committees had disclosed more than one scene of gross bribery and corruption. These scenes had been enacted chiefly at Colchester, Northampton, Leicester, Preston, and East Retford. Several motions were made; and a bill was brought in for "the more effectual preventing of bribery and corruption" in the borough of Penryn. Lord John Russell thought that the house ought to follow the example which had been set in the case of Grampound, and disfranchise the borough altogether, with the ultimate view of transferring its rights to some of the great, populous, and unrepresented towns; and his lordship moved as an amendment that "therefore the borough of Penryn shall be excluded hereafter from returning burgesses to serve in parliament." The original

motion was supported by the ministry; Mr. Canning, Mr. Sturges Bourne, and Mr. Charles Wynne speaking in defence of it. On a division the amendment was carried by 124 against 69. No resolution was taken concerning the place to which the rights should be transferred; but the populous and rich Manchester seemed to unite the suffrages of most of the members who adverted to the transfer. Similar resolutions were adopted in regard to East Retford; but the session closed before any effective proceedings were taken for the disfranchisement of either of these boroughs. The aim of the moderate Whigs now was to reform parliament gradually; to punish known instances of corruption; to transfer the rights of small rotten boroughs to the great unrepresented cities; and gradually to extend the elective franchise until it comprehended a much larger portion of the population. They had at this moment no design of introducing into the constitution those extensive changes which were forced from parliament by the pressure from without in 1832.

Lord Althorp obtained the appointment of a committee to inquire into the mode of taking the poll at county elections; and Colonel Davies obtained a similar one to inquire into the mode of taking the poll at elections for cities and boroughs. The principal object of Lord Althorp was to get rid, if possible, of the enormous expense of a county election. He stated that the last election for Yorkshire, though it had never come to a poll, had cost at least £120,000. If a poll had lasted fifteen days it must have cost the contending parties half a million of money. On that occasion, a gentleman of large fortune, for whom the greatest show of hands appeared, was compelled to abandon all thoughts of standing a poll, in consequence of the ruinous expense which must have awaited him. Lord Althorp likewise brought in, and carried through, a bill for the better prevention of corrupt practices at elections, &c. The object of it was to prevent substantial bribery from being perpetrated under the mask of merely giving employment, and therefore to deprive all persons of the right to vote who should be employed by a candidate in the election. It was notorious that at elections different nominal offices were created, to be filled by voters who were classed as plumpers, and who received double the pay of split votes. It was not meant that the provisions of the bill should apply to any real and fair agent of a candidate, but to that spurious collection which went under the names of runners, flagmen, &c., and musicians who had never played upon an instrument in their lives till they were enrolled at an election. This was just another mode of paying them for their votes, and therefore it was right

that, in that election at least, they should have no voice. On the suggestion of Mr. Spring Rice it was further determined, with the view of promoting the purity and diminishing the expense of elections, to prohibit the distribution of ribbons and cockades. This last suggestion led to a good deal of merriment. The anti-reformers contended that the prohibition of music, and ribbons, and cockades was absolutely ridiculous. It was not desirable to put an end to all the spirit and gaiety of an election; and, even if it were, this measure of Mr. Spring Rice would be utterly inefficient. It was downright folly to suppose that a short weak bill like this would make an English election as demure and orderly as a Methodist love-feast. Everywhere the electors voted for a particular colour; and, "in point of fact," said Mr. Calcraft, who was unusually facetious, "without flags and ribbons the electors will not know whose heads they are breaking, and may knock down their friends under the mistaken notion that they are knocking down their foes." Now, as the bill confessedly was not to put an end to the breaking of heads, there was no use in misleading people to break the wrong heads. The bill, however, passed into a law: by its provisions any person who, within six months before an election, or during an election, or within fourteen days after it, shall have been employed in the election as counsel, agent, attorney, poll-clerk, flagman, or in any other capacity, and shall have received, in consideration of such employment, any fee, place, or office, or any promise or security for a fee, place, or office, shall be incapable of voting at such election. A penalty of £10 for each offence is inflicted upon every candidate who, after the test of the writ, or if parliament be sitting, after the seat has become vacant, shall directly or indirectly give to any voter or inhabitant "any cockade, ribbon, or other mark of distinction."

During this session several attempts were unsuccessfully made to modify the invidious and oppressive game laws. Lord Wharncliffe, who, before his elevation to the peerage, had paid much attention to the subject, had carried through the commons a bill which failed in the peers. He now reproduced it in that upper house. The provisions of the measure went, first of all, to remove the absurd and contradictory qualifications of the old law, and to substitute in their place the qualification of property; every proprietor being permitted to kill game on his own lands, whether his estate were large or small. His lordship next proposed to legalize the sale of game, as one great means of diminishing the temptations to poach, and as being in itself a just and reasonable thing. Another object of the bill was to mitigate the severity of the punishments provided by the ex-

isting game laws for certain offences—a severity which did not carry the feelings of the country along with it, and led jurors to refuse to convict. The bill was allowed to be read a second time; but, on the motion that it should be read a third time, it was lost by a majority of one. In the course of the discussion Lord Harrowby said that, during the last three years, about 4500 persons had been imprisoned under the game laws, while the number in 1810, 1811, and 1812 had been only about 460. Lord Wharncliffe's bill being lost, the Marquis of Salisbury introduced another, merely for legalizing the sale of game under certain restrictions. The noble marquis proposed to empower all persons qualified by law to kill game, to take out licenses authorizing them to sell game to licensed dealers. The measure was to be temporary, and to expire at the end of three years. This bill, too, was allowed to pass through a second reading, and was lost on the motion for the third. There was raised this sentimental objection—the bill would deprive the sportsman of his highest gratification, which was the pleasure of furnishing his friends with presents of game! Nobody would care for a present which everybody could give! One great alteration, however, was effected by a bill introduced by Lord Suffield, and eventually carried, for abolishing the barbarous practice of setting spring-guns and other engines of destruction for the preservation of game.

Out of office, as in office, Mr. Peel proceeded with his valuable improvements on the criminal law. Five acts were passed which consolidated into one body the whole of the law regarding offences against property, and cleared off an immense quantity of ancient rubbish and bewildering phraseology. Not the least of this fresh instalment of reform in our penal code was, that the number of capital offences was materially diminished, and convictions for lesser offences obtained by a summary mode of procedure, by which the long delay and imprisonment that usually preceded conviction by a grand jury were dispensed with.

As chancellor of the exchequer Mr. Canning's task was easy and pleasant. There was a surplus of income applicable to the sinking fund; the supply demanded for this year did indeed exceed that of last year by £800,000. This difference had been caused by the army extraordinaries, and by a vote of credit rendered necessary in consequence of the affairs of Portugal; but Mr. Canning said he intended to bring down the expenditure to the lowest possible scale consistent with the public service. It was the determination of government to apply their most strenuous and best efforts to the matter, and to call the house into counsel upon it.

Mr. Canning spoke in parliament for the last time on the 29th of June. Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 2d of July. On the 6th a treaty combining England, France, and Russia for a settlement of the affairs of Greece, and for the stopping of a horrible species of warfare, was signed at London. This was the last of Mr. Canning's public acts. One of the first poems he wrote in the enthusiasm of youth, was a lament on "The Slavery of Greece." His classical mind revolted at the idea of seeing the last edifices of antiquity levelled with the soil, and the last of the Greeks exterminated, or carried in captivity into Egypt. Like other generous-hearted statesmen, and like all the sympathizers in the Greek cause, he entertained fond hopes of improvement and regeneration, which, alas! the Greek people have not yet verified. In signing the treaty, and in feeling that he was chief in a deed which might restore Greece, if not to her ancient supremacy, to a respectable place among nations, he felt a joy which relieved the languor of disease. He went down to the Duke of Devonshire's pleasant seat at Chiswick, to seek tranquillity after his many toils. The disease proceeded with a violence and rapidity which set the medical art at defiance; and Mr. Canning expired at Chiswick, in the very house in which Mr. Fox had breathed his last, on the morning of the 8th of August. He was only in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and he had been prime minister for only four months. Thus prematurely was removed the most accomplished and liberal-hearted statesman and the most perfect orator of his time.

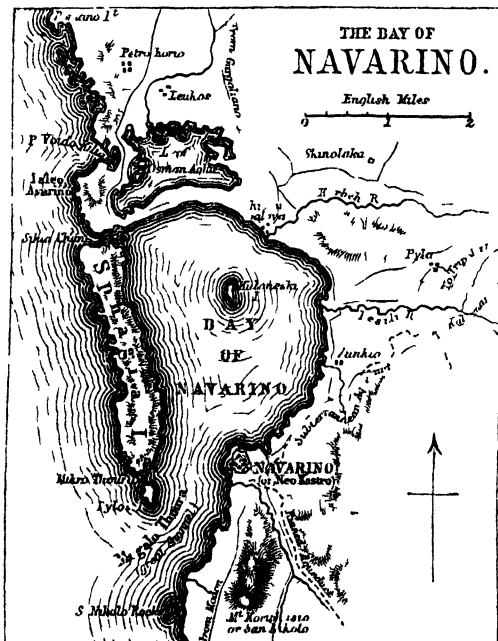
The death of Mr. Canning left the ministry not only without a head, but also without a heart. For the present, however, very few changes took place, and their effect was to bring back into office a portion of Mr. Canning's former friends. Lord Goderich became premier, and Mr. Huskisson succeeded him as colonial secretary. The only difficulty that was encountered lay in the appointment of a chancellor of the exchequer. The office was declined by Mr. Tierney, Mr. Huskisson, and Mr. Sturges Bourne; and was at last given to Mr. Herries, who had been secretary of the treasury under Lord Liverpool's administration, and who had resigned on the appointment of Mr. Canning. Lord Harrowby retired from the presidency of the council. His place was taken by the Duke of Portland, and the Earl of Carlisle succeeded his grace as lord privy-seal. Lord Dudley and Ward, although both his health and intellect were already beginning to fail, remained as secretary for foreign affairs; Mr. Huskisson united the war secretaryship to the colonial department; Lord Lyndhurst was chancellor, Lord Bexley

chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, &c.¹ This Goderich ministry was the third which the country had seen in the course of seven months. Infirm and tottering from its commencement, it yet lingered out a precarious existence of some five months and a half. Its infirmities were the subject of more melancholy jokes than had been perpetrated for a very long time.

Mr. Canning's triple alliance for the liberation of Greece, was attended by consequences he could have scarcely foreseen, which sorely crippled the Ottoman empire, and consequently forwarded the ambitious views of Russia—views to which Mr. Canning had ever and most decidedly been opposed. In the autumn of 1827, the allied squadrons of England, France, and Russia constituted an imposing force in the Archipelago, and endeavoured to give effect to the treaty of London. Sultan Mahmoud, whose armies had suffered a terrible series of checks and defeats ever since the commencement of the war in 1821, had called in the assistance of the Egyptians; and an army of Egyptians, Arabs, Nubians, mercenaries, and adventurers from nearly all the southern side of the Mediterranean, were now ravaging the classical land, burning down the olive-groves of Attica, desolating the fair fields of Messina, and carrying fire and sword wherever they went. This army was commanded by Ibrahim Pacha, a son by adoption of the astute Mehemed Ali, and a man of uncivilized intellect and ferocious heart. Of civilization he had only learned the modern military art—the art of killing with the greatest effect. The undisciplined Greeks could not stand against the trained troops of the pacha; nor could the Greek flotillas, composed almost entirely of light-built trading polacca brigs, risk a contest with the ships of the line of the sultan and Pacha of Egypt. The seas, from the mouth of the Adriatic to the Strait of the Dardanelles, were, and had for three years been, swarming with Greek pirates, some being men who had escaped from starvation or from massacre on shore, but still more being desperadoes and inveterate plunderers, who had betaken themselves to the profession from an innate love of it, or for the sake of the easy booty which might be picked up. These marauders respected no flag whatever; they fell upon the mercantile ships of England, that had been their best and kindest friend during the war, as readily as they fell upon the trading ships of Austria, which, notwithstanding the neutrality agreed to at the congress of Verona, had been perseveringly and maliciously hostile to the cause of Greek independence. Thus, neither by land nor by water was this state of things to be tolerated. It was thought, however,

¹ The Duke of Wellington now reassumed the command-in-chief of the army.

that the double evil might have been checked without any illicit and extreme act on the part of the allies. On his side, the sultan was blameable for an unreasonable obstinacy. In vain Mr. Stratford Canning urged upon the divan the expediency and absolute necessity of conceding independence to the Greeks, and of becoming a party to the pacifying treaty; in vain the French ambassador seconded the British; and in vain the allied admirals invited the Egyptian-Turkish commanders to cease hostilities and enter into the proposed arrangements. While our officers were treating with the officers of the sultan and the pacha, the Morea was in a blaze. The Greeks were but too happy to accept the armistice under the treaty. Ibrahim refused it, and went on burning and slaying as before. The allied admirals now declared to him that they had received positive instructions to stop the effusion of blood; that they would reduce by force either of the two belligerent parties that should refuse to accede to the armistice; that the Greeks had already accepted that armistice; and that, if he resolved to continue hostilities, he would peril his fleet and the most essential interests of his

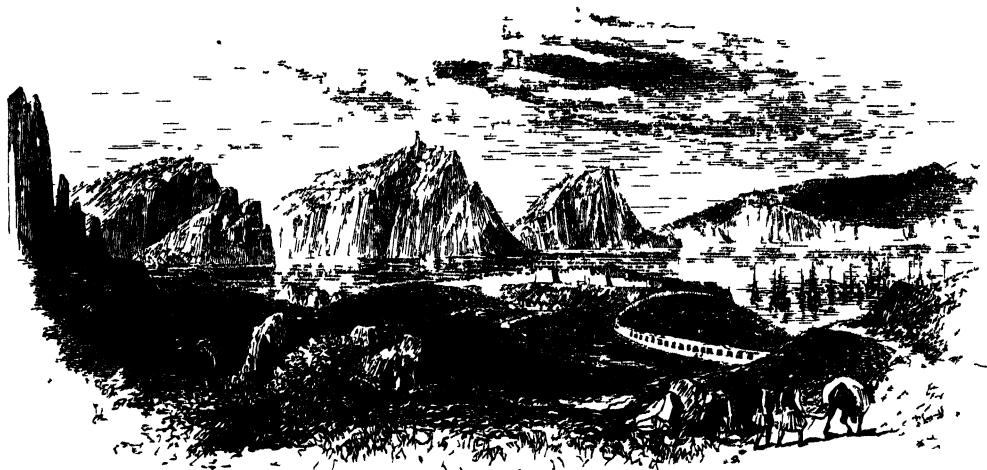


sovereign. At last Ibrahim Pacha gave way so far as to promise that he would stop the work of devastation on shore, and not quit the Bay of Navarino upon any new enterprise against any part of Greece, without further instructions from Constantinople.

Trusting to this engagement, the allied squadrons sailed away, leaving an English and a French

frigate to watch the harbour of Navarino, and the motions of the Turks and Egyptians. They were scarcely gone ere Ibrahim put to sea, with the view of sailing to Patras. On the 2d of October, Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, being then at Zante, was informed of this breach of faith, and of the continuance of atrocities on shore. With his own ship of the line, one frigate, and two brigs, the only force he had then in hand, Sir Edward sailed to meet the Turco-Egyptian fleet, or such portion of it as might have quitted Navarino. He soon discovered nine corvettes, two brigs, and nineteen transports sailing round the Morea and hugging the coast. He cleared his ships for action, and told the Turks and Egyptians that they must forthwith return to Navarino. They returned at his bidding, but the excesses on shore were continued: women and children were put to the sword, every habitation that would burn was burned; the olive-trees, the vines, the mulberry-trees were torn up by the roots, in order to complete the devastation of the country. The three admirals—Codrington for England, de Rigny for France, and Hayden for Russia—consulted how they were to carry out the intention of the treaty of London in enforcing a *de facto* armistice. They concluded that they had only one of three courses to adopt.—1 To continue throughout the whole of the winter a blockade, difficult, expensive, and perhaps useless, since a storm might disperse the squadrons, and afford to Ibrahim Pacha the facility of conveying his destroying army to different parts of the Morea and the islands which had hitherto escaped the horrors of war. 2. To unite the allied squadrons in Navarino itself, and to secure by this permanent presence the inaction of the Ottoman fleets; but this mode alone, it was reasoned, would lead to no termination of hostilities if the Porte should persist in its system. 3 To proceed to take a position with the squadrons in Navarino Bay, and then renew to Ibrahim propositions which, entering into the spirit of the treaty of London, were evidently to the advantage of the Porte itself. This last or third alternative was the one which the allied admirals agreed to adopt, in the hope, they said, “that it might produce a determination leading to the desired object without the effusion of blood, and without hostilities, but simply by the imposing presence of the squadrons.” It was unfortunate that these admirals had not learned enough of Turkish and Egyptian obstinacy to know that this imposing display of force would produce no effect, unless it were seconded by broadsides; and in determining to enter the harbour they must also have determined to fire on Ibrahim’s ships, in the event of his saying “No” to their demands. Their first movement

towards the harbour of Navarino was a hostile movement. The Russians could not repress, and they scarcely attempted to conceal, their exultation. They professed an ardent zeal for human- ity, an unquenchable desire to rescue their co-religionists the Greeks; but the real visions before their eyes were, the supremacy of their flag on the Black Sea so soon as the naval force



THE BAY OF NAVARINO.—From *Expédition Scientifique en Morée*

crowded in Navarino should be annihilated, their own way clear to the Balkan Mountains and to Adrianople, and finally the standard of the victorious czar floating over the Seven Towers or the palace of the sultan and the mosque of Santa Sophia at Constantinople

On the 20th of October, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the combined squadrons passed the Turkish batteries, to take up their anchorage in the bay. Not a shot was fired at them either by the batteries or by the ships; and without interruption or remonstrance they were allowed to anchor in the harbour, close to the Turkish and Egyptian fleet, which was moored in the form of a crescent. The force of the allies amounted to twenty-six ships of all rates, carrying 1324 guns, the Turks and Egyptians had seventy-nine ships, armed with 2240 guns, and there were some heavy batteries on shore; but as the Mussulmans had only three ships of the line, and their opponents had ten sail of the line, and as all their ships were crowded with men who had not the slenderest pretensions to pass as seamen, the allies can hardly be said to have fought at a disadvantage. There still survives a rational doubt as to the way in which this terrible battle really began. Sir Edward Codrington had indeed given orders that not a gun should be fired unless the Turks and Egyptians began first; and the Mussulmans, on their side, although evidently making preparations, did not fire so much as a musket. In this manner the hostile fleets stood at gaze, and in awful silence within the Bay of Navarino, each unwilling to begin the combat, but ready to accept

the slightest signal to action from the other—a single spark would be enough for the volcanic explosion and the death of thousands. And mere accident, if not design, was certain in such a case to kindle the blaze. In this state, a boat was sent from the *Dartmouth* British frigate, to request the removal of six Turco-Egyptian fire-ships at the entrance of the harbour; but this advance being mistaken by the enemy for a hostile signal, and a purpose of boarding the nearest vessel, was encountered by a volley of small arms, by which Lieutenant Fitzroy of the *Dartmouth* was killed, and several of the boat's crew. Almost simultaneously, two shots were fired into the *Syrene*, by which the cable of that ship's anchor was cut in the act of being let go. These aggressive signals were enough, and the volleys of small arms with which the battle commenced were quickly succeeded by a general cannonade. So little had the British ships expected this beginning, and so punctually had Codrington's pacific orders been obeyed, that the band of music on board his ship, the *Asia*, were employed upon the deck in their wonted practice when their notes were suddenly interrupted by the crash of the artillery.

The imprisoned storm had now broke loose, and this naval action, after so long an interval of peace at sea, equalled the fury of all our former naval encounters. The Mussulmans stood boldly to their guns; and amidst the bewildering blaze and crash of broadsides, the ships paired off in single combats, where the skill of the European sailors was more than a match for the inexperi-

enced hardihood of their antagonists. One Turkish ship after another was silenced or shattered; but when their crews could no longer defend them, they set them on fire, and made out in boats for the shore; and in this manner the whole bay was soon an illumination of blazing hulks, that shook the neighbouring ramparts with their explosions, and compelled the victors to stand aloof. At one moment the leading ship, the *Asia*, amidst a terrible encounter, disappeared in the smoke, and was thought to have perished, and her poop was cleared of every person upon it but the admiral himself, whose clothes were torn with the shot; but when the flag upon her topmast re-appeared over the storm of close battle, the whole allied fleet cheered the signal as the promise of victory. Already, too, the French and British ships, while fighting side by side, and in the cause of a common humanity, showed that generous friendship towards each other which only the brave can feel, and which so often converts them from enemies into firm friends. On one occasion, at three o'clock, the British ship *Tulbot* was engaged with several of the enemy, and on the point of being overpowered, when Captain Hugon, of the French frigate *L'Armide*, dashed forward to the rescue. He dexterously winded his vessel through the inner Turkish line, without interrupting the fire of the English ship, and poured such a heavy broadside into the enemy with which she was chiefly engaged, as compelled it to strike. He then took possession; but instead of arrogating this success to his own countrymen, he hoisted the English flag upon the prize along with his own, to indicate that he had only completed what the *Tulbot* had begun. Why should the banners of two such nations wave in mutual and deadly opposition? For four hours the battle continued with unabated fury. It ended in the loss to the sultan and Pacha of Egypt of three ships of the line, four or five frigates, and between forty and fifty smaller vessels of war, there being included in the last number many beautiful and large corvettes, equal in size to our old frigates. The rest of the fleet surrendered, and a convention followed, by which Ibrahim Pacha evacuated the Morea, and the Greek prisoners whom he had sent over to Egypt as slaves were restored to their desolated country. The loss of the allies had been considerable. The English of course came in for the greatest share of it; we had seventy-nine men killed and 197 wounded. Among the killed was the veteran Captain Bathurst, who commanded the *Genoa*, one of our line-of-battle ships. The Russians had fifty-seven killed and thirty-seven wounded. The French counted forty-three dead and 117 wounded. In all 626 Christians were put *hors de combat* in

this stern conflict with the Moslem. The French showed great ardour and emulation; but their firing was not good. The firing of the Russians was decidedly bad. Many of the poor Turks who escaped alive out of the battle and conflagration, afterwards boasted that if there had been none but French and Russians they would have beaten them. By the battle of Navarino Greece was virtually dis severed from the Ottoman empire, and a seal put to the Greek independence.

The news of the disaster, terrible as it was, did not dismay Sultan Mahmoud, or even ruffle his temper. The ambassadors of England, France, and Russia, who were at Constantinople when the battle was fought, and who, in other times, would have been torn to pieces by the janizaries and the populace, were allowed to depart in safety, and without one insulting word being offered to them. Such of their countrymen as chose to remain were taken under the protection of the Turkish law, and had, in no single instance, cause to complain of the inefficiency of that protection. But none were so thunder-struck by the intelligence of the irregular fight as the cabinet of Lord Goderich. In this, as in other matters, the members of that cabinet knew not what course to pursue. At first they eulogized, and, to some extent, rewarded the officers who had fought at Navarino—thus virtually pronouncing their approbation of the affair. But then, disconcerted by the rumours and complaints that were afloat, they despatched Admiral Sir John Gore to the Archipelago, for the purpose of collecting information, and reporting thereon. This seemed, indeed, weak and inconsistent; but before the question could be debated in parliament, the disjointed administration fell to pieces.

Lord Goderich resigned on the 8th of January, 1828, and to give time for the formation of a ministry, the sitting of parliament was prorogued to the 29th. The king sent for the Duke of Wellington, and commissioned him to form an administration, of which he should himself be the head. The great captain was taken by surprise at this unexpected and unwelcome choice, and on former occasions had declared his utter incompetence for such an office as that of premier; but the emergency of the case, as well as his habits of military obedience, prevailed, and before the middle of January he found himself prime minister of Great Britain. But to form an administration out of such discordant parties was no easy task, and much treaty and concession was necessary before this object was effected. The result was, that while all the Whig members of the cabinet went out with Lord Goderich, the principal friends of Mr. Canning remained in, and the Tories returned who had resigned office

on the appointment of Canning to the premiership. Thus Lord Lyndhurst remained as chancellor, and Mr. Goulburn became chancellor of the exchequer, by the transference of Mr. Herries, who was appointed master of the mint; Earl Bathurst became president of the council, in the room of the Duke of Portland; Mr. Peel became secretary for the home department, while Lord Dudley and Ward remained secretary for foreign affairs; Mr. Huskisson retained his office of secretary for the colonies; Lord Melville took the presidency of the board of control, in the place of Mr. C. W. Wynne; and the Earl of Aberdeen

became chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, in the place of Lord Bexley; Lord Palmerston continued in office as secretary at war, and the Duke of Clarence in his extraordinary appointment of lord high-admiral; the Marquis of Anglesey, who had been master-general of ordnance, without a seat in the cabinet, was now appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. With all these resignations and changes, the ministry was now almost the same that it had been during the premiership of Lord Liverpool. Much discontent was of course expressed by those who had gone out, against those of

their party who consented to retain office, and the largest share of this indignation fell upon Mr. Huskisson, who was reproached with having deserted his old alliance with the principles of Mr. Canning.

On the 29th of January the session of parliament was opened by commission, and the king's speech was read by Lord-chancellor Lyndhurst. The nation was eager to learn the views of the new government upon the great and urgent questions of the period; but there was not a word about Irish troubles or the Catholic Association, and none about the corn law; instead of this, the burden of the speech was the unfortunate battle of Navarino, which was now characterized as an "untoward event." Never, perhaps, was the gentle, innocent word "untoward" used in politics with a more bitter effect: it was used by an administration who were hostile to the cause of Greece; and it condemned as peace-breakers and

blunderers the leaders of the three allied powers who had won the victory, and conquered in the cause of freedom and humanity. The phrase was eagerly arrested by the opposition, as well as that which spoke of Turkey as "our ancient ally;" and the battle of Navarino was characterized by Mr. Brougham as a "glorious, brilliant, decisive, and immortal achievement." In the same speech, while expressing the objections of his party to the appointment of one possessed of such military power and influence as the Duke of Wellington to the premiership, Mr. Brougham gave vent to sentiments that have found an echo in the hearts

of every party, and to an expression which has now become a household word throughout the homes of Great Britain. Scorning the supposition that a military dictatorship was to be apprehended from the duke's appointment, he exclaimed, "I have no fear of slavery being introduced into this country by the power of the sword. It would take a stronger, it would demand a more powerful man than even the Duke of Wellington, to effect such an object. The noble duke might take the army, he might take the navy, he might take the mitre, he might take the seal—I would

make the noble duke a present of them all. Let him come on with his whole force, sword in hand against the constitution, and the energies of the people of this country will not only beat him, but laugh at his efforts. There have been periods when the country heard with dismay that 'the soldier was abroad.' That is not the case now. Let the soldier be ever so much abroad, in the present age he can do nothing. There is another person abroad—a less important person, and in the eyes of some, an insignificant person—whose labours have tended to produce this state of things. *The schoolmaster is abroad!*—and I trust more to the schoolmaster, armed with his primer, for upholding the liberties of the country, than I fear the soldier with his bayonet." How groundless this popular apprehension was of the Duke of Wellington's military power and alleged ambition, was fully shown, not only by the course of his life to the close, but by the recent



HENRY BROUGHAM —From a portrait by Lonsdale

fact, that he had resigned his office of commander-in-chief as soon as he had been appointed to the premiership. Except these memorable sentiments of Lord Brougham, the debate on the "untoward event," which was waged in both houses, produced nothing of importance. There were motions for explanations of the battle of Navarino, and motions for the thanks of parliament to the British officers engaged in it; but the usual addresses to the throne were carried without a division.

In February commenced that rupture between the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson, which was to lead in May to a division in the cabinet. The popularity of Mr. Huskisson was now upon the wane, when it was seen with what different ministers he could coalesce and act, and how easily he could join the present cabinet, although he had been the bosom friend of Mr. Canning. On his late re-election at Liverpool, he had publicly declared to his constituents, that before accepting office under the Duke of Wellington, he had "obtained guarantees from the duke" that Mr. Canning's policy would be followed out. It was a rash declaration, even though uttered in the heat of an electioneering speech, as well as insulting language in a holder of office when used about his superior in the government. An explanation was now demanded in parliament, and the duke repelled the statement with indignation. Mr. Huskisson, thus compelled to reply, gave a lame and by no means creditable explanation, which resolved itself into his own belief, and the understanding of his colleagues, that the duke meant to pursue this line of policy; and thus the matter ended for the present.

On the 15th of February, the nomination of a finance committee, which had occasioned the misunderstanding in Lord Goderich's cabinet, was moved for by Mr. Peel, and voted almost unanimously. In making the motion, Mr. Peel stated that since 1815 a reduction of the funded and unfunded debt had taken place to the amount of £48,608,000, while the actual sum of unredeemed debt was £777,476,000. This being the total incumbrance, he stated that the income of last year was £49,581,000, and the expenditure £49,487,000, leaving an excess of income equal to £94,000. Of the expenditure of the present year he could not give a specific statement, as it was not yet made up; but it would be less than that of the previous year to the amount of about £1,188,260. He then begged to impress upon the committee about to be formed, the advantage of simplifying the public accounts, in imitation of France and America, which would be a lasting benefit to the state. The report of the finance committee was given in too late to allow many of

its recommendations being immediately adopted; but one discovery which it made caused a prompt suspension in the granting of government life annuities, until better calculations on the duration of life could be established. When these annuities were brought in by Mr. Perceval in 1808, Dr. Price's tables had been adopted as the standard; but either these tables were miscalculated, or the usual term of longevity had been on the increase since they were framed, and the government annuities had been selling at too low a premium. It was also found that of all professions Scotch gardeners were the longest lived, and of these many were government annuitants. Even in 1819 it was ascertained that the rate of mortality, instead of being one in forty of the outstanding annuities, was only one in fifty-six, occasioning a loss to the public of £95,000 a year, or nearly £8000 a month. Several other suggestions of this committee were of considerable national benefit.

Mr. Canning's widow had been lately raised to the peerage; and when the estimates of the year were presented, a proposal was made to grant a pension of £3000 per annum to his family, in the person of one of his sons. Mr. Canning had possessed no fortune of his own, and the political rank he attained, as well as his own profuseness and indifference to money, had prevented him from making any provision for his family. Had he gone to India he might, in a short time, like other governor-generals, have amassed an independent fortune; but on the death of Lord Castlereagh this prospect he had generously sacrificed to the call of duty and the demand of his country, so that when his political life had ended, he was as poor as when he commenced it. The sum, also, which was proposed for his family was from a special fund, to which he would have been entitled had he been two years in the premiership. Considering these obligations, and the worth of the great statesman to whom they were due, no demur could have been reasonably expected. The claims of such a minister to the gratitude of his country were well set forth on this occasion by the eloquence of Sir James Mackintosh. "That he was a man of the purest honour," said Sir James, "I know. That he was a man of the most rare and splendid talents, I know. That he was a man renowned throughout Europe for his brilliant genius and philosophic thinking, not a member of this house can be ignorant; or that with his best zeal, as well as with success, he applied that genius and those views of policy to advance the service and the glory of his country. If there were those from whom he had differed—and can it be doubted that every politician must have some opposed to him?—if there were some from whom he differed even widely—poli-

tically or personally—this is not an hour when these differences ought to be recollected." And yet, such was the opposition to the proposal, that it was twice debated, and at great length, before it was finally settled. But the ministers were unanimous in seconding the motion, and it passed by a majority of 216 to 54. The pension extended to the lives of both the sons, as the elder, being in the navy, was exposed to the numerous risks of his profession; and the precaution was well thought of, for only five months afterwards he was drowned while bathing at Madeira.

The proceeding of greatest interest during this session was the repeal of the test and corporation acts. These enactments, which were originally levelled against dissenters from the Established church, had now become obsolete; but while they existed, they formed an invidious distinction, which the large and powerful bodies whom they affected were unwilling any longer to endure. Accordingly it was moved by Lord John Russell, on the 26th of February, that a committee of the whole house should be appointed to examine these acts, with a view to their removal. In giving the history of the acts, he showed that, however necessary they might be at first, they were now unsuitable to the present time and circumstances. The dissenters might have been dangerous to the house of Stuart, but assuredly they were loyal subjects to the house of Hanover. They did not deserve to be excluded from civil office by the corporation act; and as to the test act, it had been originally devised for the protection of the church against James II., who was a converted Papist, and known to be hostile to Protestantism. Several speakers followed in the same track, while the opposition to the measure was conducted by Mr. Peel and Mr. Huskisson. Mr. Peel was of opinion that the dissenters were sufficiently relieved by the often-repeated indemnity bills; while Mr. Huskisson feared that by wholly repealing these restrictions, the dissenters would become less vigilant about the rights of conscience, and the Roman Catholics be furnished with an additional ground of complaint, because they were not included in the repeal. Lord John Russell's motion was carried by a majority of 237 to 193; and it was thought that the cabinet, who had resisted it, would be compelled either to abandon office in consequence of their defeat, or sacrifice their opinions to the tolerant spirit which had now obtained the ascendancy. They decided upon the latter alternative, and the bill was brought into the House of Lords under the protection of the premier. The Duke of Wellington said that the only opposition of government to it in the lower house had been because the system had appeared to work well hitherto; but now that the commons had declared for a change, and

because it was found that the old principle of exclusion was indefensible, it would be the duty of the lords to pass the bill, if they found that it was not incompatible with the safety of the Established Church. No such danger seemed to be apprehended; even the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Lincoln, Durham, and Chester, voted in favour of the bill; and the chief opposition was from the ex-chancellor, Lord Eldon, who testily declared that, much as he had heard of "the march of mind," he did not expect to see it marching into the house, with the Duke of Wellington and the prelates at its head! A few amendments were suggested by the lords, that were thought of trivial moment at the time; but one of these was afterwards of no small importance, and was to create abundance of trouble amidst the changes of this changeful period. It was thought necessary in the repeal of these acts, that a proper recognition of Christianity should be retained; and it was decreed that the entrant into office should subscribe the oaths "on the faith of a true Christian." This was latitude enough to all the classes of dissenterism; but it effectually shut out the Jews, who were already looking forward to political office and parliamentary representation, but to whom it presented an insurmountable barrier. The bill was passed through all its stages, and ratified in the beginning of May by the royal assent.

The opposition to the repeal of the test and corporation acts had chiefly arisen from a dread of its ulterior consequences, irrespective altogether of dissenterism. This repeal was a protest against exclusion from office on account of religious opinion, and as such, it threw open the door to Catholic emancipation. The opportunity was eagerly embraced; and on the 8th of May, after the repeal had passed, Sir Francis Burdett moved for the appointment of a committee to consider "the laws affecting Roman Catholics, with a view to such an adjustment as might conduce to the peace and strength of the empire, and to the stability of the Established church." After a debate of three evenings, this expediency was recognized; but instead of proceeding to form resolutions in detail, a conference was sought with the lords, to ascertain whether their sentiments on the subject had undergone any change. The proposal was accepted, and on the 9th of June the resolution of the commons formed the subject of a debate, which lasted two days. The Duke of Wellington, on the passing of the dissenters' bills, had anticipated the use that might be made of them in the present question, and had said, "There is no person in this house whose feelings and sentiments, after long consideration, are more decided than mine are with regard to the subject of the Roman Catholic claims; and until I see a great change

in the question, I certainly shall oppose it." He saw as yet no great change in the question, and he opposed it accordingly. With him also were the law lords and the bench of bishops, and the motion was lost by a majority of forty-four.

Before the subject was thus closed for the session, a misunderstanding had occurred between the premier and a member of his administration, which occasioned an important disruption in the cabinet. Mr. Huskisson had pledged himself to vote for the transfer to Manchester of the elective franchise which East Retford was held to have forfeited by its corruption. Ministers, however, had entertained no such project; and the House of Commons had resolved that, instead of the borough of East Retford being disfranchised, the right of voting should be thrown open to its adjoining hundred. After having voted against his colleagues, Mr. Huskisson addressed a letter, marked "private and confidential," and inclosed in a cabinet box, to the Duke of Wellington. In this letter he said, that after his vote on the East Retford question, he thought it his duty, "without loss of time, to afford him (the duke) an opportunity of placing his office in other hands." The duke immediately laid Mr. Huskisson's letter, as a resignation, before the king. Mr. Huskisson now declared that he had never intended to resign—that his letter was "private." The duke maintained that the letter was, to all intents and purposes, a resignation, and an official letter—which it indisputably was. Lord Dudley and Ward called on the duke, and told him it was a mistake. The duke replied, "It is no mistake—it can be no mistake—it shall be no mistake." His grace also said that the resignation was Mr. Huskisson's own act, and not his. After making repeated and humble entreaties, which he mis-called explanations, to the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Huskisson requested an interview with the king, in the hope of finding his royal master more placable. The duke, however, did not think proper to advise his majesty to grant an audience to Mr. Huskisson until the correspondence between that gentleman and his grace should be at an end. But the duke said to Lord Dudley, "Huskisson is a man of sense, and knows well what should be done to settle the whole matter, and bring it to an end." His grace hereby meant that Mr. Huskisson should withdraw his letter, which, while it remained, was a recorded resignation. But Mr. Huskisson was too proud to act upon the duke's hint; his pride, coming after the exhibition of so much humility, being indeed very much out of place. His letter had been written on the 2d of May, and it was unrecalled on the 25th, on which day the Duke of Wellington wrote to him—"My dear Huskisson,—It is

with great concern that I inform you that I have at last attended his majesty, and have received his instructions respecting an arrangement to fill your office." Mr. Huskisson, in giving his own explanation of these occurrences in the House of Commons, insinuated that he had been made a scapegoat or a peace-offering to gain the support of persons who would join the ministry only on condition that he, and with him all chances of improvement, should be removed; and he made a violent attack on the noblemen and gentlemen who celebrated the birth-day of Mr. Pitt (the 28th of May), as if their approaching festivities had a connection with his downfall.

Along with Mr. Huskisson went out Lord Dudley and Ward, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. C. Grant. The Earl of Aberdeen now became foreign secretary; Mr. Huskisson was succeeded in the colonial office by Sir George Murray; Sir Henry Hardinge became secretary at-war, in lieu of Lord Palmerston; and Mr. V. Fitzgerald was put at the head of the board of trade, in place of Mr. Grant. Mr. Huskisson forthwith retired for a time to the Continent. The folly of his recent conduct ought not to weaken the recollection of the services he had rendered to commerce and his country; and the lamentable, tragical death which so very soon overtook him, ought to obliterate every angry feeling towards him.

At an early period of the session, Mr. Brougham, in a speech which occupied nearly six hours in the delivery, advocated again a sweeping law reform, and concluded with the motion for an address to the king, requesting the issue of a commission of inquiry into the state of the law and constitution of the courts. Nothing like the extensive design of Mr. Brougham was carried into effect; but in the course of the session two commissions were issued for inquiry into the state of the common law, and the law of real property.

Ministers brought in a new corn bill, with the sliding scale, government being still convinced that a scale of varying duties was the best expedient for doing equal justice to all parties interested. The medium or pivot price, which Mr. Canning would have fixed at 60s., was now raised to between 64s. and 65s.

The session was prorogued by commission on the 28th of July, the speech delivered regretting that hostilities had commenced between Russia and Turkey, and that his majesty's just expectations had been disappointed in Portugal.

Another change in the ministry happened during the autumn. The Duke of Clarence resigned the unusual, and, in his hands, expensive office of lord high-admiral; the admiralty was again put into commission, and Lord Melville was reinstated at the head of the board.

CHAPTER XVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1828—1830.

GEORGE IV.

Intimidating proceedings of the Irish Roman Catholics—Their political movements—Their menacing proclamations—Counter proceedings of the Irish Protestants—Public expressions in England about Catholic emancipation—Meeting of Pennenden Heath—State of the emancipation question in the cabinet—Opening of parliament—Consideration of the Roman Catholic claims advocated in the king's speech—The ministers blamed for unfair concealment—Bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association—The subject discussed in parliament—Speeches of Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Peel—The bill for the suppression of the Catholic Association passed—Introduction of the Catholic claims into parliament—Mr. Peel's statements in their behalf—His arguments in favour of Catholic emancipation—His plan of emancipation—Opponents of the motion—Arguments brought forward against the emancipation bill—Proposal to dissolve parliament and ascertain the will of the country—The proposal defeated, and the bill for Catholic emancipation introduced—Numerous petitions against it—The bill passes through the commons—Declaration of the Duke of Wellington in its favour in the House of Lords—The bill passed in the lords and ratified by royal assent—O'Connell's admission into parliament—Failure of Catholic emancipation to compose the troubles of Ireland—O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Irish union—Unsettled state of Ireland—Foreign politics in connection with Britain—Russian campaign of 1828 against the Turks—Its indecisive result—The Russians invade Turkey in the following year—Their successes—They cross the Balkan and take possession of Adrianople—Treaty of Adrianople—Turkey compelled to accept it—Affairs of Greece—Narrow limits assigned to the new Greek kingdom—Nature of the Russian interference in behalf of Greece—Portugal—Dom Pedro's charter—Its violation by Dom Miguel—Miguel's tyrannical proceedings—He becomes absolute King of Portugal—Donna Maria takes shelter in England—Non-interference of Britain in the internal government of Portugal—Parliamentary proceedings—Last illness and death of George IV.



URING the summer and autumn of this year the Roman Catholics of Ireland took bolder and longer strides than they had hitherto done. They adopted intimidation as their best working principle.

They would extort from the fears of government that which they said they could not obtain from its justice. The priests were uncommonly active. "They passed from the theological to the political arena, harangued at aggregate and other Catholic meetings, and were soon both the priests and the tribunes of the people."¹ Their influence over elections was immense, and was exercised without any regard to truth or fairness, without any scruple whatever. The reluctant, ignorant voter they could terrify with the hint or threat of excommunication, purgatory, eternal damnation. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who had vacated his seat for Clare by taking a place in the Duke of Wellington's cabinet, reappeared on the hustings of his native county. He had long been an advocate of the Catholic claims; his very enemies could not deny the excellency and amiability of his personal character; he had the local influence of family and fortune, and the support of the gentry of Clare; but because he was a member of the Wellington ministry, the priests and the Catholic Association, and their blind devotees the peasants, not only drove him from the field before the close of the second day, but substituted in

his place the disqualified Roman Catholic agitator, Mr. Daniel O'Connell. It was quite certain that, as the law stood, Mr. O'Connell could not be admitted to sit and vote in the House of Commons; but still his return was considered as a master-stroke of party policy. In the words of a writer who cannot see that the Irish Catholics were ever wrong or English statesmen ever right in these affairs—"It was such an appalling manifestation of Catholic determination and force, as no anti-Catholic minister would venture to encounter on a general election."²

A plan was formed, and was soon executed, with the aid and agency of the priests, to sever the ties between the Catholic forty-shilling freeholders and their landlords. They also framed and promulgated certain tests. Every candidate for parliament must pledge himself to an uncompromising opposition to the Wellington ministry so long as emancipation was resisted. Mr. Sheil, the best educated of the agitators, delivered many startling speeches, which were printed in the newspapers, as well in England and Scotland as in Ireland. He, too, relied upon the effects of intimidation. His motto, like Danton's, was "*Faire Peur*." In one of these speeches he said—"Does not a tremendous organization extend over the whole of Ireland? Have not all the natural bonds by which men are tied together been broken and burst asunder? Are not all the relations of society which exist elsewhere

¹ Wallace, *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of George IV.*

² Wallace.

gone? Has not property lost its influence? Has not rank been stripped of the respect which should belong to it? *And has not an internal government grown up, which, gradually superseding the legitimate authorities, has armed itself with a complete domination?* Is it nothing that the whole body of the Catholic clergy are alienated from the state; and that the Catholic gentry and peasantry and priesthood are all combined in one vast confederacy? So much for Catholic indignation while we are at peace; and when England shall be involved in a war—I pause. It is not necessary that I should discuss that branch of the subject, or point to the cloud which, charged with thunder, is hanging over our heads."

With defiant proclamations like these, and with the Roman Catholics ranked and marshalled in most hostile array before them, could the Irish Protestants remain silent, neutral spectators? It has been the greatest curse of that country that every set of opinions, in politics or in religion, has been carried up or down to the fanatical point. Protestantism was there as hot and uncompromising as Catholicism. The old Orangemen began to look to their swords and pistols. Protestant associations and Brunswick clubs were formed, to organize a resistance to the associated Romanists. If the British government and its troops had not been between these two furious parties, there would have been at once a war *à l'outrance*, and Ireland would have been deluged with blood. That the adherents of the Roman church would have been victorious in the end, is not quite clear to any conception except that of an Irish Roman Catholic. True, in numbers the Papists more than trebled the Protestants; but look at the respective qualities of the men; look at them physically and morally; look at the education, property, wealth, and general intelligence of the Scotch and English descended Protestants, and then let the eye rest for a moment upon the ignorance, the proneness to blundering, and the squalid poverty of the great body of the Papists! Heaven forbid that these parties should be left to themselves to try that stern contest; but one good way of preventing it may be to impress on the minds of the Roman Catholic peasantry, that mere numbers do not give victory, and that the final result of such a contest would be for them very doubtful.

Even in England the tumultuary proceedings of the Irish Catholics created a great ferment. The opponents of emancipation, fearing that government was about to yield to the organized power of the Papists, thought it right to call for a public expression of the opinion of Englishmen. The example was set by the county of Kent. In pursuance of a requisition, signed by

many persons of rank and influence in the county, a meeting of the freeholders and yeomanry was held on Pennenden Heath, on the 24th of October. It was the most numerous public meeting that had assembled in England for many years: 20,000 persons met on that broad heath, with leaders and speakers very different from the noisy demagogues who had presided over the meetings for parliamentary reform, with universal suffrage and vote by ballot. These leaders and speakers might be somewhat intolerant in matters of faith, or somewhat too much afraid of the effects which would follow the granting of any more concessions to the intolerant Church of Rome; but they were gentlemen of character and fortune—men respected throughout the country, and certainly men who had a right to express freely their opinion on this vital subject. Orator Hunt, whose popularity had greatly declined since the day of Petersfield, endeavoured to thrust himself in, but he was not allowed a hearing. Nor was Mr. Cobbett more successful in the same experiment. The Earl of Winchelsea, and Sir Edward Knatchbull, one of the members for the county, supported the petition proposed for the adoption of the meeting. It was moderate in expression, and after announcing the strong and inviolable attachment of the petitioners to Protestant principles, it prayed the parliament to maintain the Protestant constitution of the United Kingdom entire and inviolable. No counter-motion was made which directly favoured the demands of the Roman Catholics; but it was moved that it ought to be left entirely to his majesty's government to propose such measures as they might think proper for the pacification of Ireland, and the general benefit of the kingdom. This motion was supported by Earl Camden, Earl Darnley, the Earl of Radnor, and Lord Teynham; but the petition was carried by a great majority.

The English friends of emancipation were very severe in their censure of the Pennenden Heath meeting, talking about the wickedness of attempting to control government by such meetings and votes. It has been justly said, that had the meeting terminated the other way, these very men would have applauded it as a magnificent and temperate display of constitutional action. "Was the question, whether Catholics should be admitted to political power, one on which ministers alone were fitted and qualified to decide? Assuredly not. It involved the weightiest interests of every man in the kingdom: its Protestant opponents held that the constitution itself was at stake. If ever there was a doubtful topic on which every part of the people was bound and entitled to make its voice be heard, it was that which had been submitted to the freeholders

of Keut." The example of Pennenden Heath was followed in some other parts of England. Brunswick or constitutional clubs rose up in Leeds, in Leicester, and under the patronage of the Marquis of Chandos, in the county of Buckingham. But they displayed no activity; they neither salaried nor in any other way cherished "agitators;" they were moderate and prosy, and they left scarcely a trace behind them.

The Catholic question still continued an open one in the cabinet. Mr. Dawson, the member for Derry, secretary to the treasury, and brother-in-law to Mr. Peel, had hitherto been a zealous anti-Catholic; but now, at a public dinner to his constituents, he declared that he had come to the conclusion that emancipation was the only means of restoring the supremacy of government and law in Ireland. In a correspondence with Dr. Curtis, the Roman Catholic primate of that country, the Duke of Wellington said that he was most anxious to witness the settlement of the Catholic question, and if it could be buried in oblivion, for a *short time*, he would not despair of seeing a satisfactory result. On the other hand, the Marquis of Anglesey, the present lord-lieutenant, was of opinion that it was neither possible nor desirable to bury the question, though for ever so short a time. The noble marquis - the gallant soldier, and perfect English gentleman - gave the Irish Catholics and their agitators advice much too gentle and good to be taken by them. He told them, that though they might persevere in their cause, they ought to abstain from using personal and offensive language towards those who opposed their claims. "Personality," said the marquis, "offers no advantage; it effects no good; on the contrary, it offends and confirms predisposed aversion. Let the Catholic trust to the justice of his cause, and to the growing liberality of mankind." This was said during the month of December. In the beginning of January the Marquis of Anglesey was recalled, to be succeeded by the Duke of Northumberland.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 5th of February, 1829, with a speech which contained a decisive recommendation from the throne:—"The state of Ireland has been the object of his majesty's continued solicitude. His majesty laments, that in that part of the United Kingdom an association should still exist which is dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution; which keeps alive discord and ill-will amongst his majesty's subjects; and which must, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland. His majesty confidently relies on the wisdom and on

the support of his parliament, and his majesty feels assured that you will commit to him such powers as may enable his majesty to maintain his just authority. His majesty recommends, that when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in church and state, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge."

Generally, those who were opposed to emancipation charged the Duke of Wellington with an unfair concealment of his design up to the last hour, and taxed Mr. Peel with faithlessness and apostasy. They said, that had the Duke of Wellington disclosed his intentions sooner, the petitions of the people and the counsel of individuals would have fortified the king's well-known opposition to the measure. The duke vindicated himself by the fact of his not having obtained the king's sanction until near the last moment. Indeed, down to the afternoon of the 10th of February, when the ministerial plan was to be introduced into the commons, the Duke of Wellington did not feel perfectly secure. It was said, that down to the very last hour, it was really a matter of doubt with Mr. Peel whether he should proceed; and that this doubt was removed by the duke writing him a hurried pencil note, containing the words - "You may go on." Mr. Peel went on, beginning by introducing a bill to suppress the Catholic Association, as a measure which ought to precede any consideration of the claims of the Catholics.

In the course of the discussions, it was strongly questioned of the ministers why the suppression of this association had not been sooner accomplished? You justly describe this association, it was said to them, as a body whose existence is incompatible with the due operation of the powers of the regular government. You represent Ireland as being in a state of agitation, which can be soothed only by granting all that the Catholics demand; and no man can doubt that the Catholic Association, which exists only for purposes of agitation, is the great fomentor of that dangerous and alarming spirit. You say that it must be put down; you ask extraordinary powers to put it down; by doing so you grant that it may be put down. If so, why has it been allowed to go on prospering and unimpeded for years, till, having gained "a giant's stature and a tyrant's

strength," it brings you crouching to its feet in trembling obedience to its mandates? In short, you acknowledge that by a due use of power you might have prevented the state of things, in which, now that it has been allowed to grow up, you seek an apology for deserting the policy to which you have been so long pledged. Above all, you asked and obtained, in 1825, an act for suppressing this very association. Yet it is since that time that it has become so formidable. If the powers given by that act were sufficient, why was it not enforced? If they were insufficient, why were more effective powers not demanded? for who would have grudged any powers necessary to put down an usurpation of the regular government of the country?

The solicitor-general for Ireland answered, that he had attended to the debates of the association with the closest anxiety; but, after all his anxiety and all his vigilance, it was the unanimous opinion of his colleagues on the other side of the Channel, that it would have been a useless task to have undertaken a prosecution against any individual for his conduct in the Catholic Association, and that an abortive attempt at prosecution would have been worse than useless, inasmuch as it would have irritated, without putting down, the members of that association. He could not, upon the present occasion, enter into a detail of all the circumstances which, in his opinion, rendered it impolitic to attack the Catholic Association—he would confine himself to saying, that it was a matter of extreme difficulty to draw up a bill of indictment against 7,000,000 of people. He did believe, that baffled and hampered as the legal advisers of the crown were, the wisest plan which they could pursue was to confess the real truth, that it was a matter of extreme difficulty to frame such an indictment. He had voted for the bill of 1825; but since that time there had been a new parliament, and it was by no means certain that the present parliament would repose the same confidence in, or intrust similar powers to a ministry, unless some hopes were held out that the coercive measure was to be immediately followed by one of concession. The solicitor-general, however, forgot that this very House of Commons had refused, in 1827, to entertain Sir Francis Burdett's motion for a committee.

Mr. Huskisson said that it would have been impossible, in the way of definition and enactment, to have gone further than the act of 1825 went, without interfering improperly with the rights and privileges of the subject generally; and from the period in which that act was passed, down to the period in which he ceased to have a share in his majesty's councils, the government had been most anxious to give full efficacy, as far as was consistent with the liberty of the sub-

ject, to such provisions of it as were intended to guard against the mischief of the Catholic Association. When he saw the mode in which that act was evaded in Ireland, his mind was made up to this conclusion—that there was no mode of terminating the danger arising from that association without vesting in the government a considerable portion of arbitrary power—indeed such a portion as it was now proposed to vest for a time in the government of Ireland. Now, he would ask whether the house was prepared to place such power in the Irish government permanently? He was not at liberty to state to the house what passed in his majesty's councils during the period in which he had the honour of enjoying a seat at the council board—neither was it necessary that he should do so: he was at liberty, however, to state this—that, having come to the conclusion which he had just declared to the house, he could not help coming to another conclusion also; and that was, that, consistently with his public duty, he could not grant to the government that arbitrary power which was necessary to put down the Catholic Association, without putting an end, at the same time, to the cruel system of exclusion which called that association into existence. Either in or out of office, he never would have agreed to such a measure of coercion, if assured it was to be a permanent measure, unless it had been accompanied at the same time by an assurance that the evil system, which the association sought to remedy, was going to be abandoned.

Mr. Peel said, that to state the reasons why he did not enforce the act of 1825, would make it necessary to go into the whole history of affairs in Ireland during the last four years, which would lead to the conclusion that, amid the divisions and contentions which prevailed, the real abatement of faction was impossible. Moreover, it should be borne in mind how the act of 1825 was followed up by the same parliament which introduced it. It had been followed up by a bill for Catholic relief, which, though lost in the upper house, must yet have shown the people that conciliation was intended to accompany coercion. The act, then, of 1825, was not the only measure upon which the House of Commons depended for the tranquillity of Ireland, when they had recorded its accompaniment by the admission that Catholic disabilities ought to be removed. These were the causes which had prevented the effectual operation of the law of 1825.

The act passed: but the association rendered it unnecessary to make use of the powers which it bestowed. Their parliamentary friends had pointed out to them that, as matters stood, with the government pledged to emancipation, their continuing together as a body could only do mis-

chief; and the association, even before the bill had completed its hasty progress, declared itself dissolved. It was plain, however, even from the explanations given by ministers themselves, that the association had been allowed to bully the government into submission, and that the present act for its suppression was mere legislative mockery—the ridiculous assumption of a threatening gesture to cover and conceal their impotence. The association had demanded emancipation, unqualified emancipation, and nothing else. It had said to the government, Give us emancipation, and we exist no more; refuse us what we ask, and we defy your power either to restrain or to resist us. The question between it and the government had never been, whether it would be quiet, if the government gave all that it demanded—but whether or no the government could compel it to be quiet, even though it should get nothing. In such circumstances, when one hand held a bill for suppressing the association, while the other contained a bill granting all that the association demanded, to speak of having suppressed the association was an abuse of words. It was as if a man should boast of his victory over a highwayman, to whom he exclaims, when the pistol is at his breast, “Down with your pistol, sir, for there are my purse and my watch.”¹

The new bill against the association received the royal assent on the 5th of March; and on the same day Mr. Peel moved in the House of Commons, that the house should go into a committee on the laws which imposed disabilities on the Roman Catholics. But he no longer rose as member for the university of Oxford. On the 4th of February, the day before the meeting of parliament, he addressed a letter to the vice-chancellor of the university, announcing the new views of policy by which he was about to be guided, acknowledging that his resistance to the Catholic claims had been one main ground on which the university had made him its representative, and tendering his resignation. His resignation was accepted; Mr. Peel vacated his seat, and was immediately proposed as a candidate at the new election. His opponent was Sir Robert Harry Inglis, who had not yet seen the expediency of changing his opinions. Never were greater exertions made in the course of any election. The united influence of the government and of the Whigs was pushed to its utmost limit in behalf of the home secretary. On the other hand, Sir Robert H. Inglis was supported by some of the dignitaries of the church, and, with great zeal, by the parochial clergy. After a contest of three days, Oxford rejected Mr. Peel by a majority of 146. He was immediately returned for the borough of Westbury.

On the 5th of March, for which day a call of the house had been ordered, Mr. Peel, having made his motion, began a long speech with stating that he rose, as a minister of the king, to vindicate the advice which an united cabinet had given to his majesty, to recommend to the consideration of parliament the condition of the Catholics, and to submit to the house those measures by which government proposed to carry that recommendation into effect. He was aware that the subject was surrounded by many difficulties, which were increased by the relation in which he himself stood to the question; but having come to the sincere conviction that the time was arrived at which an amicable adjustment of the disputed claims would be accompanied with less danger than any other course which he could suggest, on that conviction he was prepared to act, unchanged by any expression of opinion of an opposite nature, however general or deep—unchanged by the forfeiture of political confidence, or by the heavy loss of private friendship. He had long felt that, with a House of Commons favourable to emancipation, his position as a minister opposed to it was untenable. Under this feeling, when a bill passed the house in 1825, he had intimated to Lord Liverpool his wish to resign, that he might thereby remove one obstacle to the settlement of the question. His resignation, he was informed, would occasion that of Lord Liverpool, and dissolve the ministry: he had agreed, therefore, to wait the decision of a new House of Commons. The new House of Commons, elected in 1826, decided in 1827 against the Catholics; but in 1828 it adopted a different course, and came to a resolution determining the principle of the question. After that decision he was prepared to follow the course which he had proposed to himself after the decision of 1825, with this addition—that he notified to the Duke of Wellington not only his readiness to retire from office, but that, seeing the current of public opinion, he was ready to sacrifice consistency and friendship; and, by whatever parties the settlement of the question was undertaken, he, for one, was prepared, in whatever post he might be, to support the measure, provided he thought it was undertaken on principles safe for the Protestant Establishment. He was aware that he was called on to make out a case for this change of policy; and he was now to submit to the house an argument of fact, which proved to his mind, with the force of demonstration, that it was imperative on ministers to recommend the measure which he was about to introduce, however inconsistent it might seem to be with their former tenets.

Mr. Peel, in the next place, proceeded to explain the nature of the measure which he and his

¹ *Annual Register for 1829.*

colleagues had resolved to propose, as that which ought finally to adjust and settle the question. No persons, he said, except the members of government, had been parties to the framing of the bill. It had been thought advisable that it should not be proposed as a compromise or compact with any parties whatever; and that for its concessions as well as for its restrictions, government alone should be responsible. The principle and basis of the measure was to be the abolition of civil distinctions and the equality of political rights. There would be exceptions standing on special grounds, but such was to be the general rule. Another pervading principle of the bill would be the maintenance, in fact and in word, of the Protestant religion as by law established, its doctrines, its discipline, and its government. He would first of all repeal those laws which placed Catholics, unless they took certain oaths, on a different footing from Protestants, even in regard to real property, a distinction which Protestants and Catholics were equally interested in abolishing; the next provision would be the admission of Catholics to parliament, on the same terms with Protestants. Unless this was granted, all other concessions of political power would avail nothing. It had been proposed to restrict the number of Catholic members, and to define certain subjects on which they should not be allowed to vote: both of these limitations ministers had rejected. Any limitation of their numbers it would be difficult to carry into effect; and even if it were practicable, it would have the mischievous result of making them combine, and holding them up as a sacred band charged with the interests of the Roman Catholics. There could be no efficient test for deciding on what questions a Roman Catholic member should be entitled to vote, and on what he should not. It would be difficult to determine what questions relate exclusively to the interests of the Established church; and it might be that questions nominally relating to the interests of the Established church might not be those in which its interests were really involved. If the Roman Catholic were entitled to speak, but precluded from voting on such questions, injury might be inflicted as effectually by an able man, with party ties and connections, making an inflammatory speech, and then leaving his party to support it by their votes; yes, as much mischief might be inflicted by such a man, if he spoke, as if he were entitled to vote. On the whole, such a restriction would be a departure from the principle of the bill, viz., the abolition of all distinctions, and the equality of political rights. In conformity with the same principle, the bill would proceed, as a matter of course, to render Catholics admissible to all corporate offices in Ireland, to all offices

connected with the administration of justice, and to all the higher civil offices of the state. He was aware, he said, of the objections as to the last; but having once resolved to yield political power, this could not be refused. He doubted the wisdom of qualifying the Roman Catholic to receive a favour from the popular branch of the constitution, and leaving him disqualified to receive a favour from the crown; of allowing him to acquire distinction by flattering the prejudices and courting the applause of the people, and depriving the crown of the power to reward him for any exertions which he might make in support of its honour and dignity. In order to leave the avenues of ambition in parliament open to the Roman Catholic, he was of opinion that we ought to render him capable of being employed in the civil service of his country. It necessarily followed from those concessions, that the oaths taken by members of the legislature must be modified. In the new oath the Catholic member would be called on to swear allegiance in the usual terms—to disclaim the deposing power of the pope, and the doctrine that his holiness had any temporal or civil power, directly or indirectly, within the realm—solemnly to abjure any intention of subverting the Establishment, and to bind himself not to employ any of his privileges to weaken the Protestant religion or government. No doubt there was no disclaimer of certain other doctrines—the doctrine that faith was not to be kept with heretics—the doctrine that persons could be relieved by the pope from the solemn obligations of an oath. But to require them to make those and other disclaimers of a similar character was, in his opinion, an unnecessary piece of legislation. He had omitted them as unnecessary to be applied to those who were thought worthy to be incorporated into that house. The remaining part of the measure regarded the exceptions from the general rule—the securities which were to be retained in the midst of concession, as the safeguards of the Protestant constitution. These lay within a narrow compass, and related to duties or offices connected with the Established church. The only offices from which Mr. Peel proposed to exclude Catholics, were those of lord-lieutenant or chief governor of Ireland, and of lord high-chancellor, or keeper, or commissioner of the great seal. He also meant to exclude Catholics from appointments in any of the universities, or colleges, or institutions upon Protestant foundations, such as Eton, Westminster, Winchester, or any ecclesiastical schools of the same kind; in addition to which he meant to retain the law against even presentations by Catholics to places of this kind; and he proposed further, that in case a Catholic, by virtue of his situation or pro-

party, should hold any office of church patronage, such influence should be attached to and exclusively vested in the crown. He further proposed that it should not be lawful for any Catholic to advise the crown regarding the investiture or distribution of any ecclesiastical dignity in the Established church of England or Ireland. Of other ecclesiastical securities, as they were called, which had at different times been proposed, he entirely disapproved. One proposal had been to provide for the Roman Catholic church, and incorporate it with the state; but this would require negotiation and compact with the see of Rome, and he saw the greatest difficulties at arriving at any such result. There was something revolting to the feelings of Englishmen, to the independence and pride of the country, in the King of England being obliged to go to a foreign ecclesiastical court like that of Rome, for the purpose of obtaining securities and determining on what footing his own subjects were to stand. They could not approach the court of Rome on such a subject without admitting it at once as an authority in legislation, and recognizing its right to withhold its assent from the measure. On that ground he took it that negotiations of this nature with the court of Rome were incompatible with the dignity, the character, and the independence of England; and this was a sufficient objection to that mode of attempting to provide securities for the Protestant establishment in church and state. Moreover, the incorporation of the Roman Catholic church with the state, the granting to the crown a control over the appointment of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the payment of salaries by the state to the ministers of that religion, would be a measure more repugnant to the feelings and principles of the inhabitants of this country than any other measure that could be devised.

A veto on the nomination of the Catholic bishops was another security which had been contained in former proposed bills; but that, too, he would give up. His objection to it was, that it would be considered, and that not unjustly, as the commencement of a qualified establishment with regard to the Roman Catholic church. He objected to it, not that he thought this an unreasonable demand on the part of the crown, but because he thought that if we had sent to us a list of the names of candidates for the dignity of Catholic bishops in Ireland, it would be extremely difficult to free ourselves from the responsibility that must attach to our choice. We, in fact, would thus be parties to the nomination of Roman Catholic bishops, and would commence a qualified establishment for that church, which above all things, under existing circumstances, it was desirable to avoid. At once, then, he

abandoned the idea of a veto—first, because it afforded no rational security; and in the second place, because objections might possibly be made by the Roman Catholics towards our exercise of such a power, which objections it was not worth while to raise. Still less was he inclined to adopt a third security, viz., a power of examining the intercourse between the Irish Catholic church and the see of Rome. He did not know whether the Catholics would object to such a provision; but he had no desire to inspect the correspondence, and therefore no wish to raise the question. He would much rather that the secretary of state should have no more to do in the way of interference with the spiritual affairs of the Romish church than he had to do with the internal discipline and regulation of the Wesleyan Methodists. If the time should arrive when, from a change of circumstances, danger was likely to result from that intercourse (civil or spiritual) after the settlement of the present question, he should have no hesitation in coming down to the house with a bill, regulating, and, if necessary, interdicting that correspondence. The great advantage of settling this question and composing the differences at present existing in Ireland, in consequence of the civil disabilities imposed on the Catholics, consisted in this—that, after we had set this matter at rest, we should be enabled to demand and to take any securities that might be necessary. We should then be enabled to maintain a high, independent, and uncompromising tone towards the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and legislate for them as for others of his majesty's subjects.

But though he discarded all these arrangements as sources of security, there were certain other things which it would be proper to make matter of regulation. In the first place, he thought it fit to provide that when Roman Catholics were admitted to the enjoyment of corporate offices, and other offices of a similar nature, in no case, and under no pretence whatsoever, should the insignia of office be taken to any other place of worship than a place of worship of the Established church; that the robes of office should not be exhibited in any other place of public worship except the Protestant church; and that the insignia of office, if carried in any religious ceremony, should be carried in the ceremonies of that church alone. Secondly, a practice had been got up of late calculated to afford great, and, he might add, just offence to Protestants—a practice of claiming and assuming on the part of Roman Catholic prelates the names and titles of dignitaries belonging to the Church of England. He proposed to prohibit the assumption by members of the Roman Catholic church of episcopal titles and names made use of in the Church of England. Thirdly, it

was necessary to enact some regulations for monastic institutions. At present such societies were not interfered with; and with the existing communities he did not propose to interfere to any considerable extent. However, it was manifest that we ought to know the numbers of these societies, and who were the members of them; and with a view to obtain this information, government intended to make a provision for having the names and numbers of the individuals composing such communities registered. They would also require that communities bound by monastic vows should not be extended and multiplied in this country in future; and it was meant to provide against the entrance into this country of a class of men against whom other countries had set their faces, and who hitherto, therefore, had resorted to this; he meant the order of Jesuits. Other countries had taken precautions against them, and why should not we? The state of the law, as now proposed to be established, would at least give to every party belonging to these religious orders and communities the full enjoyment of the rights which they enjoyed at present; it would confirm the existing privileges on a registration of their names and numbers. We had a clear right to take measures of security and precaution against the entrance of other members of these orders into the country, and against the extension of religious communities professing no allegiance to any authority in this country, and being under the control of foreign superiors, resident, it might be, at the court of Rome.

Such was the plan described by Mr. Peel as that which ministers meant to propose for the new settlement of the constitution; such were the grounds on which he maintained that a new settlement could no longer be postponed. A concomitant measure was the raising of the freehold qualification in Ireland. But although Mr. Peel developed at some length the principles on which he called for the assent of parliament to the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders in return for the concessions to be granted, yet, as that measure was contained in a separate bill, which ran its own course, it seems better to reserve the discussions regarding it for their own place, merely observing that it was always held out as a change which must accompany the other important measure, whether in success or defeat. Ministers would not ask for it unless emancipation were granted; and if emancipation were granted, they would not dispense with it. "And now," continued Mr. Peel, concluding a speech which occupied more than four hours, "although I am not so sanguine as others in my expectations of the future, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying I fully believe that the adjustment of this

question, in the manner proposed, will not only give much better and stronger securities to the Protestant interest and establishment than any other that the present state of things admits of, but will also avert evils and dangers impending and immediate. I know I might have taken a more popular and palatable course—more popular with the individuals in concert with whom I long thought and acted—more palatable to the constituents whom I have lost; but I have consulted for the best for Protestant interests and Protestant establishments. This is my defence against the accusations I have endured—this is my consolation under the sacrifices I have made—this shall be my revenge. I trust that, by the means now proposed, the moral storm may be lulled into a calm, the waters of strife may subside, and the elements of discord be stilled and composed. But if these expectations shall be disappointed—if, unhappily, civil strife and contentions shall arise—if the differences existing between us do not spring out of artificial distinctions and unequal privileges, but if there be something in the Roman Catholic religion not to be contented with a participation of equal privileges, or with anything short of superiority—still I shall be content to make the trial. If the battle must be fought—if the contest which we would now avoid cannot be averted by those means—let the worst come to the worst, the battle will be fought for other objects, the contest will take place on other grounds. The contest then will be, not for an equality of civil rights, but for the predominance of an intolerant religion. If those more gloomy predictions shall be realized, and if our more favourable hopes shall not be justified by the result, we can fight that battle against the predominance of an intolerant religion more advantageously after this measure shall have passed, than we could do at present. We shall then have the sympathy of other nations; we shall have dissolved the great moral alliance that existed among the Roman Catholics; we shall have with us those great and illustrious authorities that long supported this measure, and which will then be transferred to us, and ranged upon our side; and I do not doubt that in that contest we shall be victorious, aided as we shall be by the unanimous feeling of all classes in this country, as demonstrated in the numerous petitions presented to this house, in which I find the best and most real securities for the maintenance of our Protestant constitution—aided, I will add, by the union of orthodoxy and dissent; by the assenting voice of Scotland; and, if other aid be necessary, cheered by the sympathies of every free state, and by the wishes and prayers of every free man, in whatever clime, or under whatever form of government, he may live."

The debate upon the motion for going into a committee was continued by adjournment upon the 6th of March. The principal supporters of the proposal were found among ministers and their converted adherents. The Whigs, satisfied with approving and lauding the ministry, did not take any leading share in the discussion. Lord Milton, Sir J. Newport, Mr. Brougham, and Sir F. Burdett spoke, but left the task of justification to the introducers of the measure, to whom it was much more difficult than it would have been to themselves.¹

In opposition to the motion, Mr. Banks, Sir Robert Inglis (who had succeeded Mr. Peel in the representation of Oxford), and Mr. Clinton, denied that any one, or all of the grounds on which this new policy had been adopted by government, could be admitted as valid. The grounds stated by Mr. Peel had been the state of Ireland, the evils of a divided cabinet, the difficulty of managing a House of Commons which left him in a minority, and the mischiefs consequent upon a division between the two branches of the legislature. In regard to the first, the discord and agitation to be found in Ireland not only were no new features in the history of that country, but were not even the result of the penal laws, and would not disappear on the removal of civil disabilities. These evils had existed in Ireland, in one shape or another, as long as we had known it; and ministers were bound to show that the situation of Ireland was worse than it had been when they held themselves bound, in justice to the country, to resist concession. The opponents of emancipation were asked what other remedy they would propose for the mischiefs of the present state of things. It would be enough to say, that at all events a remedy was not to be sought in the overthrow of the Protestant constitution, an evil in comparison with which all others became as nothing. According to the account of ministers themselves, the Catholic Association had been a main instrument in producing that disease for which they could now discover no cure but concession. But, confessedly, at the same time, not even an attempt had been made to crush that usurping convention. Acts had been passed for that purpose; and the very ministers who had called for them had allowed them, when obtained, to remain inoperative. With respect to the argument founded on the divided state of the cabinet, why did not the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, instead of changing their own course, rather attempt to make such of their colleagues as were friendly to concession accede to their views?—the rather, as the right honourable gentleman stated that his opinions of the danger of granting Catholic emancipation were un-

changed. Surely he could not be fearful of being able to form a cabinet unanimous on the point of exclusion, and therefore should never have struck those colours under which there were no difficulties too great to surmount. As to the danger of a civil war unless the intended measures were acceded to, ministers had erred in not relying on the aid and force which they would have derived from public opinion, and the moral determination of the people of England. Besides, it was not a choice between civil war and concession, as far as the people of Ireland were concerned; but a far greater chance of a civil war to-morrow, on the part of the Protestants of England, if the Catholics were admitted to the entire privileges of the constitution. At best, it was only postponing the evil day; and it was for the house to consider under what different circumstances the attack could be resisted now, from those to which it would be possible to meet it when the Catholics possessed all the political immunities of the constitution. Unfortunately, the very manner in which the measure was brought forward provoked further attack. It was not the triumph of those who long espoused the cause gradually working their way by the power of opinion: it was the victory of force driving former enemies into desertion by intimidation. It told the agitators of Ireland that they were too strong for the government of Britain; that whatever they asked would be conceded, even to the giving up of the constitution, provided only it were asked with enough of clamour and confusion. Ministers themselves did not venture to represent this measure as an act of grace, but as one which had been forced upon them by imperious necessity, many of them still retaining their former opinions, and having their eyes open to all the evils likely to result from the course which they were pursuing. No rational man could expect that the Catholics and Catholic priesthood would remain satisfied even with what was now given. The re-establishment of their church was not only their interest, if they were true Catholics it was their sacred duty, an obligation far more holy than that of battling for a civil franchise, which, in truth, would be chiefly valuable only as an instrument by which to regain religious preponderance. Even the home secretary seemed to anticipate an ulterior struggle, which implied that he believed the Catholics to entertain ulterior objects; and it was inexplicable wisdom to prepare for a contest by clothing your enemy in new armour, and putting into his hands new weapons of offence.

The opponents of emancipation did not consider the provisions, which were called securities against the danger of admitting Roman Catholics to the civil, judicial, and military powers of

¹ *Annual Register*, 1829.

the state, as sufficient, or as other than ridiculous. Admission of Catholics to all places was the general rule of the bill; and the securities were to be found in the exception of two offices, all the power connected with which might be just as much employed by the influence of Catholics filling other offices to which no disqualification was attached. The lord-chancellor was not to be a Catholic; but then the first lord of the treasury might be a Catholic, and so might all the rest of the cabinet ministers. It was the first lord of the treasury who recommended to the crown persons who were to act as bishops in the Protestant church. Was it to be expected that a Roman Catholic first lord of the treasury would make a proper use of this patronage? Mr. Peel had stated that if any office to which church patronage was attached should happen to be filled by a Catholic, then that patronage was to be transferred to some other minister. But what did this mean? The first lord of the treasury was the individual who recommended to the crown the appointment of the higher dignitaries of the church, but the appointment did not rest in himself, and therefore it would seem that there was nothing to prevent the first lord of the treasury, being a Catholic, from recommending to the sovereign persons appointed to bishoprics; though the first lord of the treasury or the chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, if Catholics, could not exert a direct influence which might belong to their offices in conferring minor church preferments. It was maintained, on the same side, that the Catholics, regarding all shades of Protestantism as an accursed heresy, would never cease in their endeavours to proselytize. Ministers themselves acknowledged there was this danger—why else did they say that the moment when they were granting nearly all that the Catholics desired, still they were not willing to trust them without some restrictions? These restrictions showed that they did not consider them worthy of being trusted.

Different members urged the propriety of dissolving parliament. Mr. Estcourt, one of the members for the university of Oxford, denied that the present parliament was qualified to settle the Catholic question. It had, he said, been elected in 1826, when the affairs of the country were under the guidance of that vigilant protector of the Protestant cause—the late Lord Liverpool. There was not then the same anxiety about the Catholic question, for the country had confidence in his lordship, and even in the right honourable home secretary (Mr. Peel) himself. He thought it incumbent on ministers to take the sense of the country, by calling a new House of Commons, before they ventured to introduce so extraordinary a measure as that of admitting

the Catholics to parliament and to the offices of state.

The motion, on the other hand, was supported by Sir George Murray, the colonial secretary, by Mr. Grant, Mr. North, and Mr. Huskisson. They repeated and enforced the positions, that the pacification of Ireland was necessary to the safety of the empire, and that without emancipation that pacification could not be effected. We could not destroy one part of the people by rousing and inciting the other. Government could not ally itself with Orange clubs. Peace was not to be restored to Ireland by Protestant arms or by a thoroughly established Protestant ascendancy. It was the duty of government to protect the whole community, without distinction as to religions or sects; it was the duty of government to insure to all the greatest degree of protection, and to give to the people whatsoever privilege they had a right to claim and enjoy. Mr. Peel replied to those who called for a dissolution. A dissolution of parliament, said he, means that the Catholic Association and the elective franchise are to be left as they now are. If parliament is to be dissolved, the Catholic Association *must* be left as it is; for the law officers of the crown have declared that the common law is altogether inadequate to suppress it; and, being so left, it will overturn the representation of Ireland.

On a division the motion was carried by a majority of 188, the numbers dividing being 348 against 160.

Petitions were now poured into the house from all quarters. Before the first reading of the bill there had been presented 957 petitions against emancipation, and 357 in its favour. Among the anti-Catholics there were several sudden conversions, which were not always thought to proceed from disinterested motives. Sir Thomas Lethbridge, one of the members for Somersetshire, had worried or wearied Mr. Canning in his last days by his incessant harangues against the Catholics and against those who favoured their claims; he had taxed that minister as an apostate to the Church of England, and, quite recently (only in the middle of January), he had attended a public meeting in Devonshire, assembled to petition against further concessions to the followers of that religion, and he had then and there been the organ of obstinate and enthusiastic resistance to the ministerial scheme. Yet, in the beginning of March, this same Sir Thomas Lethbridge stood out and pronounced a recantation, and declared all at once, and with such solemnity as was in him, that the plan of ministers was wise, excellent, patriotic, perfect in all its parts. On the 17th of March, Mr. Peel moved the second reading of the bill. Sir Charles

Wetherell, the attorney-general, who had refused to draw the bill, was still in office, but only waiting until his successor could be appointed. He censured the whole bill in the bitterest manner, and was not sparing of personalities in speaking of those who had framed it, or who were advocates for it. The bill, however, was read a second time by a majority of 173, the numbers dividing being 353 to 180. In committee an amendment was moved, to include the place of prime minister among the offices which could not be filled by Catholics. After three days in committee, the bill came out as it went in; and on the 30th of March it was read a third time and passed by the commons. On the very next day, Mr. Peel, with a very numerous escort, presented his bill at the bar of the lords. It was read that evening for the first time, and without opposition. The Duke of Wellington, who was determined to admit of no delay, moved that it should be read a second time on the 2d of April. Lord Bexley and the Earl of Malmesbury opposed this motion, on the ground that such precipitate haste was unbecoming. The duke answered that the subject had been sufficiently discussed already, and that the public were exceedingly anxious to see it settled. Lord Holland justified his grace by referring to the haste with which the statutes about to be repealed had been originally passed; and the motion was soon carried without a division.

On the 2d of April, the Duke of Wellington moved the second reading, hoping the house would believe him when he said that the course which he had now adopted on this question had not been adopted without the fullest conviction that it was a sound and just one. After taking a review of the actual state of Ireland, and dwelling upon the extremities to which adverse factions, animated by bigotry and hereditary hatred, were likely to proceed, the duke said, "It has been my fortune, my lords, to have seen much of war—more than most men. I was constantly engaged in the active duties of the military profession from boyhood until I grew gray. My life has been passed in familiarity with scenes of death and human suffering. Unfortunately, I have been chiefly engaged in countries where the war was internal—where a civil war was maintained by conflicting factions. I must say that, at any sacrifice, I would avoid every approach to the horrors of civil war. My lords, I would do all I could—I would run any risk—I would sacrifice my life to prevent such a catastrophe! Nothing could be so disastrous to the country, nothing so destructive of its prosperity as civil war: nothing could take place that tended so completely to demoralize and degrade as such a conflict, in which the hand of neighbour is raised against neighbour—that of the father against the

son, and of the son against the father—of the brother against the brother—of the servant against his master—a conflict which must end in confusion and destruction. If civil war be so bad when occasioned by resistance to government—if such a collision is to be avoided by all means possible—how much more necessary is it to avoid a civil war in which, in order to put down one portion, it would be necessary to arm and excite the other! I am quite sure there is no man that now hears me who would not shudder were such a proposition made to him; yet such must have been the result had we attempted to terminate the state of things to which I have referred, otherwise than by a measure of conciliation. In this view, then, merely, I think we are justified in the measure we have proposed to parliament."

The debate which followed was continued during three days, the 2d, 3d, and 4th of April. On the 6th of April the bill was read a second time, by 217 against 112. On the 7th and 8th it passed intact through the committee; on the 10th it was read a third time and passed; and on the 13th it received the royal assent. Every one will understand that but for the energy and decision of the Duke of Wellington, this full emancipation, even now, could not have been carried.

Mr. Peel had brought in his bill to disfranchise the Irish forty-shilling freeholders, and raise the qualification to £10. It was part of the general measure recommended from the throne, and it passed with little opposition through both houses. Mr. O'Connell, who had publicly bound himself to reject even emancipation if coupled with this disfranchisement, became silent, and acquiesced. The Catholic Association had ceased to exist, and being left to themselves, the Irish "Forties" were indifferent to the measure.

On the 13th of May, Mr. O'Connell presented himself to take his seat for Clare. The clerk produced the old oath, which the recent relief bill had repealed. Mr. O'Connell proposed to take the new oath prescribed by that bill; but he was informed by the speaker that his return had been made before the passing of that act, and that he was therefore excluded from its operation. Mr. O'Connell was heard at the bar in support of his pretended right, which, after a good deal of discussion, was negatived by 190 against 116. The chief agitator then went back to Ireland, and was re-elected without opposition for Clare.

All the discontents of Ireland were to end with emancipation. Thousands of times had it been said, Only grant the Irish Catholics that boon, and they will be as quiet and as observant of the laws as the people of England and Scotland. The extent of Irish gratitude would be

equal to the amount of the benefit conferred. But, alas! these were but fanciful predictions. The relief bill was carried in April, and in May Ireland seemed as turbulent as ever. By letters, and by speeches at aggregate meetings, Mr. O'Connell kept up the excitement. He told the



DANIEL O'CONNELL.—From a portrait by R. M. Hodgotts

Irish people that they had themselves achieved the religious liberty of their country; that they, "a sober, a moral, and a religious people," had become too strong for their oppressors; and that their progress towards prosperity was in vain opposed by the Peels and Wellingtons of society. He spoke with reverence of the monastic orders, and with horror of a design which, he said, was entertained by ministers for the suppression of those orders in Ireland. With his pockets well filled with "rent," he deplored the poverty of the Papists, and held out the wealth of the Protestants as a tempting bait. He gave nicknames of the most degrading kind to the leaders of the Brunswick clubs, and to every man who presumed to oppose him. He daringly and undisguisedly announced that emancipation was not all he wanted—that his great object now was to force on a *repeal of the union with England*. That union, he said, had converted Ireland into a province:—"That cursed measure had deprived Ireland of her senate, and thereby made her dependent upon British aristocracy, and British intrigue, and British interests. It could be repealed—it must be repealed. He would never cease to agitate until it was repealed." All this, and a great deal more, incensed and roused the Irish Protestants. Fierce conflicts took place in various parts of the island, and many lives were lost. In the county of Tipperary matters went to such a length, that a numerous meeting of the magistracy, assembled in the beginning of September, expressed an unanimous opinion that nothing but

a revival of the insurrection act could restore or secure the peace of the country. This meeting was not made up of Orangemen; the greater number had nothing to do with Orange or with Brunswick clubs, and Lord Llandaff, the chairman, had been a strenuous supporter of emancipation. In the resolutions which they adopted to be communicated to government, they affirmed that a large proportion of the community were in possession of arms—that bodies of armed men appeared at noonday, to obstruct the execution of the laws, and threaten the lives and properties of all who attempted to resist their illegal proceedings—that it was impossible to obtain information to convict the offenders, owing to a league of false honour, and to a system of terror, which served the same purpose, by the dread of a violent death. The insurrection act could not be revived; for it had not been suspended, but had expired, and parliament was not sitting.

To the affairs of foreign politics we now turn our attention; and of these, the aggressive movements of Russia in the direction of Turkey demand our principal notice, on account of their relation to British interests, and the great European war which they were afterwards to occasion. Amidst every change since the days of Peter the Great, Russia had never for a moment withdrawn her eye from Constantinople, or her heart from the hope of succeeding to the Byzantine empire of the East: it was from the East she expected to derive that new, warm life-blood which would make her the greatest of European powers, and the arbitress of the world at large; and although her progress was slow, it had only been the more certain, while she felt that she could afford to wait for the full realization of her purpose. The battle of Navarino gave a new opportunity for fresh aggressions and conquests, of which Russia was not slow to avail herself. By this "untoward event," Turkey had no fleet to defend herself in the Black Sea, or secure the approaches to her capital by the Bosphorus; while she was equally helpless by land, in consequence of the destruction of the janizaries in 1826, and the rawness of the new levies, into which European discipline had as yet made a very imperfect progress. Turkey, in fact, was in that transition state which, although it should be from feebleness to strength, is often the weakest of all conditions. All this the Czar Nicholas well knew, and was prepared to use his advantage. Leaving the Greeks, therefore, to their fate, and disentangling himself from the triple alliance which Mr. Canning had made for the liberation of Greece, he resolved to make war upon Turkey on his own account, and for interests entirely Russian. In May, 1828, the campaign commenced: the Russian army, num-

bering 115,000 men, and supported by their fleet in the Black Sea, crossed the Pruth, and, after several successes, advanced to the foot of the Balkan Mountain, the Mount Hæmus of classical remembrances. But its fortress of Shumla, and the neighbouring sea-port of Varna, offered such a stubborn resistance, that the latter place was not taken until October, and then only through the treachery or cowardice of the pacha who was second in command. Compelled to be satisfied with this doubtful advantage, the Russians, after garrisoning Varna, fell back upon the Danube, which they crossed, being closely followed by the Turks in their retreat, and leaving the greater part of their baggage behind them. In other directions little better success attended the Russian arms, especially at Silistria, from which, after a four months' siege, they were compelled to make an ignominious retreat. Behind stone walls, indeed, or among the natural entrenchments of rocks, where the precision of the drill was little needed, the Turks displayed all their ancient valour; and it was only in the evolutions of the open field, where they could be easily outmanœuvred or thrown into disorder, that they were liable to a defeat. Such was the case at Czoroi, on the 26th of December, 1828, where General Gismar defeated the Pacha of Widdin, the only Muscovite victory that distinguished the European portion of this Turkish campaign.

As the losses of Russia had been so heavy both in military *material* and reputation during the last year, the campaign of 1829 was opened with greater precautions. Silistria, the strong fortress on the right bank of the Danube, from which the Russian army had been driven in disgraceful retreat during the preceding year, was to be reduced and occupied before a march was hazarded into the interior; and Count Wittgenstein, the inept commander of the last expedition, was succeeded by General Count Diebitsch, a soldier of far greater wisdom and military experience. Operations were commenced by the Russian fleet taking possession of Sizeboli, a Turkish sea-port at the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Bourgas, on the shores of the Black Sea; and although the Turks, who had suffered it through carelessness to fall into the enemy's hands, made desperate efforts, both by land and sea, to recover it, the Russians retained their hold of this important station, by which they could maintain a close communication with their army in the interior. That army, in the meantime, had crossed the Danube, and in May had advanced upon Silistria, where they found a Turkish force drawn up for its defence. After a hard fight the Turks were defeated, and Silistria invested; but the Russians were interrupted as soon as the siege had commenced by the advance of the grand vizier, Red-

schid Pacha, from Shumla, to arrest the progress of the besiegers. A desperate battle ensued on the 17th of May, which lasted from three o'clock in the morning until eight at night. It was a drawn battle, in which both sides claimed the victory; but it was noted as a hopeful symptom of the Turkish troops, raw and undisciplined as they were, and not superior in numbers, that they had sustained a close and destructive fight against a regular, well-disciplined army for seventeen hours. Similar to this engagement was the battle of Kulertscha, on the 11th of June, where the obstinacy of Turkish valour maintained itself at every point against European discipline, and might in the end have prevailed, but for the blowing up of the ammunition wagons, which left the Turks no alternative but retreat.

As might, however, have been expected, science was finally to prevail over mere force and courage, and in this campaign the perfection of military science was exhibited by General Diebitsch. Silistria fell before his arms on the 30th of June, after a siege of six weeks. By a series of able movements, with which the enemy were perplexed or thrown off their guard, he advanced toward the Balkan, dispersing the Turkish detachments that disputed his passage; and on the 21st of July he entered Palisbano and Erketsh, on the ridge of the Balkan Mountain, forming the gates of that strong bulwark of the Ottoman empire. After this his progress was easy, for his movements were so rapid, and the Turks so dispirited and disconcerted by his unexpected advance, that they were quickly defeated wherever they attempted to rally. On the 19th of August, the Russian army had arrived in sight of Adrianople, the second city of the Turkish empire, having a population of 80,000 inhabitants, and with a numerous army drawn up advantageously for its defence; but the troops were so astounded at the appearance of their enemies, who seemed to have dropped from the clouds, that all their thoughts of resistance evaporated, and they could not be led into action. It was in this way that Turkish fatalism, and Turkish arrogance and sloth, the consequences of their creed and early successes, negated the patriotism and fearless hardihood of the people, and will probably be the causes of their final downfall. As there was no hope of the defence of Adrianople by arms, the pachas in the city entered into capitulation, and the hard terms, which they accepted to save the town from storm, were the surrender of all their arms, artillery, standards, provisions, and ammunition, and of everything belonging to the Ottoman government. Thus Diebitsch became master of Adrianople without firing a single shot. Upon the same day, a considerable division of his army

occupied the important town of Kirk-Kilissa, between Adrianople and the Euxine, and threw its vanguard forward as far as Lulle-Bourgas, on the road to Constantinople. Nor did these movements comprise the whole of this important campaign of 1829. By sea the Russian fleet was equally successful, and co-operating with the land force, Admiral Greig quickly made himself master of some of the principal ports in the Euxine; while another Russian fleet, in communication also with Diebitsch, was on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. In this manner, the fairest of the Turkish European provinces were in possession of an enemy, whom a few easy unopposed marches would conduct to Constantinople itself. While the western portion of the Turkish empire was thus in danger, the north-eastern portion of their Asiatic territories was in scarcely better plight. By a series of skilful marches and successful engagements, Count Paskewitch, the Russian commander in Asiatic Turkey, obtained possession of Erzeroum, the capital of Anatolia; and driving the discomfited Turks before him, was making preparations for the capture of Trebizond. Constantinople was now filled with dismay; the Giaour was already at the threshold of that gate through which, according to ancient prophecy, he was to enter in and drive the faithful to their old homes across the Hellespont; and Sultan Mahmoud, with the sacred standard carried before him, was about to make a last and a hopeless effort in person for the defence of his capital. But it was not for the interest of Britain, France, and Prussia, that Constantinople should fall into the hands of Russia, and the ambassadors of these three powers were obliged to interpose with the Turkish obstinacy, and persuade the Porte to accept such reasonable terms as would still preserve its national independence. Their interference was successful, both with the conquerors and the conquered; and after some natural demur on the part of Turkey, the treaty of Adrianople was definitively signed on the 14th of September. Russia was to restore to Turkey the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the fortresses she had occupied during the war. The boundary between the two empires was still to be the Pruth, from where it touches on Moldavia to its junction with the Danube; but from the latter point to the mouth of St. George, the right bank of the Danube was to be the boundary, all the islands formed by the different branches of the river being declared to belong to Russia. The pachalics of Kars, Bayzid, and Erzeroum in Asia, which the Russians had captured, were restored; but a new frontier line was established in that quarter, by which Russia obtained possession of the pachalic and fortress of Akhalzic. Such were the chief territorial

changes produced by the treaty of Adrianople; the other stipulations regarded the unrestricted freedom of Russian ships in the Turkish ports and roadsteads, and in the Strait of the Dardanelles and passage of the Bosphorus. By these terms, as they were set down, the conditions were highly favourable to the Porte; for the chief cession demanded was a small portion of Asiatic territory, and the principal money indemnity the sum of 10,000,000 ducats (£5,000,000), which Turkey was to pay by equal instalments, during a course of ten years. But the principalities which the Russians had conquered were to be retained by them until the debt was liquidated—a time that might give them opportunity for a fresh quarrel and more decisive conquest; and the dominion of the Turkish provinces on the left bank of the Danube was to be wholly resigned to the native hospodars, who were well known to be in the interests of Russia. Such were the subsidiary acts or conventions which were added as explanatory of the original terms of the treaty; and in this way were those coils more closely drawn around Turkey which seem destined to strangle her at last.

Those events, by which her great enemy was humbled, and for the time rendered powerless, had necessarily an effect upon Greece and upon Greek independence. In the autumn of the preceding year, the French government had sent out a strong military force under General Maison, by which Ibrahim Pacha was driven from the Morea, and the Turkish garrisons of its fortresses compelled to surrender. These attempts were so successful in that quarter, that by November the whole of the Morea, once the Peloponnesus of classical history, was completely cleared of its Turkish oppressors, and placed under the new provisional Greek government, at the head of which was Count Capo d'Istria as president. After this encouraging commencement, the French were ready to march beyond the Isthmus of Corinth, to deliver Northern Greece as they had done the Morea; but as the allied powers had not yet decided about the boundaries of the future Greek republic or kingdom, the French troops were ordered to suspend their operations. It was added, that if the Greeks wished to reduce the Turkish fortresses of Northern Greece, they might do it by their own unaided efforts; and availing themselves of this permission, the Greek army in the west, under General Church, a British officer, compelled the Turkish garrisons of Vonizza, Carvassara, Lepanto, Anatolico, and Missolonghi successively to surrender. But while the Greeks were animated with the heroic desire of recovering all that had formerly been their country, and showing their ability to effect it, the three allied powers, after much contrariety and hesitation,

signed a protocol, on the 22d of March, by which the limits of the new Greek kingdom were definitely settled. But in the geographical use of scissors and compasses, the European statesmen of the period evinced that they had neither improved in generosity and liberality, nor yet in political wisdom. The natural boundaries, the means of self-protection, and the national wishes and distinctions of the people themselves, were all equally set at nought; and the scanty allotment of territory, where the boundary line commenced at Zeitoun near Thermopylæ on the east, and ended where the river Aspropotamos joins the sea—thus excluding Thessaly and Acarnania, and leaving the whole western frontier of Northern Greece open and defenceless—was decided without consulting either the feelings of the Greek people or the wishes of their government. Still less, if possible, was Turkey regarded in a proceeding which rent from her dominion so important a country as Greece—a country which she had held for centuries, but which she was now required not only to forego, but also to recognize its complete independence, without tribute, ransom, or any price whatever in return. At first the sultan resisted, and would only consent on the condition of the Greek kingdom being limited to the Morea, and ruled by a hospodar of his own election. This was when the Russians had only crossed the Balkan; but when they had established themselves at Adrianople, and were in a condition to dictate, they made the acceptance of the Greek protocol one of the stipulations of the treaty of Adrianople. Sultan Mahmoud had then no alternative but to submit. It is worthy of remark that Russia, at the commencement of her Turkish campaign, had expressly and loudly announced that her war had no connection with the Greek question, and that she would act in it only in accordance with the allied powers; but now, without consulting their wishes, she made herself the principal and the sole umpire in the affair—thus cheaply purchasing the patronage of Greece, and a claim to her gratitude and co-operation in every future movement which had the Russian conquest of Turkey for its object.

Since our last notice of Portugal, our ancient ally, the affairs of that unhappy kingdom had been in as wretched a condition as a divided government, a bigoted intolerant priesthood, and the atrocities of a civil war could well make them. The military force sent by Mr. Canning had been completely successful in its object, which was, to protect the country from the interference of Spain, without siding either with the liberals or absolutists. Dom Miguel had sworn allegiance to his elder brother, Dom Pedro, as his sovereign—had accepted the constitutional charter which Pedro

had framed for the government of Portugal—and had engaged upon oath to deliver up the crown to his niece and future spouse, Donna Maria II., as soon as she came of age. These strong guarantees, and the hope that his brother would improve in wisdom, experience, and liberal sentiments, by his travels in the unconstitutional countries of Europe, where he would witness with his own eyes the evils of despotic rule, made Pedro sit easy upon his throne in Brazil; and Miguel had written from Vienna to his sister, who was for the meantime Regent of Portugal, that he was “determined to maintain inviolate the laws of the kingdom, and the institutions legally granted by our august brother, and cause them to be observed, and by them to govern the kingdom.” From Vienna Miguel repaired to England, on his way to Portugal, at the end of 1827, and resided in London nearly two months; and there he was waited upon with an address from the Portuguese residents, who were very numerous in our capital, and for the most part liberals, to whom he did not give the slightest indication either of hostility to the charter, or to the rights of his niece; and nothing in his conduct indicated the Nero that was lurking within him, and which circumstances would so soon awaken into such unscrupulous action. On the 22d of February, 1828, he landed at Lisbon, amidst shouts of “Long live the Infant!” intermingled with a few cries of “Long live the absolute King!” It was as yet unknown what were his real sentiments about the charter; but on his arrival he fell into the hands of his mother, who soon resumed over him the old ascendancy, and converted him into a perjured wretch and a tyrant. The symptoms of the alteration were not long in following. The ministry was changed, the stocks fell, and all business was at a stand; the liberals were insulted, displaced, and driven from the capital, and absolutists received into favour: in less than one short month it was no secret that Dom Miguel, instead of being a limited responsible regent, would become an unconditional autocrat. The new British ambassador at the court of Lisbon, Sir Frederick Lamb, felt himself in an unexpected, strange position amidst this sudden change, but he acted with wisdom and promptitude. The British troops sent by Mr. Canning were embarking for England, and a large sum of money, a loan from Mr. Rothschild, was arriving for the prince; but Sir Frederick, acting on his own responsibility, stopped the embarkation of the troops, and sent the money back to London. Soon after, these troops were called home by order of the British government, and with their departure, the progress of absolutism, which their presence might have checked, went onward at full speed. On the 26th of June

the estates of the kingdom, which were assembled for the first time after a long interval of more than 130 years, declared Dom Miguel to be lawfully King of Portugal. The foreign ambassadors at the court of Lisbon immediately took their departure.

Nothing but a civil war could be the consequence of this usurpation; and, in fact, it had commenced already, and before the new sovereign had assumed his royal titles. Oporto and other towns had risen against him in behalf of their young queen, Donna Maria, and many of the Portuguese refugees had returned from England to join the patriotic cause. But the ardour of the liberalists was sorely mismanaged; their junta which they had established was obliged to dissolve itself; and their army, dwindled by desertion and defeat to 3000 men, was obliged to take shelter upon the Spanish frontier. The cause of Miguel was everywhere triumphant, and such severities were inflicted upon the liberalists throughout the whole kingdom, as are generally confined to the proceedings of a Romish Inquisition. In the meanwhile, Dom Pedro, who had heard of the usurpation of his brother, but who rejected it as an idle tale, and who seems to have thought that the mere presence of the legitimate sovereign would compose every difference, and reconcile all parties to her succession, sent his daughter, Donna Maria, only nine years of age, to Europe, that she might be seated upon the throne of her ancestors, with a loving uncle for her protector and partner. She arrived at Gibraltar on the 2d of September, 1828, but there her conductors heard such tidings, that instead of proceeding with her to Genoa, and afterwards to Vienna, on a visit to her grandfather, the Emperor of Austria, they conducted her at once to England, as the only home where suffering patriotism or exiled royalty could be in safety from its enemies. She arrived at Falmouth on the 24th of September, and was everywhere received with pitying sympathy and respect, as the rightful Queen of Portugal, her title being recognized by all classes, from the British sovereign to the humblest of his subjects. But beyond this nothing further could be done consistently with the principles of non-interference, to which the British government had pledged itself. If the Portuguese had chosen a tyrant for their sovereign, and absolute principles for their code of rule, it was not for Britain to interfere, even though the suffering minority implored her interposition. All that our treaties with that kingdom required us to do, was to protect her from foreign aggressors, not to enter into her domestic struggles. This Dom Pedro understood; and accordingly, in 1829, he recalled his daughter to Brazil.

It was not in this instance alone that the principle of non-interference in the affairs of the Portuguese government was strictly observed by the British ministry, however tempting might be the occasion to violate it. The only spot of the Portuguese dominions remaining in the hands of the constitutionalists was the little island of Terceira, one of the Azores, which gallantly maintained its loyalty against the Miguelites, and was regarded by the liberal party as the best stronghold and rallying point of their cause. Here the Portuguese refugees now in England resolved to make their rendezvous for an invasion into Portugal; and having collected a considerable armament, they set sail from Plymouth, with a large collection of arms and ammunition, pledging their word to the British ministers, who had watched their proceedings, that they were going nowhere else than to Brazil. But mistrustful of its purpose, a small squadron was sent to observe its proceedings, and found the expedition preparing to disembark at Terceira, upon which the British commander fired a shot into Saldanha's ship, which killed one man and wounded another. The armament was compelled to leave that island and sea, and retrace its course, being followed and watched by the British ships until it arrived within 500 miles of Scilly. It was a stern necessity that compelled Britain to look on and witness the atrocities and misrule which she had the power but not the right to remove; and the sympathy that pervaded all classes was embodied in the king's speech, which was delivered by commission at the close of the session, on the 24th of June, 1829:—"It is with increased regret that his majesty again adverts to the condition of the Portuguese monarchy. But his majesty commands us to repeat his determination to use every effort to reconcile conflicting interests, and to remove the evils which press so heavily upon a country, the prosperity of which must ever be an object of his majesty's solicitude."

On the 4th of February, 1830, parliament was again opened by commission. The speech lamented that, notwithstanding a strong indication of active commerce, distress should still prevail among the agricultural and manufacturing classes in some parts of the United Kingdom. This subject occupied several days, and it led to various propositions and suggestions. Some thought they could relieve this distress, which was only temporary, and which was by no means so extensive as it was represented, by returning to a paper currency. Mr. Attwood conceived that to make silver a legal tender in lieu of gold would remedy all our evils. What ministers did, was to repeal the beer and leather duties; but they increased the duties on ardent spirits.

They also reduced the salaries of various public officers, and abolished some of the offices altogether. Further reductions were made as well in the navy as in the army, but the opposition was signally defeated when they attempted to carry these reductions a great deal too far.

Various motions were made tending to parliamentary reform. Lord John Russell failed in his motion for transferring the elective franchise of East Retford to Birmingham; but after this he moved for a bill to confer that privilege, independently of all other considerations, on Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester. At this stage, or even at a later, the bestowing of the elective franchise on a few populous and wealthy towns would have satisfied the most of the reformers; but his lordship's motion was rejected by 188 against 140.

Some further improvements in our criminal code were introduced and carried by Mr. Peel. The annual executions for forgeries had been revolting—terrific! The capital punishment was now set aside, except in cases where the forgery touched the privy seal, wills, warrants on the public funds, and orders for the payment of money. Sir J. Mackintosh carried an amendment, confining the infliction of death to the forgery of a will only; but this was thrown out by the lords.

Upon the reports of committees of the House of Commons and of the law commissioners, an act was passed abolishing the separate system of

Welsh judicature, and annexing it to that of England.

Parliament was yet sitting when George IV. departed this life. The king's health had been for a considerable time in a precarious state; but he had long lived very secluded. Little was known to the public of what passed in the interior of the palace; and it was not until the 15th of April that the court physicians issued their first bulletin, wherein they announced that he was labouring under a bilious attack, accompanied by embarrassment in his breathing. On the 21th of May a message was delivered to both Houses of Parliament, stating that his majesty found it inconvenient to sign public documents with his own hand, and requesting parliament to provide means for the temporary discharge of that function of the crown, without detriment to the public service. The necessary bill was passed. The sign-manual was allowed to be executed with a stamp: the stamp was to be used in the king's presence by some person authorized by his majesty's word of mouth; but no document was to be stamped before it had been indorsed by three members of the privy council.

At the end of June it was reported that the king was getting better; but he burst a blood-vessel, and expired at three o'clock in the morning of the 26th of June. His popularity had died long before him, and the feeling of the people at his death approached nearer to indifference than to any other sentiment.

CHAPTER XVII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1802—1830.

Religious revival during this century—Its manifestations—Its effects upon parliament—Eligibility of clergymen to have a seat in parliament—The question tried in the case of Horne Tooke—Debate on the subject—Horne Tooke's appeal—His right to a seat admitted—Decision that clergymen should not become members of parliament—Revival of statutes on clerical non-residence—Hardships of the clergy under them—The subject brought into parliament—Statement of the clerical revenues of this period—Extreme poverty of the inferior clergy—Impossibility of the design to equalize clerical livings—Bill to rectify abuses of clerical farming and enforce clerical residence—It is superseded by a bill upon the salaries of curates, and the conditions of non-residence and clerical farming—Attention bestowed by parliament on the interests of the church—Continuing poverty of the inferior clergy—Its amelioration—Attention called to the mode of collecting tithes—Grievances attending it—Question of church-extension brought into parliament—Necessity for more churches—Parliamentary grant for its removal—Question upon the rights of dissenting clergymen—The meaning of the toleration act on the subject debated—Proposal to limit the application of the act—Alarm of the dissenters at the proposal—Arguments employed in parliament on the subject—The bill against the rights of dissenting clergymen lost—The principle of toleration extended to Unitarians—Disabilities of Roman Catholics—Hopes of relief from the union with Ireland and the support of Mr. Pitt—The expectation disappointed—Opposition to Catholic claims by the king and the national Protestant feeling—The great conflict for Catholic emancipation—The demand advocated in parliament—Fate of the measure from year to year—Attempts to obtain it by concession frustrated by the Irish Roman Catholic prelates—Proposal of the *veto* abandoned—Continued yearly demands in parliament for Catholic emancipation—The Catholic committee organized in Ireland—Its arbitrary authority and dangerous proceedings—Fruitless attempts of government to check them—Canning's appeal in 1812 for the removal of Catholic disabilities—The success of the appeal inter-

rupted by the dissolution of parliament—Renewal of the subject in the following year—Grattan's motion—His emancipation bill—Its conditions—Its defeat—Opposition to it from the Irish Catholics themselves—Dangerous aspect of Popery in Ireland—Concessions made to the Roman Catholics in 1817—Catholic emancipation an inevitable result—Strength of the party in its favour—Opening of the parliament in 1829—Recommendations of the royal speech in behalf of concession—The Catholic Association dissolved in consequence—Mr. Peel's motion for Catholic emancipation—His arguments for its necessity—Emancipation finally granted—Zeal of British Protestantism during this period—Its direction into new channels—Formation of Bible and missionary societies—The British and Foreign Bible Society—Its successful efforts and great resources—Obstacles to its progress—The Apocrypha controversy and its causes—Its effects in the formation of new societies—The Edinburgh Bible Society—Revival of a missionary spirit during the present period—Previous apathy of Britain on the subject—Cromwell's extensive missionary plan—Early British missionary societies—Establishment of the Baptist Missionary Society—Its mission to India—Its numerous translations of the Bible into the languages of the East—Dr. Carey's extraordinary philological achievements—The London Missionary Society—Its mission to the South Sea Islands—Its remarkable success in Tahiti and other islands—Missions of the society to South Africa and Madagascar—Its missions to India and China—The London Church Missionary Society—Its mission to Sierra Leone—Its other extensive operations—Missionary societies in Scotland—Comparison of Protestant with Roman Catholic missions—Slowness of the former and rapid progress of the latter—Causes of this disparity.



THE commencement of the nineteenth century, and the spirit of improvement by which it was characterized—an improvement in which the new religious impulses had borne so distinguished a part—could not fail to react upon the history and character of the National church, and the sects with which it was so intimately connected. The sluggish apathy under which the guardians of the church had gone to sleep—the general abandonment of those studies so essential to their sacred calling—and the moral irregularities in which they had been allowed to indulge without question or check, were as incompatible with the character of the present age as the old feudal institutions, the last relics of which were being so unsparingly swept away. A more exclusively theological range of intellectual accomplishments—a style of preaching better fitted to alarm, convince, and instruct—and, above all, a decorousness of character in full consistency with the clerical office, were now, and had for some time been, the demand of the awakened public; and, as is usually the case with such demands, the application had not been in vain. The priesthood were awakened as well as the people; and between both parties the mutual action and reaction was in operation, which was certain to provoke to good works, and promote a better spirit of harmony and cordiality, or at least of virtuous rivalry. Even in parliament, the removal of the abuses that had crept into the church was now a subject of anxious consideration; and notwithstanding the impediments of party feud and political expediency by which the discussion of such questions was characterized, there was, throughout, the indication of a better spirit, and the promise of improvement at the great national fountain-head.

The principal church question at the commencement of the present century was the eligi-

bility of clergymen to a seat in the House of Commons. The cause that stirred it was the nomination of the Rev. John Horne Tooke, by Lord Camelford, to the representation of Old Sarum, in consequence of which, the reverend member took the oaths and his seat in the commons, on the 2d of February, 1801. Although there was no express law upon the subject, there was an impression of force equal to law, and which is usually considered to make the enactment of a law superfluous: it was considered impossible that any one who was known to have been in holy orders, should hold a seat in the House of Commons. Horne Tooke had been ordained so early as 1760, and had officiated for thirteen years as a clergyman at New Brentford; but he had been more distinguished in literature as a philologist, and in politics as a keen agitator and reformer, than in his clerical capacity: now, however, he had abjured reform and the Whigs, passed over to the ministerial party, and by submitting to become the nominee of a peer and the representative of a place without a constituency, had proclaimed his conversion to the Tory interests. On the other hand, Earl Temple, by whom Horne Tooke's right to a seat in the house was to be opposed, had deserted Pitt, and gone over to the Whigs. It was thus a party question at the outset; a political contest, in which religion was to be used as a convenient watchword. No sooner had the ex-clergyman taken his place in the house, than Earl Temple rose and proclaimed the informality, and announced his purpose to wait the allotted term of fourteen days, when, if no petition was presented against Mr. Horne Tooke's return, he would himself move that the subject should be taken into consideration. At the end of that time no petition having been presented, the earl commenced proceedings, by moving that the deputy-register of Sarum and the parish clerk of Brentford should be summoned to the bar of the house, to

prove that Mr. Horne Tooke had received priest's orders; and this fact being easily settled by the testimony of the witnesses, was alleged to be conclusive of the question. A committee of inquiry was appointed, who, after investigation, reported that since 1641 only one instance had occurred of an ordained clergyman having been elected as a parliamentary representative. This was the case of Mr. Edward Rushworth, who had been returned in 1784 as one of the members for the borough of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and who, though petitioned against, was allowed to retain his seat. Earl Temple then moved that "a new writ should be issued for the election of a Burgess to serve for the borough of Old Sarum, in room of the Reverend John Horne Tooke, who, being at the time of his election in priest's orders, was, and is, incapable of sitting in this house." His lordship disposed of the solitary exception by stating that Rushworth was only a deacon, and that it was on the strength of this fact that his counsel had pleaded for his eligibility. "I may be told," his lordship added, "that other clergy have actually sat in this house. The fact may be so, yet it does not alter my case. It is a very old and a very true law adage, that no blot is a blot till it is hit. Peers, minors, aliens, clearly ineligible, may have sat, and may at this moment be sitting in this house. . . . All I contend for is, that in every instance, without one solitary exception, where the house has noticed a priest within its walls, the individual so noticed has been expelled, and the principle laid down of the ineligibility of the clergy." Lord Temple then stated the danger that would result to the constitution from the admission of a fourth estate into parliament, and the immense acquisition of power which the minister of the day might gain by holding out the temptation of church patronage to ecclesiastical members. His lordship next adverted to the defence which Mr. Horne Tooke had already set up, that he was no longer a clergyman, having divested himself of his orders—a proceeding which, both by canon and common law, was impossible. He finally administered a solemn rebuke to Mr. Horne Tooke, for the use he had made of ludicrous and unseemly phrases in the former debates on the subject, adjuring him that, as he had administered the sacrament in times past, he should therefore recollect that solemn office, and tremble when he talked of getting rid by quarantine of the infection of duties which he assumed at the altar of his God.

Lord Temple's motion was opposed by Mr. Addington, the prime minister, who seemed resolved at all events to maintain the rights, in order that he might retain the services of the once formidable agitator and reformer. But his

speech was a confused mixture of arguments, in which the defence of his new ally was mingled with the repudiation of any wish for the establishment of such a fourth estate as that which his lordship had dreaded. He deprecated the entrance of such an element at a time when one-third of the livings of the clergy were disposable at the will of the crown. But the law was still indistinct as to the right of the clergy to hold a seat in parliament. As to the clerical character, there was no difference between a priest and a deacon, and therefore the case of Mr. Rushworth was not conclusive on the subject. In this case, if they rejected Mr. Horne Tooke, he might be re-elected by his constituents, and admitted to his seat by a committee, through the authority of the Grenville act.¹ let the house decide to the contrary as it pleased, and thus the recurrence might be perpetual, unless the legislature applied a remedy by which the whole evil would be at once removed. To effect this, a bill should be prepared for the purpose of excluding persons in holy orders from a seat in parliament, and upon this principle there would be a general agreement, although there might be some difficulties in its details.

Mr. Horne Tooke then rose to answer for himself; and his speech was a talented but rambling discourse, characteristic of the man and his case of appeal. He commenced with a statement of the circumstances of his earlier life, to prove that he was no lover of personal controversy—although, in truth, he had been one of the keenest of controversialists. He then proceeded, as a philologist, to the report that had been given in by the committee of inquiry, and stated, that whoever drew it up was utterly ignorant of the Anglo-Saxon language, having mistaken the character no less than eleven times in transcribing a manuscript of the time of Henry VI., containing no more than twenty-one lines. It had also omitted to state that all the persons named in it, who were declared ineligible, actually continued to sit till they were disqualified by act of parliament; and no act, as yet, had disqualified any one from sitting in the house who had been in holy orders. To elect representatives and to represent electors are privileges inseparable; and as the right of electing knights of the shire had been conceded to clergymen, and afterwards fully confirmed to them by the 18th of Geo. II., they had a right also to represent their fellow-citizens. It might be said that the nature of the clerical character is indelible, and its operation a disqualification for a seat in parliament; but here Mr. Tooke put

¹ By this act every disputed election was to be left to the decision of a committee, and the house not to interfere except where it was absolutely necessary.

several cases to show the absurdity of the conclusion. A younger brother of a small fortune might take orders, but afterwards, unexpectedly, succeed to a very large one; why should he then be excluded from parliament? What did his own case of having taken holy orders prove, except that forty-one years ago he had been a youth of a fair character? "Were I," he said, "a Jew, a Jesuit, a Mahometan, a Pagan, a Presbyterian, a Quaker, there could not be the least objection to me. In spreading the doctrines and administering the rites of these various religions and sects, there is nothing corrupting; but connection with the Established church, it seems, leaves a foul and indelible stain! In Roman Catholic countries there is nothing more easy than for a priest to lay down his orders, and the pope dispenses with his vow. In England, every man is a pope to himself. He confesses to himself, and from himself he receives absolution. He ought, of course, to be able to become a layman as soon as he changes his views. Even yet," the reverend speaker added, "the door was not absolutely barred against him; he might get deposed from the ministerial office, and so become undoubtedly eligible for parliament." After adducing many instances of persons who had renounced orders altogether, and embraced a different line of life—of peers who had succeeded to their titles and seats in the upper house, although they were in orders, and of clergymen who had, while exercising their clerical functions, been secretaries to, or otherwise employed by ministers of state—Mr. Horne Tooke thus concluded: "Though I wish earnestly to be out of the house, I feel it to be my duty to strive to continue in it as long as I can, and am prepared to meet opposition in whatever way it may present itself. I wish the house to proceed legally. I wish that an act should be passed founded on the broad basis of general justice. Let the house save its character as much as possible, and try to preserve the confidence of the public."

In the debate that followed, the eligibility of the clergy was maintained by Fox, Erskine, and Grey, and opposed by Mr. Simeon, Sir William Scott, the attorney and solicitor general, and several other members. It was contended by the latter, that the canon law was conclusive against the eligibility of a clergyman, and abundantly supported by the precedents, the paucity of which arose from the general conviction that the point was fully established—just as it was clearly understood that women could not sit in parliament, although the journals might be explored in vain for a single decision on the subject. Both parties, however, agreed in getting rid of Lord Temple's motion, and, accordingly, that of Addington was substituted, and carried by a

majority of ninety-four against fifty-three. Having thus secured the services of Mr. Horne Tooke at least during the present parliament, the chancellor of the exchequer, ten days afterwards, moved for leave to bring in a bill "to remove doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in parliament." After long discussion and several modifications, the bill as it now stands in the statute (41 Geo. III. c. 63) was finally passed through both houses, by which not only priests and deacons of the Church of England, but ministers and licensed preachers of the Church of Scotland, have been excluded ever since from the British House of Commons.

The clergy were thus deprived of a privilege which they could well forego; but in requital, they were exempted from certain penalties of a more substantial character. The old statute, 21 Henry VIII., of "spiritual persons abridged from having pluralities of livings, and from taking of farms," &c., was still unrepealed. By this statute, any clergyman who should be absent even a single month from his parsonage, was subject to a heavy penalty, which could be inflicted upon the evidence of a common informer. He was prohibited from taking a house except in a city, market-town, or borough. A vicar could not take a lease of his parsonage, or any clergyman whatsoever take a lease of land, or even buy or sell a cow, under heavy penalties. These penalties were moreover so unequal, that in some livings one or two inflections would absorb the whole annual produce, while in other cases, they would amount to no more than an income-tax. When this statute was passed the clergy were for the most part unmarried, and could easily submit to such restrictions; but the case had been altered by the Reformation, since which period the clergy had married, and been involved in the secularities which such a connection naturally entails. They might inherit family property, in which the giving of leases or making bargains was involved; or the declining health of a wife or child might compel to occasional non-residence beyond the allotted period. These were but a few of the grievances to which the statute subjected a Protestant clergy, in consequence of which it had been regarded as a dead letter, until within the last year or two, when it had been revived by a few trading attorneys, who regarded it as a trading bank upon which they might draw at pleasure. Common informers had therefore been set to work in every part of the kingdom, and 800 actions against defaulting clergymen had been raised to a very large amount. It was urgently necessary that the evil should be checked, and on the 11th of May (1801) Mr. Dickenson moved for leave to bring in a bill for suspending so much of the

statute in question as related to non-residence, and this for the purpose of relieving those clergymen against whom prosecutions had been already commenced. Much debate followed upon the questions of residence, and the right to be given to the clergy of employing themselves in agriculture; but the bill, which merely suspended all proceedings against them for not having resided on their livings, received the sanction of parliament.

In the following year the subject was resumed by Sir William Scott, who brought a bill into parliament on the 7th of April for the amendment of the statute of Henry VIII. It had been enacted, he said, in a spirit of royal resentment, when Henry was impatient for the divorce which the pontiff withheld. In the words of Bishop Burnet, "The king intended by this to let the pope see what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his parliament would concur with him if he went on to extremities." He (Sir William Scott) questioned the propriety of submitting the punishment of clergymen for non-residence to any but the ecclesiastical courts, and characterized it as a clumsy policy to dethrone the bishop from his ecclesiastical authority, and place the common informer in his stead. After showing the incompatibility of the law with the change of manners and living, and the new position occupied by the clergy since the Reformation, by which they were involved in the temporalities of families and property, he proceeded: "But what above all creates a necessity for new moulding this statute is, the extremely depauperated state of many of the churches and parochial clergy of this kingdom. The statute makes one uniform demand of universal residence, under one uniform penalty; and universal residence cannot be had without universal competency. If all the benefices in the kingdom were equal and competent, an equal obligation enforced by an equal penalty might be applied to them all universally. But the fact is, that the inequality is great, and has greatly increased since the passing of this act, since it is certain that if many benefices have increased in value, many have been comparatively depauperated by the Reformation. He then gave a startling account of the poverty into which the clergy had fallen at the time when Queen Anne granted the first fruits and tithes for their relief, when the number of livings and their revenue were returned to the exchequer. From these it appeared that there were 1071 livings that did not exceed £10 per annum—1467 rated at £20—1126 at £30—1049 at £40—and 844 at £50—giving 5557 livings under £50 per annum. "Since the first returns," he added, "many hundred cures have been returned as of small value—some not more than 20s. or 40s.—so that, there

being about 11,700 and odd livings in the kingdom, about one moiety of the whole were under £50 a year, and upon an average, less than £23 a year." Relief, indeed, had been added to the benefaction of Queen Anne from private benefactions and accidental improvements; but in coming to the gist of the argument, he gave a melancholy statement of the condition of the clergy as it existed in England even at the present period. "It appears," he said, "that if we compute the number of livings under £50 per annum to be, as above, about 6000, a moiety of which are actually under £30 per annum, and if we reckon that they have been since improved by the governors, and by other means, upon an average, two-thirds, which is a very liberal allowance indeed, it follows that there are now 6000 livings in England and Wales that do not exceed upon an average £85 per annum, and that a very great proportion of them are at this time not £30 per annum, and so progressively from £30 to £40, and from £40 to £50."

In this financial and matter-of-fact statement, a rude shock must have been given to the idea so commonly entertained of the wealth of the English church, and the overflowing revenues of its clergy. Making allowance for the proportion of numbers, it will thus be found, that as a body the English clergymen were more scantily endowed than the ministers of the poor and primitive Church of Scotland. Even this comparison also seems to have entered into the calculations of several in England, who were anxious for the more comfortable maintenance of their own churchmen; and this, they thought, might be effected by equalizing all the benefices of the church. Such a plan had even been suggested in parliament; but those who advanced it must have been strangely forgetful of the impossibility of such a Presbyterian parity existing in an Episcopal church like that of England, whose prelates were princes, and who required a princely revenue for the maintenance of their state. As justly and reasonably they might have proposed the restoration of the Puritan Commonwealth, and the renewal of the Solemn League and Covenant. Indignantly Sir William Scott repudiated the idea, and showed by the same statistics how impossible it was to realize it. "Equalize all the clergy," he exclaimed, "and you in effect degrade them all; for it is the grossest of all mistakes that the parochial Church of England is amply endowed. It is demonstrated by a very exact inquirer upon these subjects—Mr. Cove—that if even all the preferments of every species belonging to the Church of England were moulded into one common mass, and thence distributed—if the venerable fabric of the hierarchy was dissolved (a matter not to be effected without a

convulsion and laceration of the civil state of the country, of which no man can foretell the consequences) and its funds parcelled out amongst the parochial clergy—the maximum of an English benefice would be not more than £167 a year; an income by no means adequate, in the present state of the world, to the demands which society makes upon that profession, in point of education, of attainments, of manners, of general appearance in life. As the revenues at present are distributed, the clergy, as a profession, find an easy and an independent access to every gradation of society, and maintain a fair equality, as they ought to do, with the other liberal professions, and the elevation of the highest ranks gives something of dignity to the lowest: alter the mode of distribution, and you run the risk of producing a body of clergy resembling only the lower orders of society in their conversation, in their manners, and their habits; and it is well if they are not infected with a popular fondness for some or other species of a gross, a factious, and a fanatical religion.” The bill which the eloquent speaker subsequently moved in parliament, was designed to rectify the abuses of clerical farming, and enforce the duty of clerical residence, by making the bishops the proper judges and umpires in all such questionable cases, instead of civil magistrates and informers. As such, it comprised the following proposals:—1. An entire amnesty for past neglect where no prosecution had been commenced. 2. Where prosecution had been commenced, an exemption from its continuance, on payment of costs already incurred. 3. On the matter of farming, a liberty given in the cases where they were injuriously prohibited by the ancient statute. 4. On the matter of residence, to give a fair and reasonable allowance of time to the clergyman for the occasions of private life, free from the doggings of any informer, though still subject to the superintendence of his proper superior; to allow an *ipso facto* exemption from all penalties for clergymen bearing certain offices, during the times required for the duties of those offices; to restore the power to bishops to grant licenses for absence, in certain enumerated and expressed cases—which licenses shall protect from the common prosecutor—and in other cases, which cannot be specifically foreseen or provided for, to allow the concurrence and consent of the metropolitan to have that effect. The bill was opposed chiefly on the plea that it would entirely change the constitution of the church, by lodging an enormous power in the hands of the bishops; and that the inferior clergy, rather than submit to such domination, would prefer the strict and antiquated statute of Henry VIII., with all its alleged imperfections. It was prevented, how-

ever, from passing during this session, chiefly through the declarations of Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, that a still larger measure of relief and more ample revenues were designed for the clergy than the present measures contemplated. Notwithstanding this assurance, however, the subject, although repeatedly brought before parliament between 1802 and 1817, in every case failed, or was only partially successful, until the last-mentioned date, when the bill of Mr. Manners Sutton upon the salaries of curates and clerical residence became the law of the church. By this act, 57 Geo. III. c. 99, the salaries of curates were to be determined by the bishop, and their amount to be fixed according to a given scale, corresponding to the population and value of the benefice. Should any complaint arise between the ecclesiastical superior and his curate, the bishop was empowered to determine summarily, upon the complaint of either party. The authority of the bishop was also confirmed in the matter of residence; and he could grant licenses for non-residence upon grounds enumerated in the act, and even upon such other grounds as he judged reasonable, provided that in such cases the license was submitted to the archbishop, and confirmed with his sanction. In enforcing residence, he was commissioned to do it by admonition and sequestration, a disregard of which would deprive the offender of his benefice. The persons exempted from residence remained as they had been before, but the penalties of the non-exempt who were non-resident without license, were—for more than three months’ absence in the year, one-third of the annual value of the benefice; for more than six months, one-half; for more than eight, two-thirds; and for the whole year, three-fourths of the clear annual value; and these fines to be recovered by any one who would sue for them. With regard to the secular occupations of the clergy, the old laws against their taking and holding farms were repealed, the only restrictions being, that they were prohibited from farming more than eighty acres without the written consent of the bishop, and this consent only to be available for the limited term of seven years. But no clerical person was to carry on any trade, or to buy and sell for gain, under penalty of forfeiting the goods thus bought or sold, and all contracts made by them in such trade or dealing were declared to be null and void.

Although so long an interval had elapsed between the moving of Mr. Dickenson’s bill and the final adjustment of the subject, the interests of the church at large, and also of its office-bearers, had not been neglected. Thus, the condition of the clergy of the city of London, in regard to their inadequate salaries, was taken into considera-

tion by parliament in 1804; and in the debate it was shown by Porteus, Bishop of London, that of the fifty livings in the city, the value of the highest was only £200 per annum, and of others £150, while many did not exceed £100. On this occasion a bill was passed, by which the lowest of the livings were raised to £200, and the highest to £366. In 1805, the restrictions upon the universities of Oxford and Cambridge in the purchase of the advowsons of livings were repealed. In 1809, a grant of £100,000 was made to the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, for the purpose of supplementing the revenues of the poorer benefices; and the need of this was shown from the statement, that the operation of the queen's bounty was such as to require a period of forty years to raise all the poorer livings up to the scanty amount of £50 per annum. This statement was subsequently confirmed by the fact, that nearly thirty years afterwards there were still 297 benefices that fell short of that sum. When this grant of £100,000 was made, it was the intention of government to continue it annually until all the livings in the church should be raised to £150, or at least £100 a year. During the debate several humbling statements of the prevalence of clerical non-residence were adduced by Lord Harrowby, by whom the claims of the poorer clergy to a more liberal support were advocated. From these it appeared that not one-half of the parishes of England and Wales possessed resident incumbents. These absentees also consisted of the richer clergy, who possessed the means of travelling or non-residence, while their duties at home were supplied either by their poorer neighbouring brethren, or by curates who were hired for the duty at the cheapest possible rate. "The present practice," said his lordship, "according to which the non-resident incumbents of livings of £50, £60, or £70 a year, put into their own pockets a portion of this wretched pittance, and left much less than the wages of a day-labourer for the subsistence of their curates, appeared to him far from creditable to the parties concerned, and calculated to degrade the character of the church. Many instances came within his own knowledge in which parishes were served for £20, or even for £10 per annum, and in which, of course, all they knew of their clergyman was the sound of his voice in the reading-desk or pulpit once a week, a fortnight, or a month." Well might he state, as he did on this occasion, that curates are the actual pastors of about half the parishes in the kingdom! The inquiry, however, was not useless; the working clergy were gradually better remunerated; so that, soon after the close of this period, it was found that the average salary of curates exceeded £80.

Amidst this shaking of the old-established abuses of the church, previous to their removal or amendment, the subject of tithes was not lost sight of, and in 1816 a series of parliamentary discussions on this vexatious question commenced, which at a later period was to produce important results. The sudden reaction from war to peace, and the mercantile disasters occasioned by the change—the high price of provisions, owing to a defective harvest, and the growing numbers of the unemployed had made this a year of bitterness, in which every ground of popular complaint was a subject of angry appeal, if not of downright riot. In such a season, the levying of tithes was complained of by the agricultural community, from whom scarcely a petition for relief issued without this grievance occupying a very prominent place. On the 16th of May, therefore, the matter was brought before parliament by Mr. J. Christian Curwen, who directed the attention of the House of Commons to the obnoxious manner in which questions about tithes were settled. In ancient times suits for tithes had been instituted in the ecclesiastical courts, and all controversy about amount, exemption, or composition, tried by a jury, at the instance of the Court of King's Bench. This mode, however, had been changed toward the close of the seventeenth century, and cases of this nature had been decided by the Court of Exchequer, without a jury, since 1687. Another evil for which a remedy was sought, was the disposition to extend tithes, which was now becoming prevalent. "I am afraid," said Mr. Curwen, "it has occurred too often that the tithe-gatherer has of late entered the garden of the poor cottager, and demanded the tithe of his half-dozen gooseberry bushes, and perhaps a solitary apple-tree." On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, it was agreed to appoint a committee to inquire into the expediency of enabling proprietors of tithes to grant leases of them under proper regulations.

Another important subject which occupied the attention of the legislature was that of church-extension. On the one hand the rapid growth of the population, and on the other the increase of dissenters, were enough to alarm the friends of the established order of things with the fear that the Church of England would soon cease to be the church of the nation. An apprehension of this kind, also, which half a century earlier would have met with little sympathy, was now aggravated by the thought that matters since the above-mentioned period had been amending, and that the church in its present state was fully worthy of encouragement and support. Among other instances, this fact had been shown by the efforts of private contribution for the building of new churches to meet

the growing demand; and it was high time that government should take the enterprise into its own hands, or at least aid those generous endeavours, which of themselves were inadequate. The amount of what might be required for the purpose was explained by Lord Liverpool, on the 15th of May, 1818, after the bill for granting the sum of £1,000,000 for church-extension had passed through the commons, and was moved for a second reading in the House of Lords. The demand, his lordship stated, was not for new churches to accommodate the whole population, but only for such as could not be accommodated after every reasonable deduction had been made. In this category of exclusion were comprised all children under a certain age; all who were too old or infirm to attend public worship; all who in every parish were necessarily detained at home by household affairs while the rest were at church; and all who belonged to dissenting congregations, who formed a large share in the population of every parish. After these deductions, his lordship thought that the wants of the country would be sufficiently met by providing church accommodation for a third of the people in country parishes, and a fourth of those in great towns. It was in the latter, however, that aid was chiefly needed. In London it was calculated that five additional churches would be required for the parish of Marylebone, four for that of St. Pancras, four for St. Leonard's, Shoreditch; four for St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green; three for Lambeth, and in similar proportion for the other metropolitan parishes. In the reign of Queen Anne, when London did not possess half the amount of its present population, parliament had voted fifty new churches to be erected, but of these, as yet, only nine had actually been built. Of the other cities, it appeared that Manchester would require an addition of seven churches, Sheffield of four, Stockport of four, Birmingham of three or four, and other towns of one, two, or three. The parliamentary grant of £1,000,000, now demanded, would suffice for the erection of 100 churches; but with aid from subscriptions, it was probable that from 150 to 200 would be built. Even in Liverpool alone, where the population had increased during the present reign from a small number to 100,000, six churches had been wholly built by subscription, in addition to the eight which it previously possessed. The bill was passed, and the management of the money intrusted to an ecclesiastical commission. From this liberal parliamentary movement, so much in contrast with the previous apathy of government, the beneficence of individuals and corporations in the necessary work of church-extension received a fresh impulse, which has been going on to the present day.

While the church was thus rising again in its strength, its interests had been more than once brought into collision with dissenterism: the awakening, indeed, was of an antagonistic character, which could not fail to express itself against the rival movement that had roused it into life and action. It was the old high-church dislike of Puritanism under its revived form of Methodism; and as the latter could multiply its preachers to an indefinite amount, and cared more for the zeal than the learning or intellectual qualifications of its missionaries, the regular clergy were indignant that uneducated men and hard-handed mechanics should be invested, like themselves, with the authority of spiritual instructors, or that such instruction should in any case be followed in preference to their own. Whether there had been a clerical consultation previous to the attack made by Lord Sidmouth upon this privilege of Methodism is not known, but it is certain that after the commencement he was encouraged to proceed by letters from several of high station in the church. On the 9th of May, 1811, he moved for leave, in the House of Lords, to bring in a bill for amending and explaining the acts of William and Mary, and of the 17th of George III., so far as they applied to dissenting ministers. These constituted the toleration act, by which dissenting preachers, instead of being obliged to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles, were merely to make a declaration of their being Christians and Protestants, and of their general belief in the Scriptures. But the question was, Who were the persons entitled to the benefits which the legislature bestowed upon this condition? Within the last thirty or forty years, a novel interpretation, his lordship declared, had been put upon these acts. At most of the quarter-sessions, where the oaths were taken and the required declarations made for enabling a person to preach in a chapel or meeting-house, it was now understood that any person, however ignorant or profligate—whether he descended from a chimney or a pillory—was at liberty to put in his claim, and make his subscription before the justices, and demand a certificate which authorized him to preach, and exempted him from the militia, and from many civil burdens to which his fellow-subjects were liable. But these acts had also been differently understood in different counties, and in some of them the magistrates admitted no one to qualify unless he showed that he was actually in holy orders, or pretended holy orders, and the preacher or teacher of a congregation. This, he thought, was according to the real meaning of the toleration act, and it was upon this principle that his bill was framed. He should propose, he said, that in order to entitle any person to a qualification as a preacher, he

should have the recommendation of at least six reputable householders of the congregation to which he belonged, and that he should actually have a congregation willing to listen to his instructions. With regard to preachers who were not stationary but itinerant, he would propose that they should be required to bring a testimonial from six householders, stating them to be of sober life and character, and their belief that these persons were qualified to perform the office of preachers. At this early stage of the bill, Lord Holland rose to protest against its principles. One fundamental error, he declared, ran through the speech that had been delivered, namely, that the right of any man to teach and preach was derived only from the permission of the government under which he lived. For his own part, he held it to be the inalienable right of every man who thought himself able to instruct others, to do so, provided his doctrines were not incompatible with the peace of society. A similar view was expressed by Lord Stanhope, after which the bill was read for the first time, and ordered to be printed.

Great was the alarm and indignation of the dissenters when the nature of this bill was publicly known. They saw that under the guise of elevating the position of their clergy, and adding to their respectability and efficiency, it struck at toleration itself, the *magna charta* of their religious liberties. As such it was a matter of vital interest not to the Methodists alone, but to all who were without the pale of the Establishment; all parties of dissenters were unanimous in opposing it; and during the short interval that elapsed before the second reading, such a shower of petitions were presented against the bill, that the noble mover was left without support. Of this he complained, and of the misunderstanding that prevailed of its true meaning, at the second reading on the 21st of May; and to show the necessity of such a bill, he made statements respecting the ignorance and incompetence of certain of the dissenting clergy, that savoured more of illiberality than candour. They were such stories as have been found or fabricated against the clergy of every age, country, and communion. He adduced, amongst others, the case of a person who applied to the magistrates of Stafford for a license. One of the magistrates inquired if he could sign his name: his reply was, he had not come there to write. The magistrate told him, if he would read the act he would find what was required, and he asked him to read aloud: to this the applicant replied, he did not come there to read. He was then interrogated if he could write. His reply was, No; he was not ashamed to own it. Could he read? No. The magistrate observed how improper it

was for him to claim a certificate of license, who could not read the Bible, the doctrines of which he was obliged to preach. . . . To this the other, with unblushing countenance, replied that the magistrate knew nothing of inspiration. His lordship explained anew the several provisions of the bill, answered the objections that had been brought against them, and declared his adherence to the principle of the toleration laws, which were never meant, he said, to allow any one to assume to himself the privilege of a preacher or teacher without some testimonials of his fitness for such an important office. He was answered by the Archbishop of Canterbury in a more tolerant spirit. His grace declared his full conviction of the right of separatists from the National church to profess their own systems of religious opinion. The bill in question, he perceived, had two objects in view—that of producing uniformity in construing the act of toleration, and that of rendering dissenting ministers more respectable, by excluding unfit persons from the office. These objects in themselves were laudable; but as the dissenters were the best judges of their own concerns, and as it appeared, from the great number of petitions on the table, that they were hostile to the bill, he thought it would be unwise to press the measure against their inclination. This Gamaliel counsel was followed in the same moderate spirit by other members, who, however desirous of improving the dissenting churches, saw neither the benevolence nor the good policy of a measure by which the improvements were to be thrust upon them perforce, and against their loudest deprecations. Lord Erskine, after stating that if the bill had been postponed a few weeks longer, ten times the number of petitions would have been poured in against it, declared his opinion that the bill itself was unnecessary. If a man taught sedition or blasphemy from the pulpit, there were existing laws to punish him. With respect also to the exemptions granted to ministers, the law was sufficiently clear. If a man was a teacher of religion, and had no other avocation, he was the pastor of a flock, from which it was the meaning of the toleration act that he should not be taken to serve in civil or military offices; but if this were not the case, he could claim no such exemption. Not a single member was found to support the bill, and the second reading was negatived without a division.

Although thus laid to rest for the time, the subject was revived in the following year, but in a spirit more favourable to the dissenters. During the debate upon Lord Sidmouth's motion, it had been stated that different decisions respecting the meaning of certain clauses in the act of toleration had been given by the justices at the

quarter-sessions of different counties, and it was felt that a legal exposition of them was necessary to prevent any future disagreement. Accordingly, on the 10th of July, 1812, Lord Castlereagh introduced a bill into the commons "to repeal certain acts, and amend other acts, relating to religious worship and assemblies, and persons teaching or preaching therein." Its particular objects were the following:—To settle the question as to the right of dissenters to be licensed as religious teachers—to repeal the penalties of an old statute upon Quakers, and others who conscientiously refused to take the oaths—to repeal the five-mile act and the conventicle act, passed in the time of Charles II., and instead of the latter, merely to require that dissenting places of worship should be registered in the bishop's or archdeacon's court; that during the time of divine service they should not be locked, bolted, or barred; and that the preachers or teachers should be licensed according to the act 19 Geo. III. c. 44. Mr. William Smith, the chief leader of the dissenting interest in the house, on moving an additional clause, "to continue the exemptions now enjoyed by the toleration act, without requiring a fresh oath," declared that the unanimity in favour of this bill was a propitious omen of the increasing liberality of the times. He thought that it would remove the practical evils of which the dissenters had to complain, although it did not recognize their great principle that the civil magistrate had no right to interfere in matters of religious opinion. It removed the arbitrary discretion of magistrates, and required no other oath than that of allegiance. As an act of toleration, he added, it was certainly the most complete which had hitherto been passed in this country. The bill having passed in all its stages through both houses without opposition, became the statute 52 Geo. III. c. 155.

The spirit of toleration in religious matters being now better understood and more favourably recognized, an attempt was made in the following session to extend it to the Unitarians, who had hitherto been obnoxious, as much perhaps for their political practices as their theological opinions. But the days of Priestley and the Birmingham riots were now forgot, or only remembered with compunction and shame. Accordingly, on the 5th of May, 1813, Mr. William Smith moved for and obtained leave to bring in a bill for removing certain penalties imposed by an act of 1698 upon persons impugning the doctrine of the Trinity. By this statute, the denial of the doctrine was punishable, for the first offence, by incapacity to hold any office or place of trust; and for the second, by incapacity to bring any action, or to be guardian, executor, or legatee, or purchaser of lands, together with imprisonment

for three years without bail. No objection was offered by government to the bill, and after a third reading it was passed by the lords, on the 22d of July. Thus the triumph of toleration was supposed to be complete, when the Unitarian might hold and give utterance to his opinions without incurring the danger of imprisonment and outlawry. On the effect of this measure in reconciling the contending claims of the civil and spiritual authorities, consistently with the guardianship of religion and the liberty of the subject, Mr. Justice Coleridge makes the following observation:—"It should seem now, therefore, that the temporal courts have no jurisdiction directly in cases of heresy, but they may still have to determine collaterally what falls within that description; as, in a *quare impedit*, if the bishop pleads that he refused the clerk for heresy, it is said that he must set forth the particular point, for the court having cognizance of the original cause, must, by consequence, have a power as to all collateral and incidental matters which are necessary for its determination, though in themselves they belong to another jurisdiction."

But the greatest of all demands for toleration, and something still more than toleration, was that which proceeded from Popery, and which continued to vex and agitate the long reign of George III. from the commencement to the close. Still, as at the Revolution, the Roman Catholics were incapable of holding office either under the crown or in corporations; they were disqualified for sitting in parliament; and they could not exercise the elective franchise, even if the oath of supremacy should be tendered to them. Their hopes had been sanguine that these civil disabilities would be removed in consequence of the union with Ireland, when so large an increase of citizens eligible to equal rights and privileges would be incorporated into the empire; and upon the strength of these hopes, the Irish Catholics themselves had been among the firmest supporters of the union. They had also for their friend and advocate Mr. Pitt, whose influence in the imperial parliament was certain to be exerted in their behalf. But on the other side there was the tenacity of George III., the very principle of whose political existence was to yield not a single step to Popery, and who, whatever might be the movements of his ministers in its behalf, was certain to arrest them by his decisive veto. The whole of this portion of the religious history of England, therefore, as far as the great question of Catholic emancipation is concerned, resolves itself into a long series of struggles between the clamant Roman Catholics, supported by the statesmen of the day, on the one hand,—and the king, backed by the larger portion of the Protestant feeling of his subjects, on the other. Into

these conflicts, which have been from time to time noticed in previous chapters, we cannot here enter; we can scarcely even find space incidentally to advert to them, except for the purpose of illustrating their final results. Catholic emancipation is the great religious event of the nineteenth century, and, as such, it constitutes in itself a voluminous history; but its outline is so generally understood, as to dispense with the necessity of recapitulation.

After Mr. Pitt had resigned office in 1801, in consequence of his inability to influence the king in conceding to the claims of the Roman Catholics, and his resumption of office in 1804, the following session was selected as the opportunity of moving in favour of Catholic emancipation, which was done in the commons by Mr. Fox, and in the upper house by Lord Grenville. On this occasion allusion was made to the expectations of the Irish Catholics; but it was for the purpose of stating that although no guarantee in any form had been given for the realization of these hopes, they had still a just and reasonable foundation. "No authorized assurance was ever given," said Lord Grenville, "no promise ever made to the Catholics that such a measure would be the consequence of the union; but it is no less true that, by the arguments of those who supported the union, by the course of reasoning in-doors and out-of-doors, hopes were given that the subject of Catholic emancipation would be more favourably considered here than it was ever likely to be in the parliament of Ireland." The chief arguments by which the motion was opposed were, that neither the time nor the present state of things gave a favourable opportunity for urging it; and after long and repeated discussion, it was lost in the lords by a majority of 178 against 49, and in the commons by 336 against 124. Even Pitt was obliged to confess that the season was inexpedient, and on that account to give the measure his decided negative. In the following year (1806), when Fox succeeded to the premiership by the death of Pitt, the Roman Catholics were jubilant with hope; but Fox in office was compelled to take the same view of the subject which circumstances had forced upon his illustrious rival. This he confessed, in a strain of peevishness, when he was questioned in the house respecting the change which his sentiments were said to have undergone upon the subject of emancipation. "So far," he said, "as I am concerned in this question, whenever it comes under discussion I shall be perfectly ready to state my opinion; and all I think it necessary to say as to my future conduct, is to refer to a consideration of my past. I cannot, however, hesitate to state, that if any gentleman were to ask my advice as to the pro-

priety of bringing forward the Catholic claims at present, I should recommend him to take into consideration the prospect of success, and the greater probability of succeeding this year or the next; at the same time to bear in mind the issue of last year's discussion." Even when the next year arrived, it did not bring with it a more favourable opportunity. So felt Lord Howick, when he moved, on the 5th of March (1807), for leave to bring in a bill for securing to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army or navy, upon their taking a prescribed oath; and for leaving them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. It was like the toleration granted by James II. to dissenters in general, in order that the Roman Catholics might enjoy its benefits. On this occasion Lord Howick and the ministers not only lost the bill, but their places also, for on their refusal to sign an agreement that they should propose no further concessions to the Roman Catholics, the king dismissed them from office.

In 1808, the demand for Catholic emancipation, which had now become an annual subject in parliament, was moved by Mr. Grattan in the commons, and Lord Grenville in the lords. On this occasion Grattan so far forgot the spirit of the church he advocated, as to offer a concession, to the following effect:—"That in the future nomination of bishops, his majesty may interfere and exercise his royal privilege, by putting a negative upon such nomination; that is, in other words, to say, that no Catholic bishop shall be appointed without the entire approbation of his majesty." Such was the first mention of the veto, afterwards so distinguished a principle in its application to the troubled state of the Church of Scotland. Although it was thus made so prematurely, Grattan did not tender it without what seemed sufficient authority, in the form of a paper drawn up by Dr. Milner, the accredited agent of the Romish hierarchy, in the following terms:—"The Catholic prelates of Ireland are willing to give a direct negative power to his majesty's government with respect to the nomination of their titular bishops, in such manner that, when they have among themselves resolved who is the fittest person for the vacant see, they will transmit his name to his majesty's ministers; and if the latter shall object to that name, they will transmit another and another, until a name is presented to which no objection is made; and (which is never likely to be the case) should the pope refuse to give those essentially necessary spiritual powers, of which he is the depository, to the person so presented by the Catholic bishops, and so approved of by government, they will continue to present other names, till one occurs which is agreeable to both

parties, namely, the crown and the apostolic see." This apparently was warrant enough for the offer of the champion of Irish Popery, but so it did not appear to his constituents: they were alarmed at the thought of such a surrender, and made haste to revoke it, in a meeting of bishops, which was held at Dublin in September. There it was declared in full conclave, and unanimously, as "the decided opinion of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of the Irish Catholic bishops, which mode long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary." This authoritative declaration not only brought both friends and enemies to a pause, but produced a temporary division in the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland; for while the better classes adhered to the veto as their only means of admission to places accordant with their birth, the lower classes, who had no such claims or prospects, received the manifesto of their prelates as an infallible authority.

After this failure of the veto, the appeals in behalf of the Roman Catholics continued to be repeated in 1810-11 upon the old footing, but with the former results; they were defeated by large majorities, as often as they were brought forward. And for this result, indeed, the violent measures of the applicants themselves had prepared the way; for while they were humbly and constitutionally petitioning parliament, they had been organizing the means of carrying their purpose by force and violence if petitions should fail. This was the Catholic Committee, consisting of the discontented of every class in Ireland, who assembled in Dublin for the redress of religious grievances, and who carried on their deliberations with the authority of a parliament and the secrecy of a conspiracy. The government contented itself with merely watching their proceedings, notwithstanding the violence of their debates and the dangerous character of their resolutions, until the committee had adopted measures which made longer forbearance impossible. In January, 1811, it issued a circular letter to the Roman Catholics of every county in Ireland, showing the necessity of increasing the representatives for the effectual management of a petition which was now in progress, as the united voice of the whole country, and recommending that ten persons should be selected for the management of the said petition in each county, who should all become members of the great Dublin committee. In this manner all Ireland was to be kindled into a flame, from Dublin, its centre and focus. It was ominous also of its power for resistance and aggression, that Daniel O'Connell was already a member of the committee. On

learning this formidable purpose, the Irish government started to action with a haste as reprehensible as its former quiescence, and orders were issued from the authorities of the Castle to the sheriffs and chief magistrates of the counties, denouncing the committee as an unlawful assembly, and commanding them to arrest and imprison its members, or hold them to bail. As soon as tidings of these orders arrived in England, they formed an important subject of parliamentary discussion, but both in the lords and the commons they were justified as not contrary to law. In the meantime, the magistracy were on the alert in Ireland, but to little purpose, for the enemy with whom they had to deal were as cunning and vigilant as they were daring. Two magistrates were sent from the Castle to disperse the Catholic Committee; but on being told that this assembly was only a private meeting, they retired without doing anything. When the committee assembled in full conclave, notwithstanding a previous proclamation denouncing such meetings, and holding out the usual penalties of disloyalty and treason, nearly 300 members had the hardihood to meet on the 19th of October (1811), in Fishamble Street Theatre, Dublin, while the police magistrates did not venture to disperse them until they had finished their business, and were on the point of retiring. Another similar meeting was held at the same place on the 23d of December; but although it consented to disperse at the requirement of a magistrate, it was only to re-assemble in a tavern the same evening, for the purpose of drawing up a requisition for a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of Ireland; and this meeting did take place three days after, in Fishamble Street, notwithstanding the means of the authorities to prevent it. These were significant omens of coming events, let the decisions of parliament be what they might. Those who could read the signs of the times began already to perceive that there was no middle course between a civil war and Catholic emancipation.

In the following year the effects of these symptoms became apparent: the votes against the Roman Catholics were less numerous in parliament, and the speeches less rancorous; while the condition of the king, who was now laid aside, made it no longer necessary to consult his personal feelings upon the disposal of so momentous a question. To this last circumstance Canning alluded when he supported the motion that the House of Commons should go into committee to take into consideration the laws imposing civil disabilities on his majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion. "While there existed in the breast of the sovereign," he said, "an insurmountable obstacle to the entertainment of

this question—an obstacle not of opinion but of conscience—the only alternative left to a public man who held the opinions which I profess to have holden on the question was, either to push those opinions into action at all the hazards to which such a course would be liable—at the hazard of one calamity too dreadful to be contemplated without awe and terror (a calamity under the infliction of which we are now actually suffering, and to which, therefore, I may now without impropriety allude)—or manfully to interpose between the conscience of the sovereign and the agitation of this question, at whatever risk of unpopularity or of misconstruction. This latter was the course which I thought it my duty to adopt." The motion for inquiry was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of 174 against 102, and in the commons by 300 against 215. In a few months after, the assassination of Mr. Perceval in the House of Commons loosened the bond by which the friends of the king had been united in their resistance to the Catholic claims; and the opportunity thus afforded was not neglected. On the 22d of June, accordingly, Mr. Canning moved in the commons "that the house would, early in the next session of parliament, take into its most serious consideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland; with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects." On the morning when this resolution was moved, intelligence had arrived of a general or aggregate meeting held in Dublin on the 18th, at which angry sentiments and dangerous resolutions had been freely uttered; but Canning laid hold of this incident as a sample of the general irritation in Ireland, and an argument for conciliation and concession. His motion was successful, and by a startling majority of 235 to 106; while in the lords, a similar motion of the Marquis of Wellesley was negatived by a majority of *one*! Nothing but the dissolution of parliament, which occurred a short time afterwards, released the commons from the pledge to which they were thus committed.

During the interval between the dissolution of the old parliament and the meeting of the new, the popular discussion of Catholic emancipation had increased both in wideness and intensity, and amidst this feeling the subject was resumed on the 26th of February, 1813. The motion was made by Mr. Grattan that the house should resolve itself into a committee, for the purpose expressed in Canning's resolution, and it was carried by a majority of 264 to 224. The greatest

difficulty in the way of Catholic emancipation was the allegiance of the Roman Catholic clergy to a foreign and alien ecclesiastical ruler; but it was stated by Mr. Plunkett, that even on this head such security could be given by them as would not interfere with the essentials of their religion. "What this security may be," he said,



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"provided it shall be effectual, ought, as I conceive, to be left to the option of the Catholic body. I am little solicitous about the form, so that the substance is attained. As a veto has been objected to, let it not be required; but let the security be afforded either by domestic nomination of the clergy, or in any shape or form which shall exclude the practical effect of foreign interference. Let them be liberally provided for by the state; let them be natives of the country, and educated in the country; and let the full and plenary exercise of spiritual authority by the pope, which forms an essential part of their religious discipline, remain in all its force. Leave to their choice the mode of reconciling their principles, and stand not upon the manner, if the thing is done." After the house had gone into committee, the emancipation bill was brought in by Mr. Grattan, on the 30th of April. It proposed that, instead of the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and supremacy, and the declaration against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints, a new declaration and oath should be required of the Roman Catholics. It proposed to provide that no Roman Catholic should hold the office of lord high-chancellor, or lord-keeper, or lord-commissioner of the great seal of Great Britain, or of lord-lieutenant, or lord-deputy, or other chief governor of Ireland, or any office in the Established Churches of England and Ireland,

or of Scotland, or in the ecclesiastical courts, or the universities or colleges, or schools of royal or ecclesiastical foundation, or should exercise any right of presentation to ecclesiastical benefices, to advise the crown in such exercise. It also proposed to enact that no person born out of his majesty's dominions, except those born of British or Irish parents, should be capable of exercising any episcopal duties or functions within the United Kingdom, under the penalty of being liable to be sent out of the kingdom. All this was ample concession, and thus much perhaps would have been granted; but the bill displeased all parties alike, who complained that too much or too little had been demanded. But the chief objection was of the latter character, and it proceeded both from the Roman Catholic clergy and laity, whose spiritual authority was limited, or whose political aspirations were held in check by the provisions of the bill. On its having passed the second reading, and being committed for a third, Mr. Abbot, the leader of the opposition, moved a clause to prevent Roman Catholics from sitting in either House of Parliament; and as this was carried by 251 votes against 247, the bill was withdrawn, as a thing that had lost both savour and substance. Thus ended the hopes of emancipation for the present. Had the Irish Roman Catholics imitated the moderation of their English brethren, a different result might have been obtained, but the rebellious and revolutionary spirit manifested throughout by the former made the compliance of government impossible. This was shown after the loss of Mr. Grattan's emancipation bill, at a meeting of the Catholic board at Dublin, where a committee was actually appointed to consider the propriety of addressing the Spanish cortes, with a view to obtain their interposition in behalf of the Roman Catholics of Ireland! The temperate conduct of the British Roman Catholic board, which had protested against the violence of their Irish brethren, and been ready to welcome the concessions of the bill, was not without its influence; as, before the close of the session, an act was passed through both houses, repealing the penalties imposed by the 21 Charles II., and conferring upon the Irish Catholics, while resident in Great Britain, the immunities granted to them by the Irish act of the 33 Geo. III.

The history of Roman Catholic discontent in Ireland, for several years after this emancipation movement, may be summed up in a few sentences. O'Connell was now assuming that ascendancy which he contrived to maintain to the end of his life. The Protestants and Papists in Ireland, under their rival associations of Orangemen and Ribbonmen, became more prompt in quarrel and disturbances, which were rife over the whole

country, through their hostile meetings and encounters; and although parliament enacted severe laws for their suppression, they still continued to increase in frequency and violence. Even the court of Rome, which was alarmed by the fierce spirit of Irish Romanism, and counselled moderation, was answered by O'Connell and his followers with remonstrance and refusal, and even with contempt. The Catholic board had established its permanent sitting in Dublin, where it levied taxes, and ruled with more than parliamentary authority; and when suppressed by government, the members constituted it anew, under the name of the Catholic Association. In this state of things it was not wonderful that, for a short time at least, the majorities against their claims, which had been rapidly diminishing, again rose to nearly the mark of their former level. In 1817, however, a concession was made, which showed that the progress of the influence of Popery was on the increase, and finally would prevail. Ten years earlier, when Lord Howick, the secretary for foreign affairs, brought a bill into parliament for enabling Roman Catholics to hold the higher commissions in the army and navy, the proposal was so premature, and withal so obnoxious, that it sufficed for the overthrow of the ministry that entertained it. But now a bill was quietly passed through parliament, which, under the title of "An act to regulate the administration of oaths in certain cases to officers in his majesty's land and sea forces," conceded those privileges which Lord Howick's bill had so unsuccessfully demanded. The question of Catholic emancipation might, therefore, be once more brought forward, and accordingly it was introduced into parliament by its veteran champion, Grattan, in the session of 1819; but although it was defeated in the commons, it was only by a majority of two, and in the lords by 147 to 106.

Over the events which signalized the next ten years of the movement, the national convulsions it produced throughout the three kingdoms, and the progress by which its strength was accumulated for the last great and successful effort, we must pass without notice—and this the more, because they passed before the view, and are deeply recorded in the memories of the present generation. Long had the result been contemplated as an inevitable political necessity, which resistance had only retarded, and further delay would render more dangerous; and it was thought better to concede gracefully, and with a show of free-will, what could otherwise be only maintained by a civil war or a fresh conquest of Ireland. So evident was this necessity, that the Protestant declaration to that effect was signed by the Dukes of Leinster and Devonshire, and by seven marquises, twenty-six earls, eleven viscounts, twenty-

two barons, two counts, twenty-two baronets, fifty-two members of the House of Commons, and upwards of two thousand gentlemen of other ranks—all of them personally interested in the condition of Ireland. No symptom of yielding, however, had yet appeared either in the Duke of Wellington or Mr. Peel, the heads of his majesty's government. Even in 1828 they still continued, as they had previously done, to oppose the Catholic demands, and to declare that their resolution was still unchanged; and these declarations had the effect of lulling the Protestantism of the nation into a state of most confident security. It was evidently the profound cunning of two master-spirits, who were not liable to be frightened or taken at unawares, and who, in this way, were preparing for the sudden and overwhelming onset. Only a few days before the meeting of parliament, in February, 1829, it was whispered abroad that they intended to recommend to parliament some concessions to the Roman Catholics; but the report of such an abandonment of principle seemed too astounding to be credible. When parliament opened, however, the royal speech announced a fresh movement in behalf of Catholic emancipation, although in dark and equivocal language. In the first place, it denounced the Catholic Association, and recommended its suppression, as being "dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution; which keeps alive discord and ill-will amongst his majesty's subjects; and which must, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland." On this stumbling-block being removed, his majesty recommended a deliberate consideration of the whole condition of Ireland, and a review of the laws which imposed civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects. "You will consider," it was added, "whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in church and state, with the maintenance of the Reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge."

In fulfilment of this plan of action, the Catholic Association was first assailed and easily dissolved: even the most ardent adherents of Popery were desirous for its dissolution, as an instrument that had served its purpose, and would be needed no longer. It had grown in its strength until it had cowed the government into submission, and now that emancipation was about to be granted, it might safely go to rest, or be sent into its grave. On the 5th of March, the same day on which its extinction was decreed by both

houses without opposition, Mr. Peel moved in the commons that "the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of the laws imposing civil disabilities on his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." The necessity of their repeal he founded upon three propositions:—First, matters cannot continue as they are; the evils of divided counsels are so great, that something must be done, and a government must be formed with one common opinion on the subject. On this head he adverted to the divisions that had prevailed in parliament about Catholic claims, and gave a summary of these during the course of the last ten years. In 1819, there was a majority of two against the question; in 1823, there was a majority of six in its favour. In 1821, a bill was passed by a majority of nine; in 1822, the bill for the admission of Roman Catholic peers into the House of Lords was passed by a majority of five; in 1824, the question was brought forward; in 1825, a bill was passed by a majority of twenty-one; in 1826, there was a general election; and in 1827, the present House of Commons decided against the question by a majority of four, but in the last session they decided in its favour by a majority of six. The second proposition of Mr. Peel was, that a united government once formed, must do one of two things—it must either grant further political rights to the Catholics, or recall those which they already possess. But, thirdly, to deprive the Catholics of what they already had, would be impossible, or at least, would be infinitely more mischievous than to grant them more, and therefore, no course remained to be adopted but concession. He reminded the house of the ominous year 1793, when the French war broke out, and when the era of concession commenced. The session of that year had opened with a recommendation from the throne to take the grievances of the Catholics into account, and a bill was immediately passed for the removal of many of the disabilities—but passed with such haste and so inconsiderately, that to this day we were reaping some of its bitter fruits. Until he saw a bolder man at the head of affairs than Mr. Pitt—until he saw a more Protestant parliament than that of 1793—he could not think we should be safe in time of war with a government determined on continued resistance; nor could he think but that, at the opening of a war, we might feel ourselves obliged to recede from our former declarations, and to grant the prayer we had before refused, and that in a manner to which, at a more favourable opportunity, we should be unwilling to consent, and with much less security than we might obtain on such an occasion as the present. Since, then, the existing state of matters was one which could be suf-

ferred to exist no longer—since the time had come when the government must adopt one decided rule of policy or another, and must resolve as a government either to concede or to resist—and since a government determined to resist could not carry on the affairs of the country without aggravating all the evils and dangers which were to be removed—it followed that no course remained but to settle the question by adjusting a system of concession on the one hand, and security upon the other.

After having argued upon the necessity of the measure, and the impossibility of avoiding it, Mr. Peel stated his plan of Roman Catholic emancipation, which he and his colleagues had for some time been preparing. But the particulars of this bill, and the discussions it occasioned, belong to another department of this work, where they have been fully detailed. To Popery it was but the beginning of the end, as the events of the succeeding period of our history will sufficiently indicate. A church whose ultimatum is *all or nothing*—whose discipline is perfect and obedience implicit—and which can be moved as one man, whether for stealthy surprise or open battle—was too much for Protestantism, divided not only in itself but against itself, with a large portion arrayed on the side of the enemy, and zealous for its success. The event inaugurated a new religious history of Great Britain, of which even the first chapter was found to be of sad and portentous significance.

While Britain was thus deemed to have compromised its national character as the great bulwark and chief representative of Protestantism, it is gratifying to find that during the whole of this period of struggle, its religious sincerity had been manifested by nobler indications than no-Popery riots and anti-Popery petitions. The awakened zeal of the present century had gone forth in the right direction, by its efforts for the instruction and conversion of heathendom at large; and not merely the commerce, but the Christianity of Britain, was to be carried to every shore, and the knowledge of it made patent in the language of every people to whom it was conveyed. It was now an age of Bible societies, and of missions, the origin, progress, and achievements of which can only be briefly announced in the present division of our history. It is well, however, that this subject is so familiarly known to every class of society, that a few suggestive notices are sufficient for the purpose.

The obvious duty of disseminating the knowledge of the one true religion, although recognized by Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, would naturally be fulfilled by each in a different form; for while the former would recognize the Scriptures as the only authority and guide, the

latter would insist upon their meaning only as the church had decreed it to be understood and explained by its authorized interpreters. The Church of Rome, therefore, had never been sparing of her missionaries, without whom all other appliances were reckoned to be in vain. The Protestant church might have been expected to be equally zealous in the distribution of the Bible, maintaining, as she did, that this was the sole authority, and was sufficient of itself as the guide to light and salvation. But in this obvious duty the Protestant world had been strangely remiss—and Britain most of all. When the Bible had been translated into the English tongue, the achievement seemed to be reckoned sufficient; and after a long interval, when it was rendered into other languages, it was only into the Celtic dialects, for the instruction of the Welsh, the Irish, and Highlanders of Scotland—the subjects of the British crown, whom it was unsafe to neglect. Several institutions, indeed, there were during the eighteenth century in England, such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; but while their operations were both languid and limited till the commencement of the present period, there was none which had for its work the distribution of the Scriptures exclusively, until 1780, when the Naval and Military Bible Society was established, whose operations were confined to the soldiers and sailors belonging to the British service. And then succeeded that world-pervading institution, the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was founded in 1804. Its exclusive duty was to circulate the Scriptures both at home and abroad, and the Scriptures in their native integrity, without note or comment, while the version from which translations were to be made was the authorized version of England. All classes of Christians, whether churchmen or dissenters, were invited to co-operate, and made eligible for membership; while the operations of the society were to be conducted by a committee of thirty-six laymen, six of them being foreigners resident in London or the vicinity, while of the other thirty, half were to be members of the Church of England, and the other half members of the other denominations of Christians. Such was the origin of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which grew so rapidly, that at the close of this period it had in Great Britain and the colonies 318 auxiliaries, 438 branch societies, and 1827 Bible associations; while in connection with it there were fifty-four societies on the continent of Europe, four in India, and one national society in America, this last having 645 auxiliaries. Commensurate with this great increase, and the extensive sphere of its operation, was the liber-

ality of the Christian public in supplying it with the means of action. Its expenditure during the first twenty-seven years of its existence amounted to £1,779,973, while the greatest sum expended in one year, which was 1820, was £123,547. Its issues of the Scriptures during this period amounted, in whole copies of the Bible, to 2,757,256, and of the New Testament, to 4,267,471. Of these forty-four were reprints, five were re-translations, and seventy-two were versions of languages and dialects that had never before been printed.

It was not, however, without struggle and opposition that the British and Foreign Bible Society thus went onward; and the first symptoms of hostility arose among the members and supporters themselves. The catholicity of the plan was as yet too startling, and men of different denominations could not at first meet cordially upon one platform, and co-operate in a common sphere of action. The learned bibliologists complained that the society's translations were versions of the common standard, irrespective of the improvements that had been made upon the text by the researches of modern literature. Many churchmen objected to the principle of issuing the *Bible* alone, and wanted the prayer-book to be circulated also, as was done by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and this demand originated a keen controversy for years between the ministers of the evangelical and the high-church parties, the latter maintaining that though men of different religious persuasions may unite for any merely charitable purpose, yet for a religious purpose the case is different, as there must be some point or other on which agreement is impossible. It was answered that all were at one in recognizing the truth and supremacy of the Scriptures; but to this the high churchmen replied, that unless we interpret the Scriptures there is no meaning in them, and that the very parties who disseminated them, derived from them many different and even opposite conclusions. But the keenest controversy, and the one most important in its consequences, arose from the complicity of the Bible Society in the circulation of the Apocrypha along with the Scriptures in Roman Catholic countries upon the Continent. By a fundamental law of the society, the Bible alone was to be circulated by its agency, and with this Protestant precaution the public were satisfied that no countenance would be given to the errors of Rome by the dissemination of the apocryphal writings. Finding, however, that few of the Roman Catholic countries would accept a Bible without this portion, which was reckoned of equal authority with the rest, the managers of the British and Foreign Bible Society not only assisted

with their funds those foreign societies that issued the Apocrypha, and furnished them with unbound Bibles by the thousand, into which these books were to be incorporated, but had also published various editions of the Bible in which they were actually included. Such was the result of their spirit of toleration carried to its extreme: they broke faith with their constituents and concealed the deed; and afterwards, when charged with their offence, they attempted to deny, to palliate, or to justify it, according to the necessity of the moment, or the spirit in which they were confronted. The debate which it kindled, still remembered as the "Apocrypha Controversy," had its chief seat in Scotland, and for its principal leader Dr. Andrew Thomson, the distinguished minister of St. George's Church, Edinburgh, who, without exception, was the ablest controversialist of the day. It was an unfortunate dissension in the religious world, but not wholly without its benefits; for it not only warned men of the unsoundness of mere political expediency as an agent in the dissemination of divine truth, but confirmed the forgetful or wavering minds of Protestants upon the correct canon of Scripture, and the authority of its rule as a guide in every question of religion. In consequence of the exposure which this controversy occasioned, many withdrew, especially in Scotland, from the British and Foreign Bible Society, but only to establish independent societies of their own, which went onward with all the freshness and vigour of a renewed youth, and thus strengthened and benefited the common cause. The chief of these, the Edinburgh Bible Society, comprises in membership all who are disposed to circulate the Scriptures, being Protestants, and who profess their belief in the doctrine of the holy Trinity; and by these conditions it debars those who sympathize in any way with the errors of the Romanists, as well as anti-Trinitarians, whose admission into the original institution occasioned such umbrage to its orthodox supporters. The Edinburgh Bible Society has nearly 100 associations throughout Scotland, and its expenditure at the close of this period amounted to about £4000 annually. Independently of its extensive circulation of the Scriptures in English and Celtic, this society was distinguished during the present period by the lawsuit it maintained against his majesty's printers for Scotland, who held a monopoly for printing Bibles, and who insisted on preventing the importation of those which were printed beyond the bounds of Scotland. The patentees, indeed, obtained an interdict to that effect; but from the spirit that had been awakened, they found themselves obliged not only to improve the printing, but to lower the price of their subsequent editions

of the Bible. The full success, however, of this appeal, which finally triumphed, was not effected until the following period.

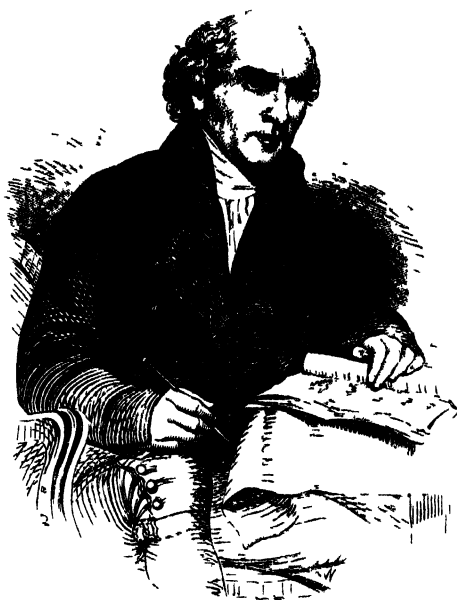
Before that revival of the missionary spirit, which was one of the great religious characteristics of the present age, little had been done by the Protestant world at large, and least of all by Britain. In this, it must be confessed, they were utterly put to shame by the zeal and devotedness of the missionaries of Rome, who not only compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, but attested their sincerity by every kind of self-sacrifice, and often by martyrdom itself. This was especially the case with the Jesuits, for whom no land was too remote or insignificant, no dangers too formidable; and whose labours were signalized not by solitary conversions of individuals and families, but of tribes and whole nations. It seemed, indeed, as if the charge brought by Roman Catholics against Protestantism was justified, when they alleged that it could not fulfil the apostolic duty of going forth and preaching to all nations, as it had neither received the apostolic commission, nor the power of working miracles to attest its divine authority. The chief interruption of this dreary and most culpable monotony in the Protestant church occurred in the case of Cromwell, who, after making England renowned among the nations, was anxious to make it equally famed as the great metropolis of missionary action. His plan is thus detailed in Bishop Burnet's *History of his own Times*:—"Stoupe told me of a great design Cromwell had intended to begin his kingship with, if he had assumed it. He resolved to set up a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the congregation *de propagandâ fide* at Rome. He intended it should consist of seven councillors, and four secretaries, for different provinces. These were, the first—France, Switzerland, and the Valleys; the Palatinate and the other Calvinists were the second; Germany, the North, and Turkey were the third; and the East and West Indies were the fourth. The secretaries were to have £500 salary a piece, and to keep a correspondence everywhere; to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs might be by their means protected and assisted. They were to have a fund of £10,000 a year at their disposal for ordinary emergencies, but to be further supplied as occasion should require it. Chelsea College was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy." Such was Cromwell's scheme; and we know that he was neither an impracticable theorist nor indolent dreamer, but a man of resolution and action, with whom to plan and to do appeared but the

self-same thing. But he passed away and the purpose was buried with him, so that we hear little of the missionary spirit until near the close of the eighteenth century, except vague aspirations, and a painful feeling that some great duty was still left undone. And yet British missionary societies had for a considerable time been in existence, although little more than their names had appeared. There was the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the adjacent parts in America, instituted so early as 1649. There was the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, instituted in 1698. There was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, incorporated in 1701. There was the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, established in 1709; and finally, there was the Methodist Missionary Society, that originated in 1792. The existence of these was at least a confession of religious duty—and perhaps might be accepted as the continuing promise of performance.

The Baptist Missionary Society for the Propagation of Christianity, with whose origin the revival of modern missionary enterprise in England was coeval, dates from October, 1792. In that year and month, a few Baptist ministers met at Kettering, Northamptonshire, where they constituted themselves into the above-mentioned society, and on opening a subscription list, the whole sum contributed amounted to £13, 2s. 6d. This was a disheartening inauguration; but no sooner was the purpose of the institution generally known, than liberality was excited and funds began to accumulate, so that they were soon able to send out to India two missionaries, in the choice of whom they were peculiarly fortunate, as one of them was the Rev. William Carey. The character of the Hindoos at first sight appeared so gentle and compliant, and the enterprise so promising, that in 1799 four additional missionaries were sent out to India by the Baptist Society, and the whole party established their headquarters at Serampore on the Hooghly, where, for the purposes of economy and mutual protection, they found it necessary to live together as one family or college. Their commencement was a dispiriting one, chiefly owing to the instability and duplicity of the Hindoos; but this was compensated by the diligence and success of Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Carey as an oriental linguist, and in February, 1801, he completed and printed a translation of the New Testament into the Bengalee language. In 1806 the missionaries issued proposals for publishing the Scriptures in fifteen of the eastern languages; and this most arduous enterprise in the difficult work of translation was at last successfully accomplished under Carey's able superintendence. In the meantime, however,

the British government in India had taken the alarm at these attacks upon the religion of the country, which they feared might lead to discontent and rebellion among the natives, and this dread was manifested by sharp restrictions upon the operations of the mission; but these only served to extend its sphere of action, by inducing Dr. Carey and his coadjutors to extend their views beyond the limits of Bengal, and establish new stations in different parts of India, the chief of which was Calcutta. So highly was the mission, however, understood and valued at home, that when a fire in 1812 destroyed the missionary printing office at Serampore, and its large stock of Bibles in the different languages of the East, a subscription that was raised in Britain, of £10,600, in the short space of seven or eight weeks after the news arrived, more than covered the loss. In the meantime, new missionaries from the Baptist Society had arrived in India, chapels were built, and schools for native children established; while, notwithstanding the jealousy of the British government, the opposition of the Brahmins, and the tenacious character of the Hindoo superstitions, a spirit of inquiry was excited among the reflective minds of the country, which both at the time, and afterwards, was manifested by a growing dislike to Brahminism, and greater respect for Christianity. Dr. Carey, who had been the life of the mission, died in 1834, but his immense labours as a philologist, in the translation of the Scripture, are beyond a parallel, either in ancient or modern times. This will be seen from an enumeration of the versions into which he translated the Bible, comprising thirty-nine languages and dialects of the East, either by his own personal labour or the assistants he superintended. And yet his education in England had been confined to a village school, and he had been bred to the humble occupation of a shoemaker! Whatever may be thought of the accuracy or excellence of so many translations effected by one man, it is certain that he not only laid the ground-work and simplified the task of succeeding translators, but left them an example of industrious perseverance, which his successors in the same field have happily had the wisdom to imitate. In this way the Baptist Missionary Society had the distinguished honour of commencing the great work of conversion in India by British agency—a duty so binding upon Britain above every other country. During the present period of our history, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Methodist Missionary Society, and the American Board for Foreign Missions entered into the same field, and established numerous stations over the widely-extended and populous districts of India. Like

the Baptists, also, they addressed themselves to the christianizing of the half-learned and over-refined population, chiefly by the establishment of schools, and the dissemination of science and



WILLIAM CAREY, D.D.
From a portrait by Robert Home, Calcutta.

literature, under which silent mode of aggression it has been thought the native superstitions will be gradually undermined and overthrown, as a necessary prelude to the introduction of Christianity. Of these schools, chiefly taught by Brahmins themselves, and natives trained by missionaries for the purpose, there existed at the close of this period about 300, containing 18,000 pupils.

Of still wider character and more ample resources was the London Missionary Society, established in 1795, composed of Protestants of different denominations; and its first attempt was directed towards the South Sea Islands, to which the voyages of Captain Cook had imparted a new interest. Accordingly, in the following year, twenty-nine missionaries were embarked on board the *Duff*, a vessel purchased by the society, and safely landed, most of them at Tahiti, and the rest at the neighbouring islands. But from the ignorance which as yet prevailed of the difficulties of the missionary career, and the few worldly allurements it held out to men of education, the greater part of these adventurers were either untaught mechanics, or unexperienced young men, who had little else than zeal to recommend them to the office. In 1798 the *Duff* again sailed from England for the South Sea Islands, with twenty-nine missionaries, five of whom were ordained ministers, but the ship

was captured by the French, and the purpose of the voyage frustrated; and during the same year, the missionaries at Tahiti having entered into a quarrel with the natives, the greater part of them were obliged to leave the island, and retire to New South Wales. Their places were filled by a fresh arrival in 1800. But still the mission was so unsuccessful, that one of its most hopeful symptoms was the request of Otoo, the Tahitian king, to be taught the Hebrew language! and who, on being dissuaded from such a ridiculous attempt, was induced to learn to read and write the language of his countrymen, in consequence of which acquirements, he penned an encouraging letter to the Missionary Society at London. At length the missionaries left the island in 1809, despairing of doing any further good, and went to New South Wales, as their predecessors had done, but returned two years after, in consequence of a new and encouraging event. Otoo, better known by the name of Pomare, was willing to become a Christian, and besought them to rejoin him. He soon after announced his adoption of the creed of the strangers, and the royal example was followed by multitudes. A coalition of the Tahitian chiefs who adhered to the old idolatry was formed against the converts and their king, which in 1815 broke out into a civil war; but Pomare, in whose character the intelligent Christian was ingrafted upon the energetic barbarian, first defeated the rebels in battle, and afterwards won them over by his clemency. In consequence of this, idolatry was banished from the island; and the horrid practices which it encouraged, such as cannibalism, human sacrifices, the murder of infants, and the licentious societies called *arreeoy*, in which sensualism was reduced to a system, were abandoned with loathing and remorse. The suddenness as well as completeness of the change astonished the friends of missions in Britain, but a parallel could be found to it in the conversion of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors from the savage creed of the North, by the preaching of the Roman missionaries in the seventh century; while the mode in both cases was the same—the king and aristocracy were first won over, in which case the people implicitly followed. In the train of Christianity came intellectual improvement and the arts of civilization; and the population which had been diminished as well as debased by the profligacy and cruelty of the old creed, increased in numbers, while they continued to improve in the knowledge and practice of religion. Such was also the case in the neighbouring islands, Eimeo, Huahine, Borabora, Raiatea, Taha—over the whole of which churches and schools were erected, and even native missionary associations formed; and on one occasion the collections of these Tahitian societies for the propagation of

the gospel among the heathen, not in money, but in cocoa-nut oil, which they sent to England for sale, was worth not less than £1877. New laws were necessary for the new character of such a people; and accordingly, in 1819, Pomare, now the Numa of his country, produced a code of legislation, which was ratified by the thousands whom he assembled to hear it read; and after this consent, it was printed and posted up in every district, that no one might remain ignorant of his civil and religious duties.

Of the other operations under the London Missionary Society among the islands of the Pacific, we can only give a passing notice. The same ship that brought the first missionaries to Tahiti in 1797, landed ten of their number at Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands; but after a series of adventures and hardships, chiefly occasioned by the civil wars, they were obliged to abandon Tongataboo in the beginning of 1800, and retire to New South Wales. Different, however, was the result of a less promising attempt in Aitutaki, one of the Hervey (or Cook's) Islands, where two native teachers were left in 1821, by Mr. John Williams, a missionary, on his way to New South Wales for the recovery of his health. For twelve months the labours of these teachers appeared hopeless, when at the end of that period the whole island seemed to be moved by a sudden universal impulse; the chiefs, accompanied by their people, repaired to their new instructors, and in a few days Christianity was professed over the whole of Aitutaki. A similar event occurred two years afterwards in Atin, which was visited by two missionaries, accompanied by six native teachers. The young king of the island, moved by their persuasions, became a Christian, and not only was followed by his subjects in that quarter, but those of the two neighbouring islands, Mitiaro and Mauti, which were subject to his authority. Like Edwin of Northumbria, in the days of the Saxon heptarchy, this young sovereign went from island to island with the proclamation, "I am come to advise you to receive the word of Jehovah, the true God, and to leave with you a teacher to instruct you;" and their reply was, "We will do it; we will receive the good word that we may be saved." Raratonga, the most populous and important of the Hervey Islands, was the next to be visited by the English missionaries; and although the progress of conversion was less rapid in this quarter, it was perhaps the more steady on that account, so that Raratonga afterwards became the most important missionary station in the whole of that insular group.

While thus the attention of the Christian world was arrested, and a new impulse given to missionary enterprise, by the wonderful success

which had attended these efforts in the South Seas, the London Missionary Society had almost at the same period directed their attention to South Africa, and stations were formed in various parts of that extensive colony, for the instruction of the numerous tribes who are known under the generic names of Hottentots, Bushmen, and Caffres. But notwithstanding their exertions, which were afterwards so ably seconded by the institution of the Glasgow Missionary Society, that in 1821 devoted itself exclusively to the aborigines of this important part of the wide empire of Great Britain, the result has not equalled that of Tahiti and the Hervey Islands; on the contrary, the progress of the missionaries of both societies among these numerous tribes has been slow, and the conversions doubtful, although the amount of good which has actually been accomplished was well worth the labour and the sacrifice. During this period, also, the large island of Madagascar was visited by the agents of the London society, for the purpose of establishing a mission; but since 1818, when the attempt was commenced, the progress has been both slow and disheartening, owing to the barbarism of the natives, and also to political obstacles and disturbances. The king, Rudama, indeed, had been favourable to the introduction of Christianity as the means of civilizing his people; and the establishment of schools and the printing-press in Madagascar had given promise of missionary success, when, unfortunately, Rudama died, in 1828, and was succeeded in the government by Ranavalona, one of his wives, by whom all his attempts were discouraged and reversed; even Christianity itself was made a capital crime, and its converts punished with death, which has in many cases been inflicted in a savage, revolting fashion. As yet, no better prospect has been afforded in behalf of new Christian missions to Madagascar.

The other operations of the London Missionary Society during this period may be summed up in a few words. The importance of India as a great field of British Christian enterprise was so apparent, that in February, 1804, the society commenced operations upon it, which were prosecuted with such vigour, that fourteen missionary stations were established in the four presidencies of Madras, Bengal, Agra, and Bombay, before the close of 1830. The zeal of Dr. Carey and the exertions of the Baptist mission had, indeed, left little to do in the work of translation, yet still there was something to be effected, in the production of more correct as well as new versions of the Scriptures in the languages of India, and this duty was ably discharged by these officials of the London Society. But a sphere of missionary exertion and enterprise still more important, but hitherto overlooked or un-

attempted, was China—that populous world within itself, as well as birth-place and cradle of almost every art and science which European intellect has matured. It was a world, however, inclosed within itself, by a rampart more formidable than its famous wall—by that jealousy of foreign, and especially of European intrusion, which defies innovation, and keeps every stranger aloof. This national feeling, also, was doubly intense against the entrance of Christian teachers, from the recollection of their old preceptors, the Jesuits, and the intrigues with which these ambitious men had disturbed the country for their own selfish purposes. A cautious advance upon such a territory was necessary; and the Rev. Robert Morrison, who was sent thither by the society in 1807, was obliged to enter as a Chinese, with a yellow frock and heavy clogs, a pigtail at the back of his head, and long nails upon his fingers, and to eat his food with chopsticks. But this accommodation was unsuccessful either to disguise or conciliate, and his greatest safety consisted not only in abstaining from preaching, but in his holding the office of Chinese secretary and translator to the English factory in China, to which he was appointed soon after his arrival. And yet, though thus circumscribed, he effected much both for present missionary operations, and for the future welfare of China. He not only mastered its most difficult language, notwithstanding the jealousy with which the natives were wont to guard it from the knowledge of strangers, but translated into it the New Testament, and afterwards, with the aid of the Rev. William Milne, who had arrived as his coadjutor, the Old Testament also. Thus the whole Bible was embodied in a language used by nearly a third part of the human race, and made available for the first time for their spiritual instruction. For such a work to penetrate into the heart of China was hopeless for the present; its circulation would have instantly been arrested, and its distributors punished with death; but along the coast of China, and in those neighbouring islands and coasts where the Chinese abound or their language is understood, it was plentifully spread, and, it may be hoped, also heedfully perused. There must have been cases not a few, in which, independently of that subtle intellect for which the people are distinguished, a mere feeling of curiosity would have been enough to prompt both perusal and inquiry, although no immediate fruits were perceptible. Of the other undertakings of the London Missionary Society, the chief were two, so diverse in their nature that they stand out as perfect contrasts, the one being to the poor negro slaves of Demerara, in 1807, and the other to the Ionian Islands, in 1818. The first, which was successful, had a fearful termina-

tion in the negro revolt of that colony in 1823, and the melancholy death of Mr. Smith, who was unjustly accused and imprisoned as its instigator; but the second had little effect in weaning the Ionians from the degrading superstitions of the Greek church, to which they obstinately cling as their best national distinction. A community that already considers itself Christian is the most hopeless of all subjects for missionary conversion.

Although the London Church Missionary Society, consisting of members of the Church of England, was instituted in 1799, it was not until 1804 that it commenced its public career; and in this case, Sierra Leone, in Western Africa, was selected as the sphere of occupation. It was indeed a difficult field, where the missionaries had not only to encounter the heathenism of the natives, but the angry hostility and corrupting influence of the European slave-dealers, who knew that in Christianity there was a power to make the negroes "free indeed," and therefore scarcely fit commodities for the slave-market. All this hostility, combined with a wasteful climate, made the office of a missionary at Sierra Leone a protracted living martyrdom; and while their houses were fired over their heads to drive them from the country, its pestilential diseases made such rapid work, that their band was only kept up by fresh immigrations of labourers, who were scarcely sufficient to replace the old. But their more than Spartan devotedness was requited in the abolition of the slave-trade, and the establishment of Sierra Leone as a colony of liberated negroes, while they were cheered with the results of their own labours in the growing civilization of the people at large. This last, however, was a slow and precarious work among those poor Africans into whose souls the iron of slavery had entered, and who had witnessed the Christianity of the West Indies. Before the close of this period the Church Missionary Society had commenced missions in Malta, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, Egypt, Abyssinia, India, Ceylon, and New Zealand.

In this short sketch we have necessarily omitted the mention of other missionary societies, whose operations were less successful or of a more limited extent. We can also only allude in passing to the Scottish Missionary Society, instituted at Edinburgh in 1796. Its sphere of operation during this period was the Susoo country in Western Africa, Tartary, India, and Jamaica. With the same brevity we can only advert to the Glasgow Missionary Society, which was established in the same year as that of Edinburgh, and which, commencing with Africa in general, afterwards exclusively confined its operations to Southern Africa, and especially to Caffria.

In concluding this department of our subject, we can bestow nothing more than a passing notice upon the slow progress and scanty success of these missions at large, compared with the extensive means of operation and the numerous agents who were employed in the work. Very different had it been with the missions of the Romish church, whose converts came in crowds instead of units, so that the turning of a whole people to Christianity was often the work of a few years, or even months. But such conversions were too often the substitution of one set of symbols for another, instead of a vital change of creed and character; and it was easy to win the assent of a barbarous people to crosses and holy water, to imposing clerical costumes and the pageantry of religious processions. These required neither study nor sacrifice, and might be adopted as matters of faith at a moment's notice; and hence the facility with which, especially under the skilful management of the Jesuits, conversions of idolaters by the thousand in Paraguay, India, and China had been effected by the festival of a saint or the celebration of a few masses. Far otherwise, however, was the paraphernalia of a Protestant missionary. He had no mysterious signs or sprinklings to banish the invisible powers of darkness, control the elements, banish diseases, and invest the convert with every blessing both for earth and heaven; no ritual of statues, music, and incense, to lead captive the senses of an unreflective crowd; no easy passport that with a touch and a word could purify the conscience-stricken sinner from his guilt, and waft him from the agonies of a remorseful death-bed to the felicities of paradise. He was no prophet, no oracle, no thaumaturgist. With even the indications of the priestly office he was seldom arrayed, so that he could neither daunt with the terrors of the black gown, nor allure with the gentleness of the white surplice. On the contrary, he came a helpless stranger among savages, craving their hospitality and protection, while his first duty was uncompromisingly to denounce the religion in which they believed, and the national or social sins that formed the chief element of their existence. Nor was this ungracious commencement the worst. The brute idolater must be a man before he could become a Christian. He must learn the faith which he was required to adopt, and the duties by which his new life was to be regulated; and for this purpose, he must not only deny himself, but unlearn himself, and begin a moral and intellectual existence where all had to be commenced anew. Even when the convert repared to the missionary for baptism, his willingness to become a Christian was not enough; he must also show that he understood the creed which he was

willing to adopt, and had undergone the moral change which its profession required him to evince, before the sealing rite could be administered. Was it wonderful, then, that Protestant missionary triumphs were so slow and so scanty, compared with those of Popery? It was an unpalatable lesson which the friends of missions in Britain were obliged to study and lay to heart, when they found so many hopeful undertakings frustrated, or only signalized by delusive promises of conversion, which had been too hastily accepted. It was also a painful experience which the missionaries themselves were obliged to learn in humility, and sorrow, and self-abasement. But the experience doubled their diligence, and sent them to those firm foundations upon which the spiritual regeneration of a people should be built. Their work, therefore, though slow, has been sure, and the present generation is beginning to witness the success of efforts which their fathers were ready to abandon in despair. The seed-

lings of nations, we doubt not, have already been planted by British missions, in which a single century may suffice for a rich and lasting development.

The history of the Scottish church during this period fully corresponded with that spirit of revival which had been going onward so irresistibly in England; and the change was manifested in the growing ascendancy of evangelical principles, and a more determined resistance to the practice of patronage, which the authority of the state had never succeeded in imposing upon the popular will or choice. But this progress will be best understood in the history of that remarkable event, the Disruption, by which the succeeding period of our history was signalized, and to which, therefore, we postpone this portion of our narrative. Such a revolution was too complex to be understood, as well as too important to be detailed, in the form of a mere episode or appendage.

CHAPTER XVIII.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS (1802), TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE IV. (1830).

Progress of British commerce—Its condition at the peace of Amiens—Its progress during the succeeding war—Statistics of exports, imports, and shipping—Obstacles to our commerce arising from bad harvests—The Berlin and Milan decrees of Bonaparte—Rash mercantile speculations in South America—Bankruptcies of 1811—Rise of the agricultural community during the mercantile depressions—Hopeful prospects of our commerce at the close of the war—Its condition from 1816 to the close of this period—Amount of exports and imports—Improvement of the trade of Ireland by the union—Rapid growth of our commercial and manufacturing cities—Progress of our manufactures—Manual superseded by mechanical agencies—Introduction of steam power into spinning, weaving, &c.—Machine-breaking riots—Increase of manufactured produce by the application of machinery—Steam applied to navigation—Earliest attempts to construct a steam-boat—Experimental trials in England, France, America, and Scotland—Henry Bell—His first steam-boat, the *Comet*—Its complete success—Rapid progress of steam-boat navigation—Its application to sea voyages—Time saved and speed gained by the invention—Progress of steam-boat navigation in America—Improvements upon inland navigation and carriage—New canals—Road-making—Telford and Macadam—Erection of bridges—Iron and suspension bridges—Growing evils arising from mercantile wealth—Popular discontent and riots—Increase of poverty and crime—Remedies adopted—Factory laws—Proposal of a national system of education—Establishment of Bell and Lancaster schools—Sunday schools—Infant schools—Educational statistics of the period—Establishment of mechanics' institutions—Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge—Continuing necessity for the improvement of the working-classes—Mode of living among those employed in cotton factories—Their destitution and vices—Increasing numbers of the unemployed—Need of emigration on a large scale—Emigration changed into a national scheme of colonization—Social progress—Introduction of lighting by gas—Its origin and progress—Other indications of social progress—New spirit of travelling at the return of peace—Effects of travel on the national character and manners—Costume of the period—Its changes and final settlement—Its ultimate simplicity—Female dress—Military costume—Science and scientific men of the period—Chemistry—Astronomy—Ethics and metaphysics—Theology—Political economy—History and historical writers—Prevalence of novel writing during this period—Universality of its subjects—Principal novelists—Female novelists—Principal writers of this class—Commencement of a new era in English poetry—Its characteristics—Crabbe and Gifford the successors of Cowper—The Della Cruscan and Lake schools of poetry—Wordsworth—His theory of poetry—His earliest poetical attempts—The obloquy he encountered and overcame—Coleridge—His singular career and genius—Sir Walter Scott—Popularity of his poetry—Southey—His multifarious genius and productions—Campbell—Lord Byron—Byron's unfortunate training—Temporary ascendancy of his poetry—Its perverse moral and intellectual tendencies—Shelley—Keats—Hogg—Allan Cunningham—Thomas Moore—Poets of inferior note—Poetesses—Hannah More—Joanna Baillie—Mrs. Hemans—Miss Landon—Criticism—Prevalent need of a higher critical standard—Establishment of the

Edinburgh Review—Mode of its management—Its ascendancy as a literary tribunal—Establishment of the *Quarterly Review*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, and the *Westminster Review*—High character of the periodicals of the period—Newspapers—Their importance and influence—Progress of the fine arts—Architecture—Principal architects of the period—Architecture as applied to public structures and private buildings—Music—Its stationary character during the present period—Preference given in England to the music of Germany and Italy—Statuary—Flaxman, Chantrey, and Westmacott—Painting—Its encouragements during the present period—Eminent portrait-painters—Sir Thomas Lawrence—Historical and poetical painters—Painters of domestic life—Landscape and general painters.



THE peace of Amiens, which held forth such promise of lasting tranquillity, and was welcomed by Britain with such popular triumph, was but a passing gleam of sunshine, and the prelude of a renewal of the tempest in still greater violence; and from 1803 to 1815, a war was to rage over the whole of Europe such as had been unparalleled for ages, and the expense of which was mainly to be borne by British wealth and industry. It was now, therefore, that the benefits of its commerce were to be tested, and the energies of the "nation of shopkeepers" put to the proof. How had their traffic prepared them for a contest under which mightier kingdoms were successively to succumb! The prosperous result was a full answer to the question. The commerce of Britain was too strong for the best legions of Europe; its industrial energy and resources shivered both the sword and sceptre of Napoleon. The mercantile history of the country, therefore, during the thirteen years of struggle, forms a most important portion of the history of the period. But upon so ample and so complicated a subject, all that we can afford is a general view, embodied in a few brief statements.

The unfavourable harvest of 1799 had been so remarkable, as to occasion it to be called in popular language "the year of the dearth," and the fearful scarcity and high prices of grain continued until 1801, when relief was brought by a harvest of moderate abundance, and the re-opening of the Baltic, which permitted the importation of corn from Russia; so that the prices in the corn market fell at first to almost one-half of their previous amount, and at the close of the year to nearly one-third. During the following year—the year of peace—the spirit of the nation was revived, its commercial confidence increased, and all was in readiness to resume its traffic upon a larger scale. The number of vessels, and their tonnage, that entered inwards and cleared outwards in Great Britain in the year 1802, according to the published tables, was the following:—

INWARDS.			OUTWARDS.		
Vessels.	Tonnage.		Vessels.	Tonnage.	
British,...	10,347	1,378,620	British,...	10,282	1,345,621
Foreign,...	5,407	780,155	Foreign,...	5,626	804,880

In 1803, when the war was resumed, the tonnage of ships built and registered in the United King-

dom during that year, amounted to 135,692 tons, and the whole of our mercantile navy consisted of 20,893 vessels, including 2825 belonging to the colonies, giving a tonnage, according to measurement, of 2,167,860 tons.

But the subject becomes more intelligible to general readers when we state the official value of the imports and exports, which was given for three years as follows:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.
1801	£31,780,262 ..	£35,264,650
1802	29,826,210 ..	38,300,980
1803	26,622,696 ...	28,500,174

In this change between the exports of the two last years, we can perceive the immediate effects produced by the resumption of hostilities. The effects upon our mercantile marine also were, that 112,819 tons of foreign shipping were introduced into our carrying trade, to the lessening of our own to the amount of 173,900 tons.

In 1804 the harvest turned out to be very deficient, that of England and Wales showing a falling off, not less than from a fourth to a third. In consequence of this, the price of wheat, which in March was 49s. 6d., had risen at the end of that year to 86s. 2d.; barley, from 22s. 9d. to 43s. 10d.; and oats, from 19s. 6d. to 26s. 11d. But the foreign trade of the country was already recovering from the depression occasioned by the renewal of war, so that the imports of this year were valued at £27,819,552, and the exports at £32,626,050. In 1805, in consequence of the fears of an unfavourable harvest, the price of wheat rose in August to 98s. 4d.; but a better crop having been produced than was expected, the average price of wheat subsided by the close of the year to 78s. Still there was a dearth of grain, in consequence of the scanty harvest of the preceding year; and the natural effect of this deficiency was, to produce demands for higher wages on the part of the working classes, and "strikes" until their demands were fulfilled. Amidst this depression, however, there was no perceptible decrease in our foreign trade, as the imports bore the official value of £28,561,270, and the exports £31,020,061. Of these exports, more than two-thirds were British and Irish produce. The manner in which they were distributed, shows the relative amount of our foreign commerce in the different quarters of the world. Of the real, not official value of these exports, there were sent—

To foreign Europe, ...	£13,025,676
To the United States of America, ...	11,011,409
To the rest of America, ...	7,771,418
To Asia, ...	2,904,584
To Africa, ...	756,060

The year 1806 was a momentous era in the history of British commerce. There were serious apprehensions of a defective harvest; and while these gloomy anticipations prevailed, the Prussian government, under the control of Napoleon, issued a proclamation forbidding the entrance of British ships into any of its ports and rivers. As this threatened the loss of our Baltic trade in corn, the price of wheat rapidly rose from 74s. 5d. to 84s., and thus continued until the promise of a better harvest lessened the panic. But towards the close of the year, Bonaparte issued his notable Berlin decree, proclaiming Great Britain and its isles in a state of blockade. His chief annoyance had been our commerce, which furnished to an almost boundless extent the sinews of war to those nations that had courage to resist him. The blockade itself was an absurdity in one who had no naval power to enforce it, and its only effect could be, the injury of our markets upon the Continent wherever his power extended. No immediate effect, however, was experienced by the decree; for though our exports to Europe fell short by £2,000,000 during this year, the defect was more than compensated by an increased demand for our goods in other quarters. The contest between France and England was now to be a warfare of mercantile prohibitions, seizures, and confiscations. British property in foreign countries was seized; vessels of neutral powers carrying British merchandise were arrested, brought into French ports, and condemned; and a system of search for prohibited articles was set on foot over the markets of the Continent. On the other hand, the British ministry in the beginning of the following year retaliated, by ordering that all neutral vessels, trading from one hostile port to another with enemy's property, should be seized; and finding this order generally evaded, and the Berlin decree enforced with increasing rigour, they issued further orders in November, by which France, and all the countries under its dictation, were proclaimed to be in a state of blockade in turn, and all vessels liable to seizure that were found trading with them. In this way, the neutral trade was crushed and annihilated amidst such a hostile collision. Not to be outdone, Bonaparte, on the 17th of December, published his Milan decree, by which, not only Britain and its islands were declared in a state of blockade, but also all its colonies and dependencies in every part of the world. Hitherto, the United States of America had hoped to monopolize the carrying trade between Britain and the rest of Europe; but dis-

appointed in this expectation by the decree of the British ministry, which made all vessels trading between the hostile countries liable to seizure, they laid an embargo upon their own vessels, and prohibited all traffic with France and England alike.

In 1808, the commercial difficulties of Britain were such as might have filled the most sanguine with dismay. The defective crop of the preceding year was followed by one more defective still, so that the price of wheat, which at the former season had amounted to 66s., had now risen to 92s. There was no prospect of the importation of foreign corn, as the Baltic was closed against British commerce; and of all the European nations, none but Sweden was open to our traffic. Every other commodity necessarily became high-priced, as well as corn, and there was a prospect of scarcity in every article of European produce required as raw materials for our manufactures, or as naval stores. This dearth and the prospect of its continuance, gave rise to an adventurous spirit of mercantile speculation, and for this a hopeful outlet was promised in South America, by the emancipation of the Spanish colonies from the control of the mother country. Into this quarter of the world, accordingly, the whole tide was directed, and that, too, with a violence proportioned to the restrictions which had been opposed to it in Europe through the Berlin and Milan decrees. Such, indeed, was the inundation, that more Manchester goods were sent thither in a few weeks, than had been consumed during the twenty previous years; in the city of Rio Janeiro warehouses could not be found to contain them, so that whole cargoes had to lie heaped upon the beach, exposed for weeks to the chances of weather and theft; and not only necessary articles, but those of the highest luxury and refinement, were sent to a people who had no demand for them, and could not use them. "Elegant services of cut glass and china," says the narrative, "were offered to persons whose most splendid drinking vessels consisted of a horn or the shell of a cocoa-nut; tools were sent out having a hammer on the one side and a hatchet on the other, as if the inhabitants had nothing more to do than to break the first stone that they met with and then cut the gold and diamonds from it; and some speculators actually went so far as to send out *skates* to Rio Janeiro!"¹ During this year, while the exportations to the United States had diminished to less than a half of their former amount, those to the rest of America had more than doubled. In the following year, the market of Britain was glutted in turn with importations from the foreign countries that had become impatient of the mercantile restraints imposed by

¹ Macculloch's *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 329.

France, in consequence of which their prices fell, and the spirit of hazardous speculation was abated. But it was in 1810 that the mercantile reaction was most strongly felt. The overstocking of the South American market from which a profitable return was impossible, the speculations in grain during the previous scarcity, the absorption of ready money and the decay of credit—evils that had been accumulating and growing to a height, were now to produce their natural effects; and these were manifested in the depreciation of paper securities, and a more alarming amount of bankruptcies than had been known during the preceding years. Their number amounted to 2314, of which 26 were banking houses. Nor was Britain alone in the calamity; the other countries which depended upon her merchandise and had continued to partake in its benefits in spite of decrees and prohibitions, now shared in its disasters and sufferings, so that not only over the Continent, but even in America, these mercantile evils prevailed with more or less severity.

With 1811, that mercantile crisis so often dreaded as the prelude of national bankruptcy, had arrived. The investigations of the bullion committee during the previous year, their conclusions upon the necessity of cash payments, and the restoration of the circulating medium to the original principle of such payments, had filled the holders of paper money with alarm, and deepened the general feeling of insecurity. The United States of America also, which had removed the embargo, and received during 1810 about £11,000,000 of our exports, now passed a decree prohibiting all importations into their territories of every kind of goods, the manufactures or produce of Great Britain. Still, however, there were circumstances productive of present relief, as well as hopes for the future. In April parliament interposed, by decreeing a loan of £6,000,000 in aid of the distressed condition of the commercial and manufacturing interests; and although not more than a third of this amount was advanced, it was influential in the restoration of public confidence. The expulsion of the French from Portugal, and the victories of our armies over them in Spain, had re-opened nearly the whole of the Peninsula to our commerce. The redundant goods with which South America and the West Indies had been overflowed, had now been absorbed, and followed by a fresh demand; and the growing hostility of Russia to France gave promise of the renewal of our commercial relationships with the north. By these alleviating circumstances, the difficulties of this trying period were surmounted, although the average price of wheat in the month of December was 10*s.* 8*d.* Still, our foreign trade during the whole of this century had never been so low as

in the present year, in which our imports had borne the official value of only £26,510,186, and our exports only £28,799,120.

The war had now continued so long without as yet the prospect of termination, and the depressions upon our foreign merchandise were so numerous, that the landed interest and agricultural community had got the start of our merchants and manufacturers. Encouraged by the high prices of grain, farmers and landlords were now the great speculators, of whom, the former leased new farms, and the latter purchased fresh estates, as if the war, and its restrictions upon the importation of foreign grain, would never come to a close. In August, 1812, the average price of wheat had risen to 15*s.* and that of butcher meat had increased in proportion; land-rents had nearly doubled, and with them, the wages of agricultural labourers and artisans; while the high prices of food, and superior style of living, had necessitated a similar rise in the salaries of clerks and other officials, and the prices of town labour in general. But little of this rise had as yet extended to the operatives of our manufactories. The chief articles of manufacturing industry imported from foreign countries, had also been diminished during the two previous years, and threatened to become still less, in consequence of the occupation of Prussia and invasion of Russia by the armies of Napoleon. But the ambition of the latter had given the alarm to Russia and Sweden, and treaties between these powers and Great Britain were confirmed, by which the Continent was once more to be opened to our commerce. On this account, though the imports of this year were not greater than those of 1811, the official value of our exports had increased by nearly £11,000,000 sterling.

As the course of events was daily more promising for the liberation of Europe and the return of peace, the effects of these prospects were distinctly manifested in 1813. These, and an abundant harvest, brought the price of wheat down step by step to the close of the year, when it was reduced to 7*s.*, and farmers complained that they were undone. But equal to their dismay was the undue elation of the mercantile classes, who were prepared to speculate upon the opening Continent with newly-awakened eagerness. The coalitions of the continental powers against France renewed their mercantile relationships with Britain, which were instantly followed by a brisk and over-sanguine commerce, in which the general demand for our articles of colonial produce throughout Europe turned the speculations of our dealers exclusively to sugar, coffee, &c., and the amount of these commodities exported from our warehouses could scarcely find money among our impoverished foreign cus-

tomers equal to their abundance and value. The recoil therefore was felt in the following year (1814), when many of these shipments to the Continent had fallen to fifty per cent. In other cases, the shippers had been obliged to receive goods in payment instead of money, and these, when brought home, had to be sold at a greatly inferior price. In consequence of this over-trading, the exports of this year had increased to the enormous value of £54,000,000 sterling, of which £20,000,000 were foreign and colonial produce. In the following year (1815), indications were given that the course of commerce, so long checked and altered by the war, was finding its proper channels. Our exports had increased by £4,000,000, while our imports had decreased by £1,000,000. In this increase of our exports, also, there was a larger sale of British and Irish commodities, and a diminution in that of colonial produce, the rage of speculation in the latter article having now considerably abated. Another cause of the increase of our foreign trade, was the peace with the United States of America, by which goods to the amount of £13,000,000 were sent thither. An early and abundant harvest, which had for several seasons been unwonted, was added to the hopeful symptoms which the return of peace afforded, so that the average price of grain, which in May was 70s. 4d., had declined in December to 55s. 7d., being a smaller amount than had been known during eleven previous years.

British commerce having thus surmounted a storm almost unparalleled in the history of commercial enterprise, and having fully exhibited to the world its strength and resources, was now to go onward without impediment, except such as might arise from its own errors. Were we to follow out the account of its principal events from 1816 to the close of this present period, we should in this case have to give a history of the corn laws, of the bankruptcies, of the resumption of cash payments, of coinage, of the East India Company's commercial progress, and other such component parts of the subject, as would either be tedious by minuteness, or unintelligible from abbreviation or omission. A more specific idea also will probably be conveyed by the results as given in the following short tabular statement of our exports in British and Irish produce alone, according to their official value:—

Years, and annual average of years.	British and Irish produce, and manufactures from Great Britain.	Irish produce, and manufactures exported from Ireland.	Total.
1815-19.	£28,176,200	£948,440	£29,124,640
1820-24.	39,544,600	620,280	40,164,880
1825.	48,024,952	705,515	48,730,467
1826.	46,453,022	697,668	47,150,690
1827.	40,382,354	682,882	41,065,236
1828.	51,279,102	942,882	52,221,984
1829.	52,019,728	768,319	52,788,047
1830.	55,465,728	747,819	56,213,547

In this official table, the steady and successful progress of British commerce from 1815 to 1830, will at once be distinctly perceptible. From the same source we learn, that the increase in the exports of our manufactures during 1830-31, as compared with 1792, a year of remarkable commercial prosperity, was 450 per cent. Keeping in mind that the increase of population during this period was only 70 per cent., we can perceive more effectually the superiority of wealth, comfort, and resources which the present generation possessed over that which had been enjoyed by their fathers. In this table, the stationary amount of the exports from Ireland will strike the attention of the reader, and make him demur as to the benefits which that country had derived from its unwilling union with Great Britain. But we are not to seek in these Irish exports to foreign countries, a proof that her trade had not participated in the general improvement. Her export trade since the union was chiefly carried on from British ports, and far exceeded that which had gone direct from her own shores while she rejoiced in her form of separate national identity. In Sir Charles Whitworth's tables, and the statements in the House of Commons in 1834, it was shown, that during the seven years ending with 1729, the Irish exports to Britain amounted only to £2,307,722, but that in 1833, the Irish exports to Liverpool alone amounted to not less than £7,456,692!

Another equally tangible demonstration of the effects of the commerce of this period, is to be found in the rapid increase of our towns, and especially of those in which trades and manufactures were most prevalent. The tables of this increase in eight of the principal towns of Great Britain during a period of ten years, are given as follows:—

	Population in 1821.	Population in 1831.	Increase per cent.
London, Westminster, Southwark, and suburbs, . . .	1,225,694	1,471,941	20
Manchester, Salford, and suburbs, . . .	154,807	227,808	42
Glasgow and suburbs, . . .	147,043	202,426	38
Liverpool (borough), with Toxteth Park, . . .	131,808	189,242	44
Edinburgh (city), . . .	188,235	162,408	18
Birmingham and suburbs, . . .	106,721	142,206	33
Leeds, . . .	83,796	123,393	49
Bristol, . . .	87,779	103,896	19

In these eight towns collectively, the decennial increase averages 25½ per cent., while that of Great Britain at large was only 15½ per cent.

While such was the progress of our commerce, a correspondent improvement was effected in our operations of manufacture, by which power might be multiplied and delay avoided. This was especially the case in the manufacture of our cotton fabrics, which during the earlier part of the preceding century had become of great

national importance, and for which there was a continually growing demand. And yet, up to 1760, the machinery used in this department was as simple and primitive as that of China or India. "The weaver," says Baines, "was continually pressing upon the spinner. The processes of spinning and weaving were generally performed in the same cottage, but the weaver's own family could not supply him with a sufficient quantity of weft, and he had much pains to collect it from neighbouring spinners. Thus his time was wasted, and he was often subjected to high demands for an article on which, as the demand exceeded the supply, the seller could put her own price." In such a state of things, it was of urgent importance that science and ingenuity should come to the aid of industry, and devise ways and means by which mechanical power might be multiplied, and one man enabled to do the work of many. Accordingly, Hargreave invented the spinning-jenny in 1764, and Arkwright his spinning-machine in 1767; and when many machines could thus be set in motion by a single hand, the next attempt was to spare manual labour itself, and multiply power by the application of mere brute or mechanical force. At Nottingham, accordingly, in 1768, Arkwright's invention was driven by horse power. But the still greater and more regular power of steam had been contemplated from the discoveries of Watt, and on this being applied, the profitable discovery was made that one horse power would drive 100 spindles with cotton yarn and the preparatory machinery, and that the same power would work twelve power-loom, with preparation. By this mighty operation of steam, the processes of spinning and weaving could be introduced into our populous cities where workmen were in plenty and water-power not to be obtained; and accordingly, in our crowded streets as well as upon the banks of our rural streams, manufactories began to rise, and a world of machinery to be set in active motion. This was the characteristic of the close of the present period—the commencement of that wondrous era of utilitarianism by which the next was to be characterized, and in which the application of steam as a mechanical power, will obtain a more minute and particular detail. But such changes, that went to revolutionize our whole industrial population, could not be accomplished without alarm; the thousands who had hitherto depended upon the loom and the wheel for subsistence, found themselves superseded and thrown out to starvation; and under the apprehension of what was still to follow, machine riots became prevalent over the country, and machine-breaking the order of the day. These misguided alarms continued, until experience taught the mob-legislators that the demand for manufac-

tures would increase with the supply, and that their own services could still be necessary for the superintendence of the machinery. But this experience was long in coming, and the war against artificial labour continued even during the earlier part of the present period. To this in a great measure may be attributed the slowness of the progress of these inventions compared with their immense utility. But their application and improvement were equally inevitable, and at the close of the last century the more difficult operation of the spinning of flax by automatic machinery had been introduced, as well as that of cotton. After a considerable interval, power-loom weaving was applied to the manufacture of linen; and before the close of the present period, calico-printing by steam was beginning to be attempted in its simplest forms. It was fortunate also for the growing demands of science and literature, and the new attempts for the diffusion of knowledge over society at large, that the manufacture of paper by steam was introduced, through which the number and the price of books could be adapted to the means of the middle and even the lower classes. At the close of the present period, the application of steam and water in the produce of our manufacturing articles was becoming universal over the three kingdoms, while the products, vast as they were, could scarcely meet the world-wide demand, and the markets that were opening up for their sale.

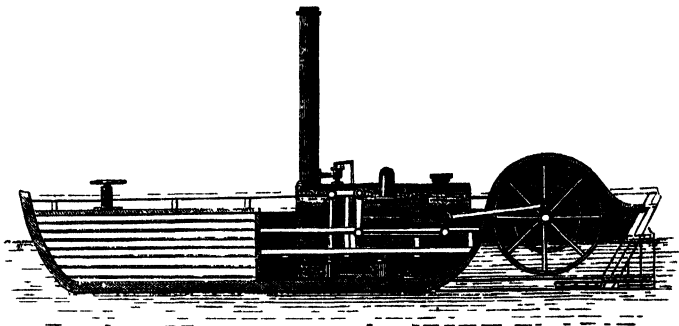
But to show the progress of this increase, and its value, it is only necessary to have recourse once more to statistical tables. In 1780 the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland scarcely numbered more than 13,800,000, while their productive force, according to Dupin, was equal to the manual labour of 31,281,000 effective labourers. In 1826 the population amounted to about 22,500,000, being an increase of about 8,700,000, while the amount of productive power was equivalent to the labour of 60,206,000 workmen. In 1769 our cotton manufactures did not exceed in annual value £200,000. In 1824 their annual value had risen to £33,500,000, in 1827 to £36,000,000, and at the close of this period to little less than £40,000,000. Our limits permit us to give only this single instance, instead of entering into details of our wool and flax manufactures, which would furnish a similar result, or even into the quantity of coal, iron, and the several metals which were required for the making and working of machinery. One brief statement in this respect must suffice. In 1780, the quantity of coal raised for general use was about 2500 tons: in 1833, it was about 18,000,000 tons.

But to impart to one man the industrial efficacy of a hundred, was not the only achievement of steam during this era of invention and discovery.

Space was to be abbreviated, town and country brought together, and even nation linked with nation in close connection, by the application of its powers to the purposes of locomotion. The facilities of intercourse as well as of traffic among the whole human family were to be multiplied tenfold by the invention of the steam-boat, which now demands our especial notice.

After repeated trials of the power of steam in various departments, and the success with which they were followed, the idea of tasking it to impel a boat as well as to operate upon the spinning-wheel or capstan, was a natural suggestion. It appears, indeed, to have been proposed so early as 1736, when Mr. Jonathan Hulls took out a patent for a boat to be propelled by steam; but his proposal was neglected, and himself forgot. The second attempt was made in France by the Marquis de Jouffroy, in 1782; but his vessel, although it is said to have been in use fifteen months, was also set aside. A third, made in America, for the propulsion of boats by steam, in 1785, was relinquished, either from want of public support, or failure in the experiment. The next attempt was in Scotland, in 1787, by Mr. Patrick Miller, of Dalswinton, ably and effectually assisted by James Taylor and William Symington, who, after trying the experiment of propelling vessels by paddle-wheels driven by men or horses, advanced a step higher, by stating that "he had reason to believe that the power of the steam-engine may be applied to work the wheels, so as to give them a quicker motion, and to increase that of the ship." In the following year (1788) he accordingly launched a pleasure-boat, which he had fitted with a steam-engine, upon the lake of Dalswinton; but though it moved by steam, it was found that the engine and wheel needed the additional aid of manual labour with a windlass. Other similar experiments followed with but partial success, the last of these being on the Forth and Clyde Canal in 1802. But although in the last-mentioned attempt, the steam-boat, called the *Charlotte Dundas*, towed two loaded sloops, each of seventy tons, a distance of $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles in six hours against a head-wind, the proprietors of the canal opposed its further use, in the idea that the action of the paddles would destroy the embankments; and thus the unfortunate vessel was laid up, and permitted to go to decay. The construction of this vessel, the veritable parent of steam-boats, con-

stitutes perhaps the most important incident in the whole history of this department of navigation. The expensive and hazardous experiment was undertaken by Thomas Lord Dundas, who, on learning the attempts of Mr. Miller, employed Symington to construct a steam vessel to ply on the canal; and the result was the *Charlotte Dundas*, a vessel in which there was an engine with the steam acting on each side of the piston, working a connecting-rod and crank, and the union of the crank to the axis of Miller's improved paddle-wheel, which last was Symington's own invention. By this happy combination, William Symington was the first who united those improvements in the action of steam machinery which constitute the present system of steam navigation; and as such, the *Charlotte Dundas* is worthy of particular notice, as the



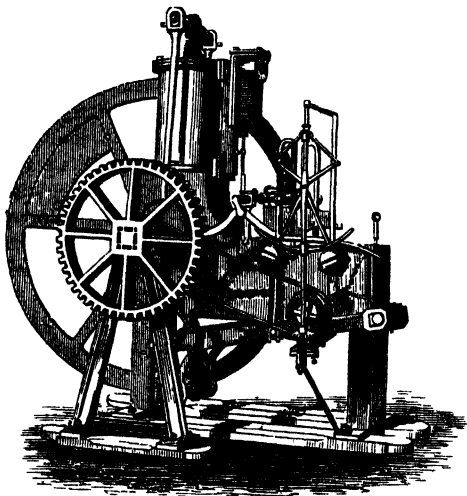
SECTION OF THE "CHARLOTTE DUNDAS" STEAM-BOAT
From Woodcroft's Rise and Progress of Steam Navigation.

earliest exemplar of a complete, practical steam-boat. Its merits were appreciated by the Duke of Bridgewater, to whom it was recommended; and after having seen a model of the vessel, and received explanations from Symington, his grace gave the latter an order to build eight boats similar to the *Charlotte Dundas* to ply on his canal. But the death of the duke and the unreasonable alarm of the proprietors of the Forth and Clyde Canal, reduced the unfortunate engineer to poverty, when the success of his undertaking promised him wealth and fame; and while the *Charlotte Dundas* was laid up uselessly in a creek of the canal, where it remained for years, Symington himself was consigned to ungenerous neglect.¹ While he thus prepared the way for steam navigation, he had, so early as 1786, anticipated the application of steam to land travel, by exhibiting in Edinburgh the model of a steam carriage to be used upon common highways.

Every attempt had thus been discouraged, either from want of funds or want of public support; and the scheme of steam navigation itself was laid aside for several years, and seemed

¹ Woodcroft's Rise and Progress of Steam Navigation.

to be utterly forgot. But fortunately for it, there was an eccentric mechanic at hand whom no failure could daunt, and to whom the enterprise had

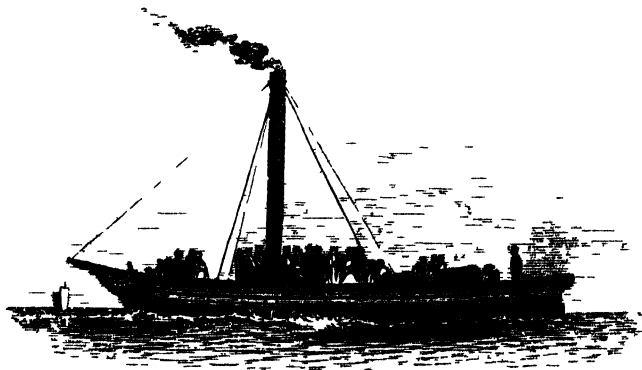


ENGINE OF THE "COMET" STEAM-BOAT — From a photograph

additional charms from being condemned as impracticable. This was Henry Bell, who, after trying various handicraft occupations and abandoning them, became finally a bath and tavern keeper at Helensburgh—a man of a thousand projects, of which the one success was an over-payment for the nine hundred and ninety-nine failures. The propulsion of boats by steam was an idea which he seized with avidity; he repeatedly tried experiments on the subject, and rectified their errors; and having at last matured his plan, he employed the ship-wrights of Port-Glasgow to construct for him a boat that was 40 feet keel, and 10½ feet on the beam, with a paddle-wheel on each side; and when finished, he equipped it with a steam-engine which he had directed to be made for the purpose. This memorable vessel, which was completed in 1811, was called the *Comet*, from the great natural phenomenon of that year; and in January, 1812, it began regularly to ply on the Clyde between Glasgow and Greenock. But, obvious as were the advantages of such a mode of conveyance, that equalled the speed of coaches at only one-third of the fare, the public were at first cautious in using the *Comet*, and preferred travelling by land; while this reluctance was not a little increased by the hostility of fly-boat and coach proprietors,

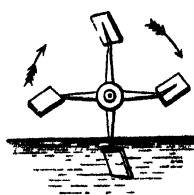
who foresaw in this formidable invention the ruin of their monopoly. But such hostility was too selfish to be lasting: the public were quickly awakened to a sense of their own interests, and after Henry Bell had so effectually pointed the way, other vessels were constructed, in which the plan of the *Comet* was faithfully adopted, with only an increase of power.

Of the favour into which steam-boat conveyance had come, only four years after the *Comet* had commenced its career, and the rapidity with which the vessels had multiplied on the Clyde alone, a statement is given in 1816 by Mr. Robert Buchanan, a distinguished Scottish engineer. "Before the introduction of steam-boats," he says, "the whole number of passengers in the common passage-boats did not, it is supposed, even in summer, exceed fifty up and fifty down, and those generally of the lower classes of the people. The number that then went down by coaches has been estimated at twenty-four persons up and the same number down. But now, in fine weather, it is no uncommon thing for 500 or 600 passengers to go and come in the same day. One of these boats alone has been known to carry 247 at one time." Previous to the publication of his statement, five steam-vessels had been established on the Thames, and even already they were performing the then adventurous passage from London to Margate. Only two years later, there were



BELL'S FIRST STEAM-BOAT, THE 'COMET'¹

eighteen steam-boats plying on their native Clyde. During four months of the same year, 10,000



¹ The above illustration shows the vessel perfected, and as she wrought with success till the time she was run ashore and wrecked on the coast of the West Highlands, in 1820, a period of eight years. When the *Comet* was first tried she had two pairs of paddles, of the form shown in the annexed figure; but after a few days' experience one pair of them was removed, as it was found that she wrought better with two than with four.

passengers had been conveyed by steam-boats between London, Richmond, and Twickenham, showing the immense and rapid increase that had taken place in this kind of navigation upon the Thames alone. The distribution of the other vessels in 1818 is thus enumerated: two at Dundee on the Tay, two on the Trent, two on the Tyne, four on the Humber, two on the Mersey, three on the Yare, one on the Avon, one on the Severn, one on the Orwell, six on the Forth, two at Cork, and two intended to navigate between Dublin and Holyhead. Even already, also, steam packets and luggage vessels were used in France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Russia, and about to be used in the East Indies. But what the while of Henry Bell, the author of all this improvement? In poverty, and even in sickness—for he was crippled with rheumatism—he had carried on his experiments; and when his vessel was at last completed, he hobbled down to the beach to make the first voyage, and threw his crutches on board with the triumphant glee of a conqueror. But after his plan had succeeded, he was soon distanced by richer and more active competitors; his vessel, the *Comet*, was run ashore and wrecked, and a second which he also started, of the same name, was run down and sunk in 1825, while neither of them was insured; and thus, poorer than ever, he could look out from his little inn of Helensburgh upon the river covered with steam-vessels, that swept along in their holiday pride, utterly forgetful of the man to whom they owed their being, although the white walls of his hospitiuin stood like a landmark in their course. It is true, indeed, that the town of Glasgow, in his old days, and when such liberality would not long be needed, settled upon him an annuity of £100; but this was little, when not only Glasgow, but Britain at large, was so deeply his debtor. It was well for the simple-minded, warm-hearted, and eccentric, but enterprising old man, that he could turn to new pursuits with all his former enthusiasm, and find in their flattering promises a consolation for whatever disappointments he had encountered; and one of his last projects was a new method of road-making, by which he hoped that travelling by land would be rendered as smooth, expeditious, and comfortable, as he had already made travelling by water. In this spirit of buoyant, youthful confidence and universal benevolence, he ended his days at Helensburgh on the 14th of November, 1830, at the age of sixty-three.

Hitherto, in the practical revival of steam navigation, we have only made special mention of William Symington and Henry Bell, and the success of their experiments in Scotland, with the effects produced by their example over the United Kingdom, and throughout Europe at large.

Within this circle they were undoubtedly the originators of the experiment; and to Bell especially, the whole merit of European steam naviga-



HENRY BELL.—From a portrait by J. Tannoch.

tion in its practical appliance may be traced. But even four years before his *Comet* was launched on the Clyde, a steam vessel was embarked on the Hudson, which plied between New York and Albany, a distance of 160 miles, with complete success; and in consequence of this, the honour of the discovery has been claimed by the Americans for Fulton. But so early as 1801, being then in Scotland, he visited Symington; enjoyed a short trip in the new steam-boat on the canal, and took notes and sketches of the vessel and its machinery. It would appear, also, from Bell's statements in his letter, published in the *Caledonian Mercury*, October, 1816, that it was from him that Mr. Robert Fulton had derived, or at least matured, his plan of a steam-boat. He had already seen and studied the properties of the *Charlotte Dundas*, and he afterwards wrote to Bell on the subject, and desired him to send him a drawing and description of Miller's boat. This Henry Bell did accordingly, and two years afterwards, Fulton wrote again to him, stating that he had constructed a boat from his sketch and description, and that with some improvements it would answer the desired object. This set Bell a-thinking, and he resolved to construct a steam-boat of his own, instead of sending his plan to other countries; but while he was making models of his intended vessel previous to its construction, Fulton's superior means and science had outstripped him by four years, and enabled him to launch his steam-boat in America in 1807. In this way, the honour of so vast a discovery was divided, and each hemisphere claimed its origi-

but from this statement it appears that Symington and Bell were really the originators, and Fulton the successful imitator and copyist. The glory, however, was enough for all three, and the name of each will descend to future ages among the renowned of the nineteenth century. It was well for the trial made upon the loch of Dalswinton, and afterwards quietly laid aside, that it fell into the hands of three such men, by whom it was raised from a scientific experiment into a great practical reality.

At the commencement of the invention, the steam-boat was only intended for still water and river navigation, while its form, and the nature of its machinery, were judged unfit to contend with the perils of an open sea. But even the second year after the *Comet* was built, it was employed as a jaunting boat over the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and this, as Bell stated, that he might show the advantage of steam navigation over every other mode of sailing. But the utmost that steam-boats continued to adventure, was a short way beyond the precincts of rivers and the coasts of friths, and then only in fine weather. At last, Mr. David Napier, of Glasgow, at that time a young man, conceived the bold idea of making steam navigation as available for the open sea as for rivers, and to ply steam-ships in all kinds of weather between England, Ireland, and France. He carefully studied the science and theory of the question; but not contented with the abstract results alone, which confirmed his opinion, he resolved to witness in person the storms with which he should have to contend, and for this purpose took a passage at a very stormy period of the year, in one of the stout packet vessels that plied between Glasgow and Belfast. From the bows of the vessel he watched the dashing of the waves as the spray flew over him, and the gathering of the winds into a tempest, and seemed sadly disappointed when told that as yet the passage was not one of unusual roughness. At last he was gratified to his heart's desire: such a storm arose, that the whole deck was overswept by the waves, and he was assured by the captain that he had never weathered a more terrible night. "Oh, is that all? I think I can manage that!" said Napier with a gratified look, as he retired to his cabin, while the skipper gazed after him in perplexity and doubt. Knowing the full force and nature of what was to be overcome, Napier adapted the structure of his new vessels accordingly; and in 1818 established a steam-vessel between Greenock and Belfast, and another in 1819 between Holyhead and Dublin. These were but small vessels, the first being only of 90, and the second of 150 tons; but their security as well as speed in the open sea was so effectually proved, that larger

ships for still greater distances were not long in following. Of these, the greatest, and also the fastest that were constructed before the close of this period, were the *Majestic* and the *United Kingdom*, the former of 270 tons and 100 horse-power, the latter of 561 tons and 200 horse-power. The advantage thus secured over the common sailing vessels, although not equal to what can now be realized, was strikingly manifested by the following comparison of relative speed between them and the steamers, drawn from the tables at the close of this period:—

	Steam-vessels.	Sailing-vessels.
London Bridge to Calais, . . .	12 hours.	36 hours.
London to Leith, . . .	55 "	5 days.
London to Dublin, . . .	84 "	16 "
Dublin to Liverpool, . . .	14 "	36 hours.
Greenock to Liverpool, . . .	24 "	8 days.
Greenock to Glasgow, . . .	3 "	12 hours.
Brighton to Dieppe, . . .	9 "	50 "

While river and sea had thus been made equally accessible to the steam-boat, the facilities of inland navigation, by the construction of canals, had made rapid progress during the present period. In this department of civil engineering, England had hitherto been manifestly defective, so that when Brindley commenced his daring operations, a general ignorance prevailed in the construction of embankments, aqueducts, and tunnels; and it was only by the complete success with which his boldest undertakings were crowned that the nation was encouraged to multiply artificial rivers for the purposes of home traffic. But the enterprise once commenced was prosecuted with such ardour, that before the close of 1830, England had become a net-work of canals to the amount of 2400 miles—a greater extent of canal navigation than any other country in Europe possessed. Of these, 442 miles had been constructed during the present period alone. The canals so constructed were the Leeds and Liverpool Canal, the Rochdale Canal, the Grand Junction Canal with its numerous branches, and the Kennet and Avon Canal. In Scotland also, that gigantic undertaking, the Caledonian Canal, to effect a navigable communication between the eastern and western seas, was begun at the commencement of this period, and completed in 1823; while a year earlier, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal was opened, by which these two great northern cities were no longer confined to land carriage. In Wales, and especially in Ireland, the same progress of canal-making was exhibited, a grant having been made by parliament to the latter, a short time before the union, of £500,000 for the advancement of its inland navigation in general. And seldom has a national boon been more wisely bestowed, or more profitably expended. The survey of the country, for the purpose of finding lines on which canals

could be constructed, has made the levels and waters of Ireland be better known than those of any other country in Europe, Holland only excepted. The communication opened with Dublin, as was stated by Mr. Nimmo, in 1830, before a committee of the House of Commons, had saved the payment of a bounty of £100,000 per annum for bringing corn to Dublin, that city having now become one of the first corn ports of Europe. The promotion of agriculture, and the diffusion of wealth and comfort throughout those districts which had hitherto been so scantily cultivated, were the happy consequences of this encouragement to the inland navigation of Ireland.

With the construction of canals, the improvement of roads was very naturally connected. We have noticed in former chapters the miserably defective state both of the country highways and the city streets of England, and the urgent need of their improvement. At the commencement of this century, the roads of Ireland were considered to be the best in the United Kingdom, but this was nothing more than necessary for the maintenance of order, and the suppression of rebellion among a wild people impatient of restraint. Next to them were the great roads of the Highlands of Scotland; but these were also military constructions for the purpose of bridling the clans, and had owed their existence to the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. No such compulsory road-making having been demanded in England since the days of William the Conqueror, that which had been a common duty had fallen into general neglect, which the numerous acts of parliament passed from time to time on the subject had been insufficient to rectify. Nothing short of the all-awakening energy which was now predominant, could have roused the public spirit from its lethargy, and it was only with the commencement of the present century, that the making of roads became a regular science. It was fortunate also for this purpose, that Mr. Thomas Telford was appointed engineer to the parliamentary commissioners for Highland roads and bridges, and that he brought his great scientific skill and practical character to the construction and improvement of our highways. He commenced operations in the Highlands, where the military roads had become insufficient, and twenty-five years after (1827), there were constructed over Scotland at large 1000 miles of new roads and about 1200 bridges under his superintendence. Besides planning his roads so as best to obviate difficulties, and occasion the least expenditure of toil and labour in travelling—circumstances that had hitherto been overlooked as trifles—they were constructed for durability; and his method was, to lay a surface of broken stone, known by the name of *metal*, upon a rough, firm

pavement of large stones. But a still more eminent road-maker than Telford, was Mr. London Macadam, who introduced a new theory into the art, and was in 1816 appointed surveyor of roads



THOMAS TELFORD.—From a portrait by S. Lane

in the Bristol district, where he had ample opportunity of carrying his plan into effect. He saw that the mixture of clay and chalk among the materials used in making roads was the general cause of their failure, however favourable might be the ground; and that by a proper application of materials, a good road might be made in any country. The chief part of his plan consisted of breaking the stones of which a road is to be made, into small angular pieces of about an ounce in weight, and an inch in circumference, excluding from them all soft or earthy materials; and these, by their roughness, will always combine into a solid substance, with a smooth surface, that can endure alike the action of wheels and the vicissitudes of the weather. In this way, not only new roads could be made, but the old renewed by breaking up their materials. This method was found to be not only the simplest and most economical, but also the one that most accorded with scientific principles, especially upon a boggy soil; and while his report on the subject was approved of by a committee of the House of Commons, and his plan rewarded by a parliamentary grant of money, it was adopted upon an extensive scale, so that in a few years the roads of Great Britain, hitherto so inferior and defective, became the envy of every country, and the admiration of travellers from every quarter of the world. Even when the stones are broken into less minute fractions for the repair of highways, the principle of Macadam is found available for the purpose.

While roads were thus improved and multiplied to so great an extent, the progress of bridge-

making was necessarily correspondent. In Scotland, especially, where they are so necessary, the erection of bridges, promoted by the abundance of excellent stone, and the science of Telford and other able engineers, was a striking feature in the industrial improvement of the present period. Of these erections that were the most distinguished for boldness and architectural beauty, we can only particularize that upon the river Teviot, immediately above its junction with the Tweed, which was finished in 1803—that across the Den Burn at Aberdeen—the large bridge over the river Spey, near Gordon Castle, at Fochabers—and one superior to them all over the river Tay at Dunkeld. It was in London, however, that this spirit of enterprise and improvement was manifested upon its grandest scale. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, when Blackfriars' and Westminster Bridge were erected, the citizens had contented themselves with their one Old London Bridge, and the wherries, to keep up the communication of both sides of the river; but this was too little for the growth and bustle of traffic which had now set in; and accordingly, during the present period alone, three new bridges were extended across the Thames. These were, Vauxhall Bridge, distinguished by its iron arches, reckoned the lightest structure of the kind in Europe; Waterloo Bridge, proclaimed by Canova the finest European specimen of bridges extant; and Southwark Bridge, which is of iron, and remarkable for the boldness of its design, the central arch having a span of 240 feet, while the whole consists of only three arches. Of these bridges

the two first were erected by John Rennie; the last was constructed from his plans by his son; and the grandeur and beauty as well as durability of these three noble national structures have established the fame of their engineer in the highest rank of that department of science. In mentioning the material of the bridge of Southwark it may be stated that the construction of iron bridges was not new in the country, one having been erected upon the river Severn, near Colebrookdale, so early as 1777, while others had followed in rapid succession; but in grandeur of design all were surpassed by the iron bridges of the present period—one of

these being Telford's plan of a substitution for London Bridge, by a cast-iron bridge of a single arch, the chord of which was to be 600 feet, and the versed sine 65 feet. This mention of iron bridges is suggestive of the suspension bridges which became prevalent during this period. The idea of combining banks of rivers where the torrent of water was too strong to be bridled by the work of masonry, and uniting the opposite points of ravines where the depth was too great for a regular arch, was taken from a practice that had prevailed in India and South America from the earliest ages, where ropes of reed or bamboo were thrown across, by which the obstacle was surmounted, and a safe, though perilous-looking passage provided for foot-passengers, and sometimes even for small cattle. The first of the kind erected in England, was a small foot-bridge of iron chains thrown across the Tees, near Middleton, before the middle of the eighteenth century; and so early as 1785, the idea



THE MENAI SUSPENSION BRIDGE.—From a photograph

was entertained of erecting such a bridge across the Menai Strait, to connect the mainland with the island of Anglesea. This daring project was finally realized by Mr. Telford, and the suspension bridge completed in 1826. It is constructed partly of stone and partly of iron, and consists of seven stone arches exceeding in magnitude every other work of the kind; while the two main piers, which rise fifty-three feet above the level of the road, suspend chains from their top weighing 2016 tons. But before this period, several bridges had been erected both of chain and wire, the chief of which were the Union Bridge over the Tweed, near Kelso, in 1820, and that at Hammersmith, near London, in 1824.

In this brief and general sketch of the new spirit of the nineteenth century, we perceive everywhere the indication of improvement. A rapidly increasing population—an extension on every side of commerce and its resources—the improvement and multiplication of the agencies of manufacturing industry—and the general direction of intellect to the practical and the useful, had increased the means of comfort and subsistence over the empire at large: a whole century of advance had been effected in a few years, that excited alike the wonder and envy of foreigners, and the self-congratulations of our countrymen. But with all these advantages, there was a correspondent increase of evils that gave too much cause for regret and apprehension. The unprecedented wealth of our merchants and manufacturers made the working classes discontented, and during seasons of public depression, this feeling was manifested by revolutionary clubs, conspiracies, and outbreaks. Such were the outrages in 1812 of the Luddites, the Hampden Union and Spencean disturbances in 1816, and the radical commotions of 1819—revolts of the working classes, in which, at one time, there was a wholesale demolition of machinery, and at another, a demand for the overturn of government and the establishment of an agrarian equality. But deeper still, and of more extensive diffusion, were the manifestations of a growth in ignorance and crime among the lower orders, while the middle and higher classes were improving in wealth, morality, and intelligence. Of this, the statistics afforded a melancholy evidence. In 1805, the convictions of crime in England and Wales were 2783; in 1811, they were 3163; in 1815, 4883; and in 1819, they were 9510. Thus, the increase of criminals was almost three-fold that of the ratio of the population. It was necessary, even in self-defence, that the intelligence and philanthropy of the better part of the community should be roused into action, to prevent the growing national prosperity from becoming the fruitful source of national decay and destruction; and accordingly, measures were from time to time adopted for the prevention of crime, and the promotion of moral intelligence among the industrial and lower orders. As these attempts form an important feature in the social history of the nineteenth century, and were tentative experiments for the cure of evils to which legislation had hitherto been unaccustomed, a brief notice of the chief of them may not be unnecessary. It was the maladies not of national poverty, as in times past, but of national abundance and repletion, which were now to be removed or alleviated.

In 1802, an act of parliament was interposed for the protection of the young employed in

public works, so that they might not be utterly sold into bondage either by the avarice of their parents or their employers. By this act of 42 Geo. III. c. 73, it was provided, that in all woollen and cotton mills and factories in the United Kingdom, in which three or more apprentices, or twenty or more other persons are employed, apprentices shall have two complete suits of clothing yearly; that the hours of working shall not exceed twelve hours, exclusive of meal times, for which three hours are allowed; that they shall be instructed every day for the first four years of their apprenticeship, in reading, writing, and arithmetic; that the apartments of males and females shall be kept distinct, and two only sleep in one bed; that the rooms shall be washed with quicklime and water twice a year, and kept well aired; that at midsummer sessions two visitors shall be appointed, to report the conditions of such mills and factories; and that copies of the act shall be fixed up in two conspicuous parts of the building.

In 1807, Mr. Whitbread's great plan was brought forward before the House of Commons for the promotion of industry and the relief of the poor. For all this the poor-laws, instead of being effectual, were found to be absolutely the reverse, as they broke the independent spirit of the poor, and destroyed their industrial habits, so that they had come to prefer the dole of mendicancy, which they regarded as their right, to the proceeds of honest active labour. The extent of the evil was manifested by the fact, that of the population of England and Wales, amounting to 8,870,000, the enormous proportion of 1,234,000 were receiving parochial relief. The remedy proposed by Mr. Whitbread, was a system of national education, by the establishment of parochial schools throughout the kingdom, attendance upon which should not be compulsory, but voluntary on the part of the poor; and by this plan he proposed to elevate the lower classes, stimulate their activity and enterprise, direct their energies, and convert them into an intelligent, high-minded, and thriving population. But this remedy, which was so available for Scotland, and so easily established in the days of the Solemn League and Covenant, when the people were of one mind and one creed, could scarcely have been transplanted into England amidst the contentions of parties both religious and political; and, accordingly, it was regarded rather as a devout imagination, than a scheme of practical application. It was not indeed tried, being thrown out of the House of Lords during the same year. It was fortunate, however, that the subject of education had not been compelled to wait upon parliamentary decisions; for the systems of Bell and Lancaster had been established, and their

schools were in active operation. Dr. Bell, who presided over a charity school at Madras, had been struck with the practice established in the native schools of Malabar, of teaching by writing in sand, and had introduced with success the plan into his seminary at Madras, in 1789. In 1797, he published in England a pamphlet, in which, under the modest title of an *Experiment in Education*, he gave an account of this principle of teaching by sand-writing, and afterwards proceeded to establish schools, where this simple method was to be adopted. But he had to do with teachers who had plans of their own; and finding that he could not overturn their established prejudices, or persuade them to adopt such a mode of tuition, he was obliged to have recourse to the elder boys of the schools, whose minds were still unbiassed, and to whom his plan had the charm of novelty to recommend it. In this way commenced the system of teaching by monitors, so that hundreds of pupils could be managed by a single schoolmaster, and instruction communicated for a fee which the poorest could afford. Another plan by which the labour of teaching was simplified, was the introduction of reading and pronouncing by syllables, instead of the common mode of spelling. But though Dr. Bell had the merit of being the first to introduce this educational plan into Britain, he was not unsupported in carrying it into effect; for in 1798, the year after the publication of his pamphlet, the principles were adopted by Mr. Joseph Lancaster, a gentleman of the community of Quakers, who established schools in which the plan was followed out with several modifications of his own. These Bell and Lancaster schools afterwards changed their titles, the former being called the "National School Society," and the latter, the "British and Foreign School Society." They continued in active operation during the whole of this period, while the chief distinction between them was, that the pupils admitted into the National School Society's establishments were required to give their attendance at the Established church, and be taught the church catechism. Another important educational institution, was that of Sabbath-schools, at first chiefly intended for the children of the dissolute or the poor, who had no means either of religious instruction or Sabbath supervision. These schools had originated, as we have seen, during the preceding period of our history, and as there was an all-pervading necessity for their existence, they continued to be zealously supported both by churchmen and dissenters. Education had thus seemed to have reached the *ultimatum* in its downward progress of philanthropic exploration, when a yet lower deep was discovered. While the children of the poor were thus cared

for, what was to become of the *infants*, who were as yet too young for a public school? While the industrious poor were employed in their out-door occupations, there were myriads of little ones deprived of parental care when such care was most needed. For this difficulty Mr. Owen had attempted to provide, by the establishment of an asylum for young children at New Lanark; and his plan suggested the idea of infant schools, the first of which was commenced at Brewer's Green, Westminster, in 1818. The attempt was so successful, that in 1820 another was established in Quaker Street, Spitalfields; and in 1824 an Infant School Society was established, after which infant schools were rapidly multiplied over the principal manufacturing towns of the three kingdoms.

It was fortunate for education, which had now become a subject of paramount importance, that it had Mr. Brougham for its chief advocate and director; and that from a university down to an infant school, he was able to master the details of each, and suggest the necessary improvements. Under the impulse of such an active and universal intellect, the subject was frequently brought before parliament; and in 1816 and the two following years, a parliamentary committee was at work to "inquire into the education of the lower orders," at first in the metropolis, and afterwards throughout England at large. The result of their investigation, presented in 1818, showed not only the good that had already been effected, but how much remained to be done. Of endowed, unendowed, and Sunday-schools, there were 23,611, and in these the number of children receiving education was 1,097,099. But as many of these children were only the attendants of Sunday-schools, the number receiving daily and regular education was thereby reduced to about 850,000. But besides that nearly 160,000 children had thus only their *weekly* lesson, it was found that there were 100,000 in London, and 500,000 in all England, who received no education whatever. In 1828, Mr. Brougham resumed his inquiries on the education of the lower orders, by addressing a circular to the ministers of the parishes of each county in England (with the exception of Middlesex), and the satisfactory answers he received gave the following result: the number of unendowed schools, which ten years before had amounted to 14,000, had now increased to 32,000, while the number of scholars during the same period had risen from 478,000 to 1,003,800. In like manner, the pupils of Sunday-schools had increased from 452,817 to 905,634; but again deducting those scholars who received nothing but Sunday instruction, these returns give us a total of 1,500,000 children belonging to the lower classes who were now receiving a regular educa-

tion. When it is recollected, also, that the number of children in England between the ages of five and twelve years amounted to about 2,000,000, and when a deduction has been made for those who belonged to the higher classes, it will be seen from this statement, that the means at least of education were now within the reach of the whole working population of the kingdom.

It was not, however, to children alone that the facilities of intellectual and moral improvement were confined. The adults of our industrial population were also in need of the schoolmaster, and the zeal which had been stirred up in behalf of the young was soon extended to the old. In Birmingham, and also in Scotland, intellectual clubs of the working classes were already in existence, the members of which had voluntarily associated for mutual improvement in general knowledge; but in 1823 these private meetings were raised to the rank of a public institute, chiefly through the exertions of Dr. Birkbeck, who in that year established the London Mechanics' Institution. Its object was to diffuse among the industrial classes the knowledge best fitted for their condition and employments, through the means of lectures, reading-rooms, and libraries; and the example thus set by the metropolis was soon followed by the establishment of mechanics' institutions in the principal towns throughout the United Kingdom. Another plan afterwards devised for the same purpose, was to publish a series of works expressly adapted to such readers, and accordingly, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was established in 1827. It was composed chiefly of men distinguished by their literary and scientific attainments, under whose superintendence were published periodically treatises on natural science, ethics, metaphysics, and political philosophy, and works of history and biography. Independently of its excellent publications, the influence of this example upon the press in general was so effectual, that the enterprise of private publishers in process of time made the existence of such a society unnecessary, and "books for the million," upon every variety of subject, and in every form of style and illustration, became so plentiful that every hut and hovel in Britain could be cheaply furnished with a well-selected library.

From these educational agencies, which had been multiplied to so great an extent, and in so short a period of time, a rapid moral reformation of the lower orders was impatiently anticipated. But there were counteracting influences at work, through which, let philanthropy labour as it might, a large residue of poverty and crime was certain to be left untouched. The wages for mill and factory work had naturally fallen to their lowest amount, while the competition for employ-

ment, owing to the redundancy of workmen, compelled the labouring poor to accept these stinted terms, and live or vegetate upon them as they best could. The following minute description,



DR. BIRKBECK.—From a portrait by Samuel Lane.

by Dr. James P. Kay, of such a mode of life among the cotton manufactories of Manchester in 1832, and which is more or less applicable to such places throughout the kingdom, gives us a sketch of their condition at the close of this period:—"The population employed in the cotton factories rises at five o'clock in the morning, works in the mills from six till eight o'clock, and returns home for half an hour or forty minutes to breakfast. This meal generally consists of tea or coffee, with a little bread. Oatmeal porridge is sometimes, but of late rarely used, and chiefly by the men; but the stimulus of tea is preferred, and especially by the women. The tea is almost always of a bad, and sometimes of a deleterious quality; the infusion is weak, and little or no milk is added. The operatives return to the mills and workshops until twelve o'clock, when an hour is allowed for dinner. Amongst those who obtain the lowest rates of wages, this meal generally consists of boiled potatoes. The mess of potatoes is put into one large dish; melted lard and butter are poured upon them, and a few pieces of fried fat bacon are sometimes mingled with them, and but seldom a little meat. Those who obtain better wages, or families whose aggregate income is larger, add a greater proportion of animal food to this meal, at least three times in the week; but the quantity consumed by the labouring population is not great. The family sits round the table, and each rapidly appropriates his portion on a plate, or they all plunge their spoons into the dish, and with an animal eagerness satisfy the cravings of their appetite. At the expiration of the hour they are all again em-

played in the workshops or mills, where they continue until seven o'clock, or a later hour, when they generally again indulge in the use of tea, often mingled with spirits, accompanied by a little bread. Oatmeal or potatoes are, however, taken by some a second time in the evening. The comparatively innutritious qualities of these articles of diet are most evident." But even worse than this scanty, uncomfortable style of living, chiefly occasioned by low wages, were the habits of dissipation induced by the dull, confined, monotonous kind of labour in these factories, and the twelve long hours *per diem* during which it was continued. The immoderate use of ardent spirits as a stimulant was a common accompaniment of such labour; the workman frequently stopped at the gin-shop for a dram on his way in the morning to the factory, and in like manner on his return in the evening; the Saturday night and Sunday were seasons of sluggishness and debauch; and from the men, the practice of dram-drinking naturally descended to the boys, and even the young girls of the factory. But gin was soon found not strong enough and cheap enough for the purpose, and opium was plentifully used by the factory labourers, both in its crude and liquid state, as an incentive to labour, or solace when work was over. This use of such opiates, and their rapidly increasing consumption, forms an alarming feature in the history of factory employment, as appeared by the "Inquiries" which were instituted at the close of this period. From the same inquiries we learn that illicit intercourse between the sexes was common among the work-people of the factories, and that such crimes were regarded, both by the employers and employed, with absolute indifference. "The licentiousness," it is stated in one of these reports, "which prevails among the dense population of manufacturing towns is carried to a degree which is appalling to contemplate, which baffles all statistical inquiries, and which can be learned only from the testimony of observers. And in addition to overt acts of vice, there is a coarseness and grossness of feeling, which we would fain hope and believe are not the prevailing characteristics of our country."

The great evil of a redundant population compared with the means of subsistence, and of more labourers than labour, had acted for years upon our growing commercial prosperity, like the admonitory slave behind the triumphal chariot of the Roman conqueror; it suggested that all this grandeur was productive of causes that would swamp our abundance, and drive us into poverty and ruin. These fears were deepened and confirmed also by the theory of Malthus, now of general acceptance, which had established the fact of the tendency of the human race to increase in num-

bers beyond the means to feed it. It was felt as if Britain had already become over-populous, while the only means to lighten the excess was that of emigration; but hitherto the plan had been confined to private enterprise, and those who had deported themselves by ship-loads to our colonies consisted for the most part of those whom the country could least spare—men who had either the means or the industry to raise themselves from the condition of mere British labourers, into comfortable colonial traders and landholders. Their places at home, also, were so quickly filled that the relief was unfelt, and the prevalent destitution was more urgent than ever. It was necessary to raise emigration from a private enterprise to a public and national measure; and accordingly, an emigration committee of the House of Commons was appointed to receive evidence, and return their report on the subject, which they did in 1827. In this report the redundancy of population, as compared with the demand for labour and the means of subsistence, was distinctly shown, and that the effect was materially to deteriorate the condition of the working classes. It was stated, also, that in England this redundant population had been partly supported by a parochial rate, which threatened in process of time to absorb the entire rental of the country; and that in Ireland, where no such rate existed, and where the redundancy was still greater, many of the people depended for subsistence upon begging or absolute robbery. And for all this the committee recommended a "National System of Colonization" as the remedy, while the extensive unoccupied districts of the British settlements in North America, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and the Cape of Good Hope were pointed out as more than sufficient for the purpose. It was a wholesale plan of colonization, like those of the Phœnicians or Greeks of old, in which whole communities were to be deported at once, and not only conveyed by government bounty to their new homes, but furnished with the means of industrious occupation and independence when they had landed. To raise the necessary funds for this national enterprise, it was proposed either to advance them from the public taxes, to be afterwards repaid by the emigrants themselves, or by raising a sum on the security of the poor's rates, which should be received as payment in full of all future demands. And lest the amount of money surmised as necessary for such a purpose should be too alarming, it was stated by Sir Wilmot Horton, that the annual expenditure of £240,000 would be sufficient to carry off that yearly surplus of the unemployed population, which would otherwise accumulate into an intolerable burden. The manner in which this important subject was

followed out, and its effects, both in the relief of the mother country and the prosperity of our colonies, more properly belong to the next period of our history.

In passing from these general statements in the history of social progress, to the particular features of this earlier part of the nineteenth century, nothing certainly could be more strikingly indicative of the spirit of change and advancement, than the flood of artificial sunshine which could now be thrown at pleasure over streets and highways, through public buildings, and even into the recesses of private dwellings, by the slightest touch of the finger. It will be seen at once that we allude to lighting by means of gas, one of the greatest marvels of modern discovery. Even so early as 1739, as we find by the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, the Rev. Mr. Clayton had been experimenting for the purpose of extracting a permanently elastic fluid of an inflammable nature from coal, and was so successful that he filled several bladders with it; and that on puncturing these bladders, and applying a light to the orifice, he could, by a slight compression, make the air escape in a clear, bright flame. But although he had thus hit upon the discovery of producing light from coal gas, he appears to have thought of no other use of it than to astonish his friends and visitors. A practical man was needed to turn it to account, and such a person was found in Mr. Murdoch, in 1792, who, in trying experiments, discovered that the gas obtained by distillation from coal, peat, wood, and other inflammable substances, yielded during its combustion a bright, pure light. This was not enough, however; and he arrived at the happy conclusion, that by confining the gas in proper vessels, and afterwards discharging it through pipes, he might make it a cheap and convenient substitute for lamps and candles. In 1797, after having matured his plan, Mr. Murdoch published it, and in the following year he erected an apparatus, with which he lighted the Soho Foundry, in Birmingham, with gas. This commencement was insufficient to attract general notice until 1802, when, in consequence of the public rejoicing on the return of peace, the foundry was so brilliantly illuminated with gas, as to throw every competitor into the shade. The next public building to admit this new mode of lighting was the Lyceum Theatre, in London, which was effected in 1803-4, and in 1804-5 Mr. Murdoch was enabled to carry out the trial upon an extensive scale, by erecting an apparatus for lighting the manufactory of Messrs. Lee and Phillips, of Manchester; and at the same period Mr. Lee had the courage to admit the agency of gas-light into his own dwelling. These trials were enough to demonstrate not only the

innocuous character of the inflammable fluid, so far as health was concerned, but the safety with which it could be used; and accordingly, in a few years, streets, shops, and public buildings were lighted with gas, so that in 1822 the capital vested in the gas-works of the metropolis alone amounted to £1,000,000 sterling, while the pipes of these establishments comprised an extent of more than 150 miles. The last step of all was to light private dwellings with gas, but this for a considerable time was only partially done, on account of the dangers arising from mismanagement; and it was not till the close of this period that gas began to be generally used in some of our towns for the purposes of domestic comfort.

The other external changes that characterized this period of mutation were so various that it would be difficult to specify them, while they are so well understood by the present generation, that such a specification, in a work of this nature, would be superfluous. London was continuing to extend its net-work of streets into the country in every direction, but especially the west, until all men wondered—as they still do—within what possible limits this overflow should at last be confined. The dwellings of the merchant princes in the city were now thought good enough to be used only as warehouses, while their fastidious owners had their showy suburban villas, to which they could retire from business in the afternoon, and combine the peaceful amenities of the country with the interchanges of civic life. The thriving, substantial shopkeepers soon followed the lead, and had their snug boxes at Islington or Camberwell, where they could be nigh enough to their counters during the day, and enjoy in the evening the sight of green fields, or their own little gardens and summer-houses, and where they could smoke their pipes, and plan flower-beds in the fashion of their well squared ledgers. In this way the wealth of London, like a rich lace, was chiefly displayed upon the hem and border. All this necessitated changes in dress, in furniture, in domestic living, and even in amusements and the hours of meals. What need, for instance, was there for a walk in the parks, for those who had their half-rural homes to repair to? and how could they frequent the concert or theatre, when their hour of dining was six o'clock? And, moreover, could not they and their families comprise every possible enjoyment in a trip to Boulogne, or even to Paris or Baden? The great fashion and amusement of the age, after the war with France had ended, was travelling; and England, so long pent up within its four seas, was impatient to precipitate itself by wholesale into the Continent. Thither, accordingly, every class and degree repaired, from the duke to the slop-seller—from the *littera-*

teur in quest of new materials for a book, to the proscribed *roué* or uncertificated bankrupt. It could not be otherwise than that a multiform importation of fashions, frivolities, and follies would be the result of all this foreign travel.



FASHIONS OF THE TIME, 1806-1807 —From prints of the period

But while a large portion of these undesirable innovations were so unsuited to the atmosphere of Britain that they sickened and died for lack of nourishment, the general and permanent result was such as made this opening of the world a great national advantage to our country. It tamed the arrogant pride and corrected the surly prejudices of John Bull. He was compelled to open his obstinate eyes to the fact that the French are not a nation of starvelings who live on frogs, and that one Englishman is not enough to beat three Frenchmen—a misgiving which he had occasionally begun to entertain during the late war. He also saw that manhood, common sense, and active enterprise are not exclusively his own; and that foreign excellencies actually existed which he had not yet learned, and which he would do well to copy. Such was the general effect, which infused not only a new spirit into our literature, but impressed a new aspect upon our manners and customs, as may be seen by comparing the people at the commencement of this century with the same people thirty years afterwards. Without ceasing to be Englishmen, they had unlearned to a large amount the insular pride and prejudices of their fathers, and were evincing a courtesy and liberality towards those of other nations which had scarcely been mani-

fest in England since the days of the Crusades.

With regard to the costume of this period, the mutability was as great as ever; but in this case an apology might be urged with a greater show of reason. When the whole character was undergoing a state of transition, it was not wonderful that this influence should pervade the outward man, from the topmost curl of his head to the point of his shoe. Accordingly, in the storm of the French revolution, the wig was utterly blown away, queues and pig tails vanished, and hair-powder resumed its legitimate purpose as the staff of life; while shoe-buckles, broad-skirted coats, and buckram were proscribed as relics of ancient feudalism, and hostile challenges to the new doc-

trines of liberty and equality. Men were now contented to wear their natural hair, and of its own natural colour, but shorn and trimmed à la Brutus; while their limbs were encased in simple, natural, succinct dresses, that left the



FASHIONS OF THE TIME, 1818-1830 —From prints of the period

wearer to act as he pleased. The rude sans-cullotism of France was the means of introducing nature and simplicity into the costume of England; and there, happily, the change stopped short, and went no farther. But for the better understanding of these, we must have recourse to pictorial illustration; and in the preceding groups, our readers will understand how their fathers were dressed in the earlier part of this century. The ordinary attire was a coat divested

of its former stiffness, and adapted to the shape of the wearer, with close breeches buttoned beneath the knee; while for full dress, the silk stockings without a crease, the ornamented border of the vest, as it peeped out from the opening of the coat, and sometimes the opera hat or *chapeau bras*, smartly tucked under the arm, or gracefully gesticulating in the hand, were the *ne plus ultra* of the day. Then came another sumptuary revolution, in which breeches and pantaloons were discarded for loose trousers, and tight formal coats for surtouts; while boots and tops, hussar and Hessian boots, and other such coverings for the foot and leg, were ex-

changed for Cossacks, Bluchers, and Wellingtons. Indeed, the titles of the different articles of dress proclaimed their own period, and the man who happened to be in the ascendant. This was especially the case during the era of the prince-regent before he had expanded into George IV., and when he rejoiced in a form worth dressing. His indeed was an era of dress, in which the previous simplicity was abandoned, and in which his fastidious and changeful tastes were followed, imitated, and caricatured. Such were the ample neckcloths with which he concealed his throat, and the stays by which he sought to compress his unwelcome growth of form. A voluminous



BONNETS AND HEAD DRESSES OF THE TIME, 1806-1830 ¹—From *La Belle Assemblée* and *Ladies' Magazine*

neckcloth enlarged with a pad, or stiffened with a stock, became in this case the general wear; while the slim erect dandies of the period betrayed the source of their pretensions to superior gracefulness by the creak of their stays, or even the occasional bursting of a stay-lace. With these, the voluminous efflorescent hair-dress (and subsequently wig) of George IV., became the "rose of fashion" in the arrangement of the hair, and to be in full dress, the head required to be of royal amplitude and flourish. Of the padded and buckram'd coats expanding into an arch in front, and scarcely descending below the region of the heart, while behind they terminated in long, but sharp and narrow swallow-tails, and of the balloon-like trousers, whose length and ample volume were in ridiculous contrast to the pinched and short-waisted coat, an idea will be more clearly conveyed by the copied illustrations of the period. It is enough to state that George IV. and the rough Cossack of the Ukraine were alternately the models of costume, and sometimes both together. Of the Beau Brummel ascendancy,

and the empire of starch which succeeded, we care not to speak; these matters are chronicled in the memories of the living generation.

Of the ladies' dresses during this period, the chief peculiarity was the multiform, but generally preposterous bonnet, within which their faces were concealed, and the short waists of their gowns, that sometimes dwindled into utter nothingness, and left to the wearers nothing but the semblance of head and skirt. Nothing, indeed, could be more ridiculous than the female waist of this period, "if waist it might be called that waste had none." Before ten years of the present century had elapsed, this essential portion of the female form had disappeared, in consequence of the gown being wholly composed of shoulders and skirt; and for fully ten years this uncouth fashion reigned, when a love of the classical and statuesque began to predominate, under which the waist gradually elongated itself into its own natural extent. (This will be seen by a reference to the figure character-

¹ 1, Year 1807. 2, Year 1808. 3 Year 1817. 4, 5, Year 1830

istic of 1830, in the second of the accompanying illustrations.) Of the bonnets in their variety of form, whether of felt, straw, or other richer material, whether high or low, narrow or expanded, over the whole of this period, we must

the branch of the service in which he was enrolled. Still more barbarous was the dress of the common soldier, to the back of whose hair was fastened a queue of lackered tin, with a tuft like a shaving-brush at the extremity, and who was compelled to



BRITISH MILITARY COSTUMES. 1.—From prints published in 1812.

lather his hair with soap every morning, that it might be whitened into the likeness of a veritably powdered head. But before twelve years elapsed, a reform in military costume had cashiered these anomalies, and delivered both officers and soldiers from the tyranny of hair-powder, tight waists, and pipe-clay, spatterdashes, and scoured fire-locks, leaving little except the garrotting leather stock and pipe-clayed belt as relics of departed military barbarism. And will it be believed that even in India, and at the present day, our soldiers

again give our references from the *Ladies' Magazine* or *La Belle Assemblée*. In these, also, the changes from the artificial to the natural in the several departments of female costume will be distinctly traced, and intelligibly recognized. The dressing of the hair was of course as capricious as the form of the bonnet, being gradually raised from the flat simplicity of 1806 to the pyramid of 1830, stiffened by a plate of tortoiseshell sometimes six inches in height. It is enough in concluding this portion of the subject, to state that before this period closed, both male and female costume had settled very much into the convenient form which still continues to predominate. Of the military dress, a considerable portion of the foppery of the Prussian school survived till the beginning of the present century; and the time can still be freshly remembered when the powdered and pig-tailed head of every officer was surmounted by a huge cocked hat, and his breast defended, or rather ornamented, by a smart little cuirass, about two inches in length and one in breadth, and which now did duty, by serving as a resting-place for the wearer's chin when his head was depressed by sleep or contemplation. Of course the boot was an indispensable part of the officer's dress, and was Hessian, hussar, or French in form, according to

were exposed in their marches and campaigns to the inflictions of the torturing neck ornament, in addition to the furnace heat of the climate, and the risk of *coup-de-soleil*? With these brief notices we can safely consign what remains of the manners and customs of the period to the recollections of our readers. A later age must arrive before the charm of interest or novelty can be imparted to their full detail.

In passing to the science and scientific men of the present period, we need merely to advert to the preceding pages for a proof of their practical and utilitarian character; in fact, mere theories and abstractions were now only valued by how much they could be brought to bear upon the real business of life, in the promotion of human happiness, and the multiplication of the means of comfort. In chemistry the principal names were Sir Humphrey Davy, Professor Thomson, and Wollaston, to whom may be added Gregor, Leslie, and Dalton—men whose researches are suggestive of improvements in mining, dyeing, &c., independently of their more purely intellectual discoveries, upon which their renown will be principally established. Of these, the most illustrious, and the most practical in his researches, was Davy, who was born at Penzance, in Cornwall, in 1778, and who died in 1829. His first contributions to chemical science were in 1799, when two of his papers, remarkable for their original character and genius, were published, in a work of Dr. Beddoes, entitled *Con-*

¹ 1, Officer of the 87th, or Prince of Wales' Own Irish Regiment. 2, Officer of 2d Life Guards. 3, Officer of 25th Regiment of Foot. 4, Officer of Foot Artillery. 5, Officer of 95th Regiment or Rifle Corps.

tributions to *Physical and Medical Knowledge*; and after this period until that of his death, the discoveries and improvements of Davy in chem-



SIR HUMPHREY DAVY —From a portrait by J. Jackson, R. A.

istry were too many to enumerate within our narrow limits. Of these, we can only particularize his discoveries upon dephlogisticated nitrous air and its respiration—upon the chemical agencies of electricity—and upon oxymuriatic acid. But the scientific achievement by which Sir Humphrey Davy will be most widely remembered, was his invention of the miner's safety-lamp, the first paper on which he published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1815, and the last in 1817. The incalculable benefit of this invention in all the operations of mining, and the safety which it imparts to their hitherto perilous explorations, are of universal acknowledgment. A scarcely less important name in the same department of science, is that of Dr. William Hyde Wollaston, who was born in 1767, and died in 1828. He was the first to show that the evolution of voltaic electricity is dependent upon chemical action; and he perfected the method of rendering platinum available for the purposes of chemistry and the chemical arts. By the "reflective goniometer," he gave to crystallography all the accuracy of which it had hitherto stood in need, by showing that three substances—viz., the carbonate of iron, lime, and magnesia—which were previously supposed to crystallize in rhomboids measuring the same angles, had all different angles. It was in the succeeding period, however, that these discoveries were fully appreciated and turned to the best account. In astro-

nomny Herschel, who had made himself illustrious during the previous period by his discovery of the planet Uranus, was still without a rival. In 1802 he published his catalogue of 500 new nebulae and nebulous stars; in the following year he announced the motions of double stars around each other; and he continued his discoveries till the year of his death, in 1822. In ethics and metaphysics the principal luminaries of this period were Dugald Stewart, Thomas Brown, and Sir James Mackintosh. In inquiries into the beautiful and the principles of taste, the chief successors of Burke were Alison and Jeffrey. In theology as a science, the present age produced few names worthy of commemoration; but as general theological writers and preachers, Thomas Chalmers, John Foster, and Robert Hall formed an illustrious trio, that for eloquence and power would have made the pulpit of any age distinguished. In political economy, now a science of great importance as well as general interest, we can only advert to the names of Jeremy Bentham, who wrote with great power and originality on this as well as on almost every other subject; Malthus, Mill, and M'Culloch. To this list, were it merely for his singularly vigorous style, and the effect his multifarious writings produced, especially upon the lower orders, may be added the otherwise questionable name of William Cobbett.

If the historians which the present period produced were few compared with those of the later part of the eighteenth century, it was because history itself was fully more recognized as a science than it had been in times past. Laborious



SIR JOHN HERSCHEL.

thought and accurate research were now its chief essentials, for the absence of which, neither eloquent writing, nor imaginative descriptions, nor ingenious plausible theories could compensate; and even already the age was demurring at the

one-sided Jacobitism of Hume, and the high-sounding scepticism of Gibbon. During this transition period of historical writing, therefore, the authors were both few in number and inferior in popularity to their predecessors, although their investigations were more profound, and their statements less impeachable. The most distinguished of these were Turner and Palgrave, who, entering a field that had hitherto been too much neglected because of its difficulty, explored the origin of the English nation, and threw new light upon the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods. Another laborious investigator was Dr. Lingard, who wrote a voluminous history of England, but chiefly from a Roman Catholic point of view, and as the advocate of his own church. Equal to any of these was Hallam, who, in his *Constitutional History of England*, developed with great clearness and eloquence the origin and growth of our national institutions. As an historian and biographer, Southey was distinguished by his luminous power of description and exquisite style, although his *Book of the Church*, *History of Paraguay*, and *Life of Wesley* have failed to win the popularity which their high qualities merited. An eminent classical historian of the period, whose congenial subjects were Italian history, was the accomplished Roscoe. Inferior to none of the foregoing writers was Dr. Mc'Crie, the historian of a portion of the Reformation, and biographer of the Scottish reformers, Knox and Melville, who threw light upon a period as yet too little understood, and vindicated the characters of those men whom it had been too long the fashion to vilify.

From the foregoing enumeration of the intellectual lights of the period in each department, it will be felt that a higher measure of excellence, as well as a more numerous array, might have been confidently expected. But it was upon action rather than writing that the spirit of the age was expressed, and men were less intent in formulating a theory than reducing it to practical and profitable use. In this manner, the thoughts that had been so carefully elaborated during the latter part of the eighteenth century, were substantially embodied in the first thirty years of the nineteenth. Another mode of expressing new forms of thought, or delineating their tendencies, was not by essay or disquisition, but in the alluring and popular form of the novel, which speedily became the most prolific as well as the most carefully cultivated kind of writing by which the period was characterized. In this form Godwin, as the author of *Caleb Williams*, *Saint Leon*, and the series that followed, propounded his philosophical axioms; the author of *Anastasis* delineated the lights and shades of eastern character; and writers conversant with

historical literature, but who were too impatient to write formal histories, discussed the actions of an epoch or the character of its presiding hero. Even theology availed itself of this kind of popular writing, and the doctrines of Millenarianism were never more distinctly or persuasively illustrated than in the magnificent romance of *Salathiel*. But the names of the novelists of this period, with Sir Walter Scott at their head, are too numerous to be rehearsed, as well as too well known to need rehearsal. Of their writings in general it is enough to state, that while they seek a higher aim than the mere amusement of the passing hour, and inculcate a better morality than the imaginative works of any previous period, they are divested of that indelicacy and grossness which disfigured the works of Fielding, Smollett, Sterne, and the other novelists of the past generations. It was well that a kind of writing so universally popular and sought after should have been so thoroughly purified, and so well fitted for general perusal. The novel being a species of literature in which imagination rather than learning is required, and quick observation rather than profound thought, became a favourite department with female writers, so that during the whole of this period the female novelists were about as numerous as those of the other sex, while in sterling excellence they could scarcely be said to be inferior. Miss Edgeworth, by her admirable delineations of Irish character, and the popularity her writings secured, gave the impulse to the author of *Waverley*, and induced him to render the same service to Scotland. Miss Lee's powerful tale of "Kreutzner," in the *Canterbury Tales*, took possession of the young fancy of Byron, who dramatized, but did not equal the story, in the play of "Werner." In the grand and terrible of romance, where natural events are aggrandized into the supernatural, no modern writer has as yet surpassed Mrs. Radcliffe. Miss Porter, by her *Scottish Chiefs*, may be said to have originated one of the most popular and instructive of all the classes of fictitious writing—that of the historical novel; while in delineations of Scottish character and scenery, Mrs. Brunton, Mrs. Johnstone, and Miss Ferrier only yield to Sir Walter Scott. But it is in describing the delicate shades of feeling, and depicting the charms of home life and action—those circumstances which should chiefly constitute the materials of a novel—that female writers most excel; and in these departments, where their natural tact and delicacy are called into full play, they have been, and will still continue to remain unrivalled.

In the poetry of this period a new era had commenced. The artificial monotonous sing-song of the old school, independently of its growing

duiness, which soon would have insured for it a natural death, was unable to withstand the shock of the French revolution, which pervaded the literature of Europe with the energy and change of a new life; and the example of Burns and Cowper, which was the first poetical result of the new spirit that was moving, was sufficient to announce to their countrymen the opening of the field into which they were to enter and take possession. And yet it was nothing else, after all, than a return to truth and nature. There was no new world to be discovered, no new language to be created: nothing more was needed than the adaptation of the natural feelings of the seventeenth century to the form and mode of the nineteenth; to let the true and tuneful spirit of the Elizabethan age speak in the language and spirit of the reign of George III. This was done accordingly, and the result was the formation of the third great school of English poetry. Attempts, indeed, have been made by theorists to assign a foreign paternity to each of these schools, and to prove that as the first was derived from Greece, and the second from France, in like manner the third was the offspring of German literature acting upon the English mind, instead of a spontaneous and natural product. But what had Burns, and Cowper, and Crabbe to do with German literature, either directly or indirectly? Or where is the evidence of its influence in the writings of Southey, Campbell, Scott, and Byron? In this matter, at least, too much homage has been paid, and too much honour attributed to the land of Klopstock and Goethe.

Among the fathers of our modern poetry we have mentioned the name of Crabbe, and to it may be added that of Gifford. They belonged equally to the past and present period, and were fit successors to Cowper, whose daring march they followed. George Crabbe, who was born in 1754, after receiving a very narrow education, commenced his career by writing in the poet's corner of provincial journals; and at the age of eighteen was successful in a prize poem on "Hope," which was given for competition in the *Lady's Magazine*. Thus emboldened for a higher attempt, he threw himself into authorship, and repaired to London with a capital of £3 and a bundle of manuscripts; but the money was soon spent, his poems were rejected by the publishers, and a period of starvation followed, from which he was happily rescued by the patronage of Edmund Burke, and afterwards of Chancellor Thurlow, the latter of whom, in consequence of Crabbe entering into holy orders in 1782, presented him to two crown livings, the duties of which he discharged to the end of his life (1832) with great diligence and fidelity. The first public produc-

tion of Crabbe, the "Library," was published in 1781; two years afterwards followed the "Village," a work which secured the applause of Burke and Johnson, and the substantial patronage of the chancellor; and in 1785 appeared his "Newspaper," by which the fame he had acquired as a poet was permanently established. A long interval of twenty-two years succeeded, which, far from being spent in idleness, were occupied to the full with the sacred duties of his calling; but his poetical career, instead of being ended, burst forth anew, and with greater energy than ever, in his "Parish Register," "Borough," "Tales in Verse," and his last and best work, the "Tales of the Hall," with which the series closed, in 1819. Thus Crabbe, as a poet, was equally identified with the past and the present period, while he occupied a place in the foremost rank of each. The characteristics of his poetry may be easily summed up. He had little imagination, or even fancy, those qualities that constitute the most essential requisites of a poet; but in describing nature as he found it, no poet has ever surpassed, and few, if any, have equalled him. The same quality distinguishes his "Tales," which amply verify the axiom that truth is stranger than fiction; and it is upon this painter-like fidelity of delineation, in the absence of every idealizing tendency, that the charm of his poetry is to be found.

The early difficulties with which Crabbe had to struggle were felt in a still greater degree by William Gifford, who was born in 1756, his father being nothing but a poor sailor, and afterwards a wandering tinker; while William, who was left an orphan at the age of thirteen, had no better patronage than that of the fish-women of his native town, and was almost wholly self-taught. But his thirst for knowledge, and his indomitable resolution, carried him through every difficulty; and while he was but an apprentice to a shoemaker, and unable to purchase writing materials, he worked out his calculations in algebra upon scraps of leather with the point of an awl. In this rude fashion he trained himself in the rudiments of science and literature, until his remarkable acquirements procured him the means of a better education at Exeter College, Oxford; and when he became an author, he so greatly signalized his talents and acquirements by his translations of Juvenal and Persius, and his original poems the "Baviad" and "Mæviad," that he was appointed editor of the *Quarterly Review*, which he conducted from its commencement until 1825. The poetry of Gifford was essentially that of a critic and satirist, while its chief victims were the Della Crusca school of poets, who had started up at this period of literary revolution to charm the ears and vitiate the taste of the public with their

frothy inanities and diseased sentimentalism. Upon these poetical impostors he came down with tremendous power in his "Baviad," which he published in 1794, and its continuation, the "Mæviad," which appeared in 1796. They were discharges of artillery, under which the Della Cruscan school was dissolved like a waterspout. And in good time this exploit was achieved, as the vicious taste which Gifford so mercilessly attacked had begun to infect several young writers, who needed such a disenchantment before they took that place in the world of letters which they afterwards occupied. As may easily be surmised, the poetry that could produce such a result was of no ordinary excellence; but as its object was temporary, it ceased to be remembered after its work had been accomplished, so that in the able and merciless editor of the *Quarterly* the author of the "Mæviad" may be said to have disappeared as a poet.

The short-lived Della Crusca style had scarcely expired when a new appeared, called in derision the "Lake school of poetry," which was neither so worthy of obloquy, nor so easily to be overthrown. Its chief principle, in direct opposition to the extravagant and inflated spirit of its predecessor, was that poetry was nothing more than the real language of men in a state of vivid sensation, reduced to metrical arrangement. In this way, the babble of old age and the stammerings of infancy, the boisterous declamations of the illiterate clown and the lisping twaddle of the milkmaid, were orthodox poetry, if only truly paraphrased in proper rhyme and measure. And loud was the merriment of critics when the first illustrations of this narrow and erroneous theory appeared; they were likened to an anthem on a jew's-harp, or the performance of an oratorio on a penny whistle; while the poems themselves, in spite of their intrinsic excellence, afforded too much ground for the comparison. But the theory was founded on truth, though not the whole truth; its adherents were men of high mark; and when they rectified and enlarged its principles and sphere of operation, they produced such works that the term "Laker" ceased to be a word of derision. How, indeed, could it be otherwise with a school which had Wordsworth for its founder, and Southey, Coleridge, and Wilson for its supporters and advocates?

Of William Wordsworth, the venerable octogenarian, who but lately departed from among us, it is difficult as yet to form a proper estimate. At first he was the object of general ridicule and neglect; afterwards, when his real worth was appreciated, these feelings were exchanged for the opposite extreme, so that he was rated as equal, if not superior, to Milton himself. But now an ebb has again commenced, of which it is

impossible to foresee the limits, or conjecture the precise place which posterity will assign to him among the great poets of the nineteenth century. He was educated at Cambridge; and to his scholarship he added the experience of travel over several countries of Europe, by which he was enabled to divest himself of whatever predilections he may have entertained for the national established style of poetry, and mature his theory by a wide range of observation. On returning home he addressed himself to the purposed work of his life, and in which he persevered to the close—to be the poet of nature and expounder of its high principles, let the world receive or reject them as it pleased. His plan, indeed, as it was finally developed after years of meditation and seclusion, was as vast as it was new and daring. It was to be embodied in a poem in three parts, entitled the "Recluse," of which the large poem, the "Excursion," formed only a single part. The whole was to constitute a "Gothic church," to contain "views of man, nature, and society," and "having for its principal object the sensations and opinions of a poet living in retirement." Not years but ages would have been required for the completion of such a cathedral, if we may judge from the single wing which he lived to complete. But in addition to the "Excursion," Wordsworth considered his other poems as nothing more than little cells, oratories, and sepulchral recesses of the vast whole; and when published collectively, they were given under the following heads:—1. Poems referring to Childhood; 2. Poems founded on the Affections; 3. Poems of the Fancy; 4. Poems of the Imagination; 5. Sonnets, Inscriptions, &c. It would be hard to guess whether such a plan preceded the poems themselves, or was an after-thought of their suggestion.

Like most of those who are born poets, and destined to poetical eminence, the preludings of Wordsworth commenced at an early period, so that some of the poems of his collected works were written at the age of sixteen. But it was in his "Lyrical Ballads," which were published in 1798 and 1800, that he appeared before the world as an author, and announced his new theory of poetry. He declared in the preface of the work, that the purposes of poetry might be effected "by fitting to metrical arrangement a selection of the real language of men in a state of vivid sensation;" and the ballads themselves were given as experiments to ascertain how far this object could be effected. But such a new strain only set the teeth of the public on edge, and provoked the mirth of the critics, who united themselves as one hostile party to hunt down the strange intruder. Seldom, indeed, has a poet been so ridiculed, and more seldom still has so great an outcry been confronted with such tranquil indifference." Con-

fidant in the truth of his theory, Wordsworth persisted in its illustration, but with a selection of higher themes, which demanded a more elevated strain of sentiment and language. The



WILLIAM WORDSWORTH — From a portrait by W. Boxall

perseverance of years was finally too much even for the hostility of critics, and the intrinsic excellence of his poetry compelled them to admire what they had at first endeavoured to write down, and recognize him as one of the best, as well as most original, of British poets. The philosophical style of his principal poem, the "Excursion," its metaphysical disquisitions and lack of incident, will never make it a favourite, except with a chosen few who can penetrate its depth and sympathize with its feelings; but the smaller poems of Wordsworth, such as his "Ruth," "Laodamia," "Yarrow Unvisited and Revisited," "Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood," "Tintern Abbey," and the like, possess in themselves a poetry and a power, independent of the aid of language and the trickery of sentiment, which will continue to secure admiration for their intrinsic excellence, let the fashion of succeeding schools be what it may. With such a conviction the venerable poet himself was gladdened before he departed from a world in which his welcome had been so churlish, and his labours so thanklessly repaid.

A kindred spirit, and friend of Wordsworth, who would have rivalled, and perhaps even have excelled him as a poet, had his energy of purpose been equal to his genius and endowments, was Samuel Taylor Coleridge. This remarkable man was born at St. Mary Ottery, Devonshire, of which parish his father was rector, in 1772, and was educated first at Christ's Hospital, London, and afterwards at Jesus' College, Cambridge. But

at the age of twenty his eccentric disposition induced him to flee from college, and enlist as a private in a regiment of dragoons, where his unfitness for ordinary drill and his learned intellectual conversation betrayed the scholar, and were the means of restoring him to his friends. After publishing the "Fall of Robespierre," a poem which died unnoticed, and delivering a course of lectures on the French revolution, which failed to obtain popularity, Coleridge, in conjunction with Southey, and a young poet named Lovell, dreamed of the regeneration and perfectibility of the human race, until they reduced it to a gospel, under the name of Pantisocracy, which they forthwith began to preach in the commercial town of Bristol. But its thrifty, money-making citizens could see nothing attractive in a form of society in which every man was to be upon the level of his fellows, and all things to be enjoyed in common; and disappointed in their hopes of the regeneration of England, the three resolved to transfer their millennium to the new world of America. The dream was fortunately dissolved, by the marriage of the enthusiasts to three sisters residing in Bristol; and on becoming a husband, Coleridge commenced a newspaper, called the *Watchman*, and began a new career as a preacher in a Unitarian chapel; but these attempts, as well as every subsequent one, ended in failure; for with his visionary habits, and utter want of perseverance and worldly prudence, no attempt could prosper in his hands, or pursuit be continued to its close. Thus especially it fared with his poetry, which was a series of magnificent attempts, that either broke down mid-way, or were hurried to an abrupt and unsatisfactory conclusion. It was unfortunate for him, also, that he betook himself to opium-eating, through which his mind was still farther unsettled, and his power to choose unstrung. From 1816 to 1834, the year of his death, he lived under the affectionate care of a physician at Highgate, where he published the greater part of his works, and delighted the throngs who repaired to him by the witchery of his conversation. His poems—which from their incompleteness showed what he might and could have done, and the perusal of which will always qualify the delight and astonishment of their readers with regret—consist of juvenile poems, odes, ballads, dramas, and translations, in all of which his imagination gleams like the sun bursting fitfully through cloud and vapour, while the language itself is a music that charms the ear, even when the sentiment is tame or defective. Besides being a poet, Coleridge was also journalist, theologian, metaphysician, and political writer; but his writings in these different departments exhibit the same fragmentary character, with a double portion of

that haze and mystery with which his poetical productions are but occasionally obscured. But it was more in his conversations than even his writings that his best and brightest ideas were embodied; he discoursed rather than conversed, while every listener was willingly silent. But these monologues have passed away with the generation that listened, and can leave nothing better than a traditional remembrance.

A very different poet from Wordsworth and Coleridge was Sir Walter Scott, whose poetry has no sympathy with metaphysical speculation, and who had no thought of constructing a poem for the purpose of evolving a theory. To him the rude grandeur and stirring every-day life of a feudal castle, and the dust of the tournament and battle-field, had more attractions than all the philosophical systems which poetry could resolve into tuneful numbers, so that he was the poet of action instead of thought, of the real and visible, rather than mere abstractions. He was born in Edinburgh in 1771, and was the descendant of barons who had figured

in Border raids and Scottish history; and this last circumstance, combined with his early intellectual nurture in the ancient ballads and legends with which his ancestors were connected, may be said to have formed the character of his genius, as well as his career in life. He was to be the poet of ancient Scottish chivalry, and the restorer of the old feudal style of living, which he was so well fitted to illustrate. Even sickness came to aid this destination, by making lively reading necessary for his amusement, and he had amassed an amount of literary and historical fiction before his sixteenth year was completed, which not only served as the incentive of his future path of excellence, but the bountiful source from which it was supplied. When weightier studies had matured his mind and confirmed his choice, he commenced his poetical vocation prudently and cautiously, by translations from the German, a few short original ballads, and the congenial task of editing the "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border." In 1805 he published his first large origi-

nal poem, the "Lay of the Last Minstrel;" and the ringing of the old Scottish romantic harp, which had been unheard for three centuries, and which had never sounded with such a compass, arrested the public attention, and was listened to with delight and wonder. His genius, thus directed into its right path, was animated by his characteristic industry, and in 1808 appeared his "Marmion," a poem of more elevated character than the "Lay," and in which the stirring description of the battle of Flodden is scarcely

excelled by any picture of a similar kind in the whole range of Homeric poetry. In 1810 he produced the most finished and also the most popular of his works, the "Lady of the Lake;" and independently of the loud commendation with which it was read and re-read, its excellence was signal-ly attested by its effects in making Loch Katrine and the Trossachs — places as yet unknown even in Scotland itself — renowned over Europe for the beauty and grandeur of their scenery, and the favourite haunts of an universal pilgrimage. During the



SIR WALTER SCOTT — From a portrait by Sir T. Lawrence.

next four years he published successively the "Vision of Don Roderic," "Rokeby," and the "Lord of the Isles;" but the high standard established by his previous works had made the public fastidious, and these last productions, notwithstanding their excellence, and their many detached portions of surpassing beauty, could not sustain the untiring wing which his fame had maintained through his first three epics. Of this, indeed, he was himself conscious; and he felt besides, that a young competitor for the throne of poetry had entered the field, with every promise of success. This was Lord Byron, who had already commenced in earnest, and taken the public admiration by storm. Unwilling, however, to resign his supremacy without a struggle, and unable so suddenly to forego those tasks which seemed so necessary for his intellectual existence, Scott published anonymously the "Bridal of Triermain," and "Harold the Dauntless;" but the experiment was enough, for these poems, unsupported by the

prestige of his name, were tried by their own merits, and set aside as mere imitations, and works of ordinary merit. But where the intellectual career of others would have ended, his as yet had but commenced; for he now produced that wonderful series, the *Waverley Novels*, by which a new life of renown—and one of even a higher kind than the old—was secured; and he who had been one among the foremost of our poets became incontestably the first of our novelists. His splendid career in this new field till the close, his other literary performances, and the incessant action of his intellect, until its powers were arrested by utter exhaustion and paralysis, would of themselves require a history, which, however, is too well known to require repetition. Even to the last, his trembling fingers sought the pen which he had no longer strength to guide; and he died in 1832, after an amount and an excellence of literary labour for which it would be difficult in the whole range of modern intellectual history to find a parallel.

Another eminent poet of the period, and also multifarious writer, whose labours were incessant, and who, like Scott, died over-wearied and worn out with intellectual toil, was Robert Southey. He was born at Bristol, and educated at Oxford; but his adoption of Socinian opinions disqualified him both for university honours and the clerical profession, while his early attempts in poetry, and the commendations with which they had been rewarded, pointed out to him a course of action more suited to his tastes and studies. Like Coleridge, also, with whom he associated, he became a Jacobin and apostle of Pantisocracy; but like him, also, as years and experience increased, he learned to abjure his errors, both religious and political. Before this occurred, however, he had published his drama of "*Wat Tyler*," and his epic of "*Joan of Arc*," in which he gave his Jacobinism full and free scope, and which productions were afterwards unmercifully flung in his teeth, when he became the equally zealous champion of high-church and high-tory principles. Notwithstanding his great qualifications, and the allurements of ambition, Southey's love of literature was so confirmed, that he gladly retired from the competition for wealth and office, and gave himself wholly to study and authorship, which he continued to the end of his days. His production of epics, which was as fertile as that of Sir Richard Blackmore himself, and which excited the ridicule of his enemies, would have deserved the outcry it produced, did we not take into account not only the prolific character of Southey's genius, but the systematic diligence and industry with which he turned every day and every hour to account. It must also be confessed, that, with all their excellence, his poems abound

with gorgeous images and a rich flow of language, rather than profound thought or genuine emotion. His poem of "*Joan of Arc*," in which he was assisted by Coleridge, was published at the early age of twenty-two; and in 1800, four years after this production appeared, he gave forth the "wild and wondrous song" of "*Thalaba the Destroyer*," one of the most gorgeous of Arabian tales as well as epic poems, which has for its theme the overthrow of the magicians by whom the world was troubled and seduced, and the ruin of their inaccessible ocean temple, the *Domdaniel*. This was followed in 1805 by "*Madoc*," a poem founded on the tradition of the discovery of America by a Welsh prince of that name, long before the voyage of Columbus. In 1810 Southey published the "*Curse of Kehama*," a tale of Hindoostan, founded upon its strange mythology, of which he avails himself with wonderful power and facility; and in 1814 appeared "*Roderic, the Last of the Goths*," which was also the last of his epics, having for its theme the invasion of Spain by the Moors, and the adventures of the Spanish king, after he was supposed to have perished in the battle of Xeres. But these large works, which might have sufficed for a lifetime, were but a tithe of Southey's productions; for his other volumes, both of prose and verse, the former comprising history, biography, belles-lettres, &c., would be too numerous to particularize, notwithstanding the importance of their subjects, and the admirable style in which they are written. It is enough to mention his "*Life of Nelson*," which from its high acceptance in the navy, and its influence in the cherishing of nautical heroism, may well be called a national work, and invaluable public boon. And yet, with all this fertility, Southey is said to have destroyed more than he ever published. His epics are now generally forgotten, but several of his smaller poems are still as fresh in the public mind, and as affectionately cherished, as when they first appeared. He died in 1843, after having outlived for several years that power of thought which he had wielded with such indefatigable mastery, and that vivid imagination which had given life and wings to his thoughts, and when his eloquence had sunk into the silence of idiocy or the stammerings of childhood. But his mission had been accomplished, and few of his contemporaries had fulfilled their appointed task so virtuously and so ably.

The poetry of the period had now assumed the romantic character, and consisted chiefly of stirring narratives and striking incidents, in which its descriptive spirit was embodied and its inspiration expressed. These narratives, also, instead of partaking of the old epic form, were stories connected with the chivalry of the middle ages,

the events of rural and pastoral life, or the marvels of remote lands and their wild mythology. The poetical world had been so long laid to sleep, and had settled into so deep a repose, that no ordinary interruptions were needed to waken it into life and activity. But while this new spirit was apt at times to run wild from the very exuberance of its youthful energies, there was one poet of the day, and he too of high note and influence, in whom truth and nature were identified with strict classical rule, and who combined the fervour and originality of the new school of poetry with the proprieties of the old. We allude to Thomas Campbell, one of those master spirits of the age, whose place is likely to be long unoccupied. This accomplished scholar, and sensitive, fastidious poet, was born in Glasgow, in 1777. At the college of his native city he was distinguished in boyhood, not only by the great superiority of his classical attainments, but also his early attempts in poetry, and his spirited translations from the Greek tragedians, especially Euripides. After residing for some time among the romantic scenery of the Highlands, he moved to Edinburgh, and there, at the age of twenty-one, published his great poem, the "Pleasures of Hope," which the public welcomed with delight, on account of the grandeur of its thoughts, the fervour of its feelings, and the stately, melodious language with which they were clothed. Although this classical work gives occasional indications of the immaturity of youth, its merits have withstood the test of half a century, a trial in which many of its more ostentatious contemporary productions have failed; it is now recognized as an established standard in our language; and as long as genuine healthful poetry is studied, the "Pleasures of Hope" will maintain its merited ascendancy. Campbell's next work, after a long interval, was "Gertrude of Wyoming," a pathetic tale of an Indian onslaught upon the village of that name during the American war; but although this poem is of even superior excellence to the first, it did not secure the same amount of popularity. The "Pleasures of Hope," indeed, written by one so young, had raised the most extravagant expectations, and when "Gertrude" appeared, the public ear had been already stimulated by the more exciting chivalrous epics of Scott. His last poetical work was "Theodric," a Swiss tale of domestic life, which he published in 1824. It is not, however, upon these productions that the poetical fame of Campbell will especially rest, but rather upon his smaller poems, such as "O'Connor's Child," the "Last Man," and still more, upon the "Battle of Hohenlinden," and the "Battle of the Baltic." Compared, indeed, with the amount of his genius, and the period to which his life was extended, it is to

be regretted that the quantity of his poetry was not commensurate. But the fastidiousness of his taste, which paused at every word and weighed every syllable—that musical scrupulosity which was the fruitful source of his shortcomings as well as his excellencies—made his poetical productions be thus few and far between, where every individual line was a carefully polished gem, over which he could not labour enough. To dash right onward through rough and smooth, like the other poets of the day, was a steeple-chase progress, wholly alien to his nature, and in which he would assuredly have broke down before half the course had been cleared. Like many of his illustrious brethren of the period, also, Thomas Campbell was not exclusively a poet, but a writer upon literature in general; and therefore, besides several original and compiled works in prose which he produced, and a course of lectures on poetry, he was editor for several years of the *New Monthly Magazine*. Literature, indeed, was his profession and source of subsistence, and his exertions were stimulated by the necessity of supporting his mother, sisters, and other relations who were dependent upon his labours. Having repaired to Boulogne for the recovery of his health, he died there in 1844.

Of all the poets we have hitherto mentioned, the undeviating aim of each, whatever might be his sphere of sentiment, was to inculcate the principles of a high morality and sound philosophy. But across this fair and bright horizon Lord Byron passed like a meteor, paling all others by his superior lustre, as well as disturbing them by the eccentricity of his orbit. As if to mark him out, also, for a course different from others, and doom him to follow it to the close, the circumstances of his parentage, early life, and education were different from those of other men, and stamped both upon himself and his works an impress that was exclusively his own. Although of a noble, time-honoured race, his father was an impoverished spendthrift and *roué*, and his mother a tennant; and under the care of the latter—who seems to have been more than half-mad, and of whose management it was doubtful whether her unreasonable fondness or frantic hatred would best succeed in destroying the nursing which it perverted—he was reared from infancy to manhood. In addition to these domestic discomforts, aggravated by such limited means as, to people of name and rank, are the worst kind of poverty, the mind of Byron, nursed into oversensitiveness, was confirmed in misanthropy by a physical defect in one of his feet. He was active, buoyant, and adventurous, but club-footed; and the eyes that admired his remarkable personal beauty, which exhibited the countenance and bust of Apollo, could not fail to rest upon the

incongruity of his deformed foot, and the awkward, constrained gait which it occasioned. Had he possessed an ordinary, or even an ugly visage, he might have passed comfortably on his way unnoticed; but marked, as he felt himself to be among mankind, and separated from them by such glaring contraries, he soon learned to return their look of sympathy or wonder with a scowl, and regard every man with hatred or suspicion. By the death of his grand-uncle he became a lord at the age of eleven; but under the injudicious training of his mother, his accession to rank and fortune only furnished him with the means of escape into wild unregulated courses, which he pursued both at school and college. Still his genius predominated, and his hours of excess were alternated with fits of gloomy seclusion, in which he read and studied, and thus unconsciously laid the groundwork of his future renown. Leaving the college at the age of nineteen, he commenced his career of poet by publishing a volume of his college productions, under the title of "Hours of Idleness;" but this work, notwithstanding the talent which it unquestionably indicated, was fiercely assailed by the Edinburgh reviewers, who were jealous on account of the privileges of the peerage, and resolved that poetry should in no case be classed among them. This welcome into literary life had no tendency to soften Byron's misanthropy, and he requited their satire by invectives more pungent than their own, in his next work of "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers," in which his poetical talents were more than doubled by the inspiration of hatred and revenge. Sated with the profligacies of London, and devoid of means adequately to support his rank, Lord Byron in 1809 travelled for two years in Portugal, Spain, Greece, and Asia Minor, and upon his return published the two first cantos of "Childe Harold." The world was astonished: was this the author of "Hours of Idleness," whom the critics had so summarily extinguished? Even those who had maligned him were now the first to recognize the youthful noble and man of pleasure as one of the foremost poets of the age.

Having thus made so successful a recommencement, and carried the public suffrage by storm, Lord Byron was not slow to improve the advantage; his pen was a rapid one, and travel had stored his mind with such imagery and incidents as were best fitted for the purposes of poetry. The field which he selected, also, was untrodden ground, being the sunny and romantic East, into the confines of which European poetry as yet had scarcely ventured, and whose gorgeous regions were so congenial to his own character and likings. In quick succession he produced the "Glaour," the "Bride of Abydos," the "Corsair,"

and "Lara;" and such was their popularity, that he was now considered as the occupant of Parnassus, without equal or rival. Even Sir Walter Scott was fain to abdicate the throne on which



LORD BYRON

From a portrait by T. Phillips, R. A.

the popular voice had placed him, and seek out for himself that new dominion which he so happily found. Lord Byron at this period married, but the union was an unhappy one; a separation soon followed; and maddened with indignation, as well as penetrated with the deepest grief, his lordship bade farewell to his country for ever, and passed the rest of his years chiefly in Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, alternating a life of reckless adventure and dissipation with such poetical productions as are seldom equalled, even by men of meditative seclusion, and severe, long-continued study; while his powers, instead of flagging, seemed only to become more vigorous at every successive attempt. In this manner he rapidly threw off dramatic poems, mysteries, tragedies, tales—every variety of poetry, in each of which he showed himself an unrivalled master; while his last and longest production, "Don Juan," besides being the highest specimen of his intellectual talents and powers, was also the concentration of all his moral offences as poet and author. Thus, when as yet he had only reached the age of thirty-five, he had lived a whole century of life, in which sensual enjoyment had been drained to the uttermost, and an intellectual renown attained that had grown and brightened to the last, leaving him almost nothing more either to enjoy or desire. Even at this stage, however, a new life, and one more noble and distinguished, seemed to await him. Greece, the ancient birth-place and home of heroism and poetry, was struggling, after centuries of oppress-

sion, to resume her place as a nation, instead of being a mere degraded province of aliens and barbarians; and Byron generously threw himself into this all but hopeless cause, of which he soon became the best life and promise. But it was the last flash of the lamp, the brightest of his efforts, that was the prelude not of revival but extinction; and worn out and heart-broken by difficulties and disappointments that made his generous sacrifices unavailing, he expired at Missolonghi on the 19th of April, 1824.

Poetry so powerful as that of Lord Byron, and at the same time so acceptable to the general taste, could not fail to produce a striking effect upon the general aspect of society. It was not merely that young men endeavoured to dress and look *à la Byron*; that general conversation became a chatter about gazelles, bulbuls, "pale Phin-gari," and the land of the sun; that unfledged rhymers attempted his style of writing, and produced such travesties as imitation has seldom out-heroded; and that a moping, whining, life-loathing, and world-hating sentimentality became the fashion, in which every one endeavoured to act the part of a woe-begone victim and martyr. These were perversities of taste too annoying to be tolerated, and too ridiculous to endure; and such frothy sorrows were quickly blown away by universal scorn and derision. But there was a deeper and far more mischievous spell in his poetry, which had better intellects for its victims. Lord Byron incessantly declaimed of his unmerited wrongs, until his admirers wept over him as the most injured of men. He thundered his maledictions against the human race at large, and his overwhelmed readers re-echoed the charge. They imbibed his misanthropy with his poetry, and began to fear that benevolence, truth, and justice had either left the earth, or retired into some unknown corner. But besides this negative scepticism, the spirit of his works inculcated a more active immorality. The pirate who scuttled ships and cut throats without scruple, might have his "thousand crimes" in some measure redeemed by his "one virtue." He who ran away with the wife of a Turk, might slay her husband if he was so unreasonable as to punish her infidelity. In love or in hate, the intensity of the passion justified the wildest and worst of its effects. Such a code of morals was accompanied with a correspondent hatred of Christianity, and universal scepticism on all religious restraints; and these, expressed not in the cold dogmatic language of the schools, but the impassioned eloquence of poetry, and with all the seductive powers of despondent doubt or withering sarcasm, were more widely influential than argument and discussion. Thus, stripped of its beauty, the poetry of Byron was a residuum of

misanthropy, profligacy, and irreligion, whose tendency was to corrupt the morals and pervert the religious faith of society at large; and as it was universally admired, these pernicious effects were more or less correspondent with its range. Improved as was the age, it was not yet proof to such seductions, impersonated as they were in that mysterious poet, whose very life was a riddle and a mystery, which all wondered at and none was able to solve. But the evil was not to be lasting. Society awoke, and with a recoil of indignation and shame. They were angry with the deceiver, and ashamed of their own culpable facility; while one of the best symptoms of their repentance was their growing admiration of the pure, tranquil, heavenward poetry of Wordsworth, which Byron had scorned, and fain would have extinguished. The effects of this reaction, also, have been manifested to the present day. Byron is still recognized as one of our greatest poets, and the fame of his genius has nothing less than its due in literary and popular estimation. But his poetry is read with a protest, and his sentiments are viewed no longer with admiration, but with blame and regret.

Another powerful but erratic intellect in the poetry of the day was Percy Bysshe Shelley, the friend of Lord Byron, and whose character and career, though totally different, were yet in many points so similar to those of his more robust associate. Like Byron, he was of an ancient and noble family, and was born to the inheritance of a splendid fortune and a baronetcy; while such was the precocity of his intellect, that before he had attained the legal age of manhood he had astonished society by the splendour of his literary productions, and disturbed it by his daring opinions. For his atheism he was expelled from the university of Oxford; and in consequence of his marriage with a lady of inferior rank, he was disowned and expelled by his family. All this had taken place while he was still in his nonage, but succeeding years only deepened and confirmed these strange tendencies, so that while his fortune, and even his children were taken from him, on account of his avowed belief that all human laws and institutions were nothing else than tyranny, his devotedness to atheism was so intense, that for it he would willingly have gone to the stake, if all religions had been but bound to it along with him. From opinions like these it might be inferred that his conduct would be utterly unscrupulous and immoral; but nothing could be a greater mistake; for with such a creed, or rather, with such an abnegation of all creeds whatever, few men could be more gentle in spirit, more benevolent in action, more pure and upright in daily word and deed, so that his principles and his life were the strangest and most

perplexing of all antitheses. After a short and melancholy life, in which he toiled as the apostle of atheism, and in which he evinced the devotedness without securing the esteem or confidence of a martyr—and feeling as if this world was a desert, while there was no hope or promise of a better—this man of wondrous contrarieties, who had passed a few lonely years of self-imposed exile in Switzerland and Italy, was drowned while on a marine excursion in the Gulf of Spezzia, in 1822. The principal poems of Shelley are “Queen Mab,” the “Revolt of Islam,” “Prometheus Unbound,” the “Tragedy of Beatrice Cenci,” and “Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude.” The qualities of his poetry are rich exuberance of imagination and unbounded command of language, so that his pictures are brilliant sunshine, and his verses a continual music. His themes, also, and his mode of treating them, are so original that they waft the reader into a new world, where everything promises to be more beautiful than any that can be found in the old. But it is a world in which there is neither God nor temple, neither altar nor worshipper: its inhabitants are phantoms, and its light is not from heaven; and however it may at first allure, the heart seeks to escape from it, and return to a world of reality and creatures of flesh and blood. Even the sensual, under this lack of the spiritual, would have thrown the stir and relief of human life at least into the scene; but this the pure mind of Shelley disdained to impart, so that all, however vast and beautiful, is cold and pulseless, and therefore without sympathy and attractiveness. But what more could the poetry of atheism have achieved? It was as if a great experiment, under its most attractive form, had been tried upon humanity and found wanting, so that, after the example of Shelley, no erring spirit should repeat the attempt, in the hope that it will prove successful. His poetry, in spite of its intrinsic beauty and power, was never popular, and has already fallen into general neglect.

A poet in many respects similar to Shelley was John Keats. He too attempted to find in this material world a paradise that would suffice as a home for immortals; but being no metaphysician like Shelley, and having no religious antipathies to gratify, he endeavoured to fill up the spiritual void which the other had produced by recalling the mythology of the classical ages, and recognizing a divine power under ancient types and names. With him, nymphs, fauns, and dryads sufficed to circulate life and beauty throughout creation, with Pan or Jove to preside over them as father and director. John Keats was born in London, towards the close of 1796, and was of humble parentage, being the son of a livery-stable keeper. He was apprenticed at an early period

to a surgeon at Edmonton; but his delicate sensibility and overflowing imagination unfitted him for the profession, which he quickly relinquished for more congenial studies. He was from earliest life a poet, and a poet he resolved exclusively to be to the close. His first poetical production was “Endymion,” a work that, overflowing with youthful enthusiasm and richness of imagination, and giving token of the wonderful fertility of the soil and the promise of future excellence, was also, as might have been expected, luxuriant even to rankness in errors and redundancies. But instead of hailing this abundance with welcome, and waiting for the season of a more matured experience, by which these natural excesses would have been corrected, the critics fell mercilessly upon the faults of “Endymion,” and overwhelmed it with scorn and derision. This was mainly the work of the *Quarterly Review*, whose ire was kindled by the knowledge that Keats was the protégé of Leigh Hunt and his party; and it was alleged that Gifford, the editor of the *Quarterly*, had expressed his determination to crush the poem, even before it issued from the press. The sensitive mind of the young poet, already morbid from incipient consumption, was lacerated by this iniquitous infliction; and in consequence of his failing health, a residence in a warmer climate was judged necessary: but the remedy was tried too late, for Keats died at Rome in the twenty-fourth year of his age, having thus been allowed to give nothing more than the promise of becoming a poet equal to any of the age, as well as the founder of a new school of poetry. Besides “Endymion,” Keats produced “Hyperion,” a fragment, “Lamia,” and several smaller poems, all pervaded with that enthusiasm for the old Greek classical spirit, which he endeavoured to combine with the simplicity of the Elizabethan period; and in his latest productions there is full indication not only of a larger intellect, but a more refined taste, under which his poetical blemishes might have soon disappeared. But, like Shelley, he was too exclusively the poet of earth and time, of sentimental enjoyment and the present hour; and like Shelley, whom probably in a few years he would have far surpassed, he failed to obtain general popularity. Though it is still the fashion to praise him, the reading of his works is already confined to a very small portion of admirers, whose enthusiasm makes some amends for their fewness.

From these poets we pass to one who was too uneducated to care about Greek mythology, and too simple and straightforward to be entangled among metaphysical subtleties—one who saw nature as it really existed, instead of being be-haloed and be-shadowed by the caprices of imagination; and who, in describing

human emotion, looked inward upon his own heart, and delivered what he found there without addition or change. We allude to James Hogg, or, to call him by the name which he loved still better, the "Ettrick Shepherd." This powerful and original genius was born in Ettrick Forest, in 1773, and was descended from a race of shepherds; while his parents were so poor, that they could not give him even that measure of education which is regarded as the birthright of the humblest of our Scottish peasantry. Indeed, even his reading and writing might be said to have "come by chance," as six months constituted the whole amount of his time of attendance at school. But he thus learned to spell the Bible, which constituted his great and only text-book of knowledge until he had nearly reached the age of manhood; his poetical models and authorities were the Psalms of David, and the ballads of Ettrick Forest; and the art of writing, he acquired by his own industry, while herding sheep upon the hill-side. With such teaching Hogg not only became a poet, but an aspirant for the highest place of poetry—he resolved to be the successor of Burns himself, although with education and opportunities so greatly inferior to those of the Ayrshire ploughman. After having written songs and ballads, and found a poet's reward in hearing them sung by the lasses of the district, he collected and published them in a volume at Edinburgh, whither he had driven a flock of sheep, and sold them in the market. Fortunately for him, his poetical talents procured for him in 1801 the acquaintanceship of Sir Walter Scott, by whose encouragement and advice Hogg published a collection of his imitations of the old Border ballads, under the title of the "Mountain Bard," which not only established his reputation as a poet, but procured him a considerable sum of money. Encouraged by this success, he resolved to devote himself to literature as a profession; but a series of attempts proved unsuccessful, until the publication of his best and most popular poem, the "Queen's Wake," established his position among the foremost poets of the day. After this, Hogg's productions in poems, tales, and novels were numerous, all being equally characterized by rich and vigorous originality; and these he published either in separate works, or in *Blackwood's Magazine*. His collected works amount in all to about thirty volumes, independently of contributions to magazines and periodicals. Still, nothing which he has written, however excellent, is equal to the "Queen's Wake." It describes a competition of Scottish minstrels at Holyrood before Queen Mary, on her return from France; and the subject gave the author a full opportunity for the display of his varied

powers of poetry, and his ample range of legendary lore, both in Highland, Lowland, and Border incidents. But it was in fairy-land, and its wondrous characters and wild events, that his genius shone with its brightest lustre. Nursed in the pastoral superstitions of Ettrick Forest, the beautiful world of fays and fairies had been the beloved home of the shepherd's imagination, and when he writes of it he does it with patriotic fervour, as if he spoke of his own country, in which his happiest days had been passed, before he was exiled into the world of reality. This is especially the case in the beautiful tale of "Kilmeny," where the sentiments are inspiration, and the language the perfection of music, so that it would be difficult, if not impossible, in the whole range of Spenser's "Faerie Queene" to find its parallel. As was his poetry, so was the poet—a vain but simple and original child of nature, whom the fashions of the world could neither polish nor pervert, and whom men were compelled to esteem and love, even when their laugh at him was at the loudest. After a life of literary toil, into which he seemed so strangely dropped, and in which he nobly persevered to the last, James Hogg died at the age of sixty-four.

Another Scottish poet, nursed under circumstances almost as lowly and adverse, was Allan Cunningham—the "Honest Allan" of Sir Walter Scott—who was born in the neighbourhood of Dumfries at the close of 1784. In consequence of family disappointments, he was obliged, at the early age of eleven, to become a stone-mason, and to pick up scholarship as he best might by his own efforts—but thus circumstanced, he became not only an excellent workman, but a young man distinguished beyond those of a far more ample education, by his superior knowledge and acquirements. Poetry, in which he was especially to excel, formed but one of his intellectual pursuits, and the manner in which it was called into notice was somewhat strange and unusual. Cromek, the zealous worshipper of the Scottish muse, while in search of relics of "Nithsdale and Galloway Song," obtained from the young stone-mason several songs and ballads of this character, which when published were found to be by far the best of the collection. Their very excellence, indeed, was thought too much for a period of rude undistinguished antiquity; and on inquiry being instituted, it was found that "Honest Allan" himself had composed these choice specimens, and palmed them on the credulous enthusiastic Cromek as veritable antiquities. The detection, however, of an imposition so harmless, in which the only person to be defrauded of his due was Cunningham himself, made his merits be recognized as a poet of high order, and in 1810 he repaired to London, with

the purpose of devoting himself to a life of authorship. After four years thus spent, his skill as a workman, combined with his natural taste in the arts, his general knowledge, and ingratiating manner, recommended him to the notice of Chantrey, the distinguished sculptor, by whom he was engaged as superintendent of his works; and in this situation Cunningham remained until the close of his life in 1842. His professional duties, however, did not prove a hinderance to his literary aspirations, which were continued in full vigour, and his pen was employed in a variety of departments to the end of his honoured career. His principal works are the "Maid of Elvar," a romantic Spenserian poem illustrative of the old days of Dumfriesshire; "Sir Marmaduke Maxwell," a dramatic poem, in which the character and incidents belong to Cunningham's native Nithsdale; three prose romances, entitled "Lord Roldan," "Sir Michael Scott," and "Paul Jones," and "Lives of the most eminent British Painters, Sculptors, and Architects." Writing in London, his whole heart was in Scotland, and his subjects, whether in poetry or in prose, received their chief inspiration from the remembrances of his native land. But it is through his poems that his memory will be cherished, especially his smaller pieces; and among these, his admirable productions "It's hame and it's hame," "Bonnie Lady Ann," the "Lord's Marie," and "De Bruce," are pervaded with the life and soul of Scottish patriotism and poetry.

In an age so profuse of English and Scottish poets, by whom their respective nationalities were so nobly maintained, Ireland was not defective; and in Thomas Moore she possessed a bard who could make her voice be heard, and her feelings eloquently expressed. Moore was born in Dublin, in 1780, was educated in Trinity College, where he distinguished himself by his classical attainments and his early excellence in poetry, and it was significant of the character of his future productions, that so early as his twelfth year he conceived the design of translating the Odes of Anacreon. This purpose he accomplished before he had reached the age of twenty, and with such success, that his translation was considered to fall little short of the original, while the public admiration was expressed by the name generally bestowed upon him of "Anacreon Moore." His next work, which he published a year after, was a small volume of poems, under the name of Thomas Little; but they were of too licentious a character, notwithstanding their unquestionable genius, either for the author to acknowledge that he had written, or even for the public to confess that they had read them; and Moore himself, when the thoughtlessness of his

non-age had been succeeded by reflection, gladly assented to the oblivion in which they were mercifully buried. He was now by vocation a poet, and soon became one of the highest account; while



THOMAS MOORE — From a portrait by Sir Martin Archer Shee.

his poems consisted of songs, lyrics, and poetical satires, which he produced with marvellous activity, and all of them distinguished by rich poetical beauty. In 1817 he published his largest poem, "Lalla Rookh," which consists of a series of eastern tales, connected together by a slight thread of narrative in prose; and, like the lands over which they expatiate, their sunshine is so dazzling and their richness so overflowing, that less brilliancy and less abundance would be welcomed by the reader as a relief. Seldom, however, is such poetical profusion accompanied with such genius and taste, so that what in another would have been artificial glitter and tawdriness, is with him nothing more than a natural costume and its appropriate adornments. But of all the productions of Moore, his songs, and especially his "Irish Melodies," are the most popular, and promise to be the most enduring; and in the last of these he will always be recognized not only as the poet of Ireland, but the voice of his unfortunate country giving utterance to its sorrows, its indignation, and its hopes. Like the best poets of the day, he was also a prose writer; and in this department his chief works are biographies of Sheridan and Byron, and the religious romance, the "Epicurean."

In this age, so prolific of poets, we have only been able as yet to select the names of those of highest mark, and a few of those of secondary excellence. But many others worthy of commemoration crowd upon us, whose productions delighted the early years of the present generation, and who are still gratefully remembered.

Of these we might instance the Rev. W. L. Bowles, the graceful, classical sonnet-writer, and one of the fathers of modern English poetry, whose numerous poetical productions were continued from 1798 to 1837; and Robert Bloomfield, the uneducated shoemaker, who composed the "Farmer's Boy;" and Samuel Rogers, the banker-poet and beneficent patron of poets, the home of whose genius was the classic land of Italy, and his best theme the "Pleasures of Memory;" and James Montgomery, the author of the "World before the Flood," the "Wanderer of Switzerland," and several hymns of great beauty and deep devotional feeling, whose inspiration was exclusively devoted to the service of humanity, patriotism, and piety; and James Graham, the author of that popular poem the "Sabbath;" and Leyden, the most accomplished of linguists; and Charles Lamb, the "Elia" of the literary world, whose light and graceful productions were equally delightful whether in poetry or prose. To these might be added the names of Proctor (Barry Cornwall), Reginald Heber, Ebenezer Elliot, Leigh Hunt, Henry Hart Milman, and George Croly, most of whom were equally poets of the present and succeeding period, and some of whom still survive as the relics of the poetry of the earlier part of the nineteenth century. Nor must we forget John Wilson, one of the gentlest of poets, soon after to become one of the most dreaded of literary critics. And in contrast to these, who attained an old age of matured celebrity, might be mentioned Henry Kirke White and Robert Pollok, youths whose career of brightness and high promise was arrested at little more than the outset, the first having died at the age of twenty-one, and the other at that of twenty-eight, and both of them martyrs to the intensity of their early feelings, and their aspirations for literary and intellectual excellence. Of this devoted pair Robert Pollok was the most remarkable, as one who dared, when but a comparatively unnoticed young student in the university of Glasgow, to commence a great epic poem, which, through difficulty, sickness, and discouragement, he lived to complete, and be crowned with universal approbation, which served as the dirge of his departure. His "Course of Time," some of the sketches of which combine the graphic power and fidelity of Wordsworth with the grandeur of Milton, will of themselves perpetuate his reputation, even should the general interest of the poem itself share in the fate of many of its contemporaries.

In this brief enumeration it would be unpardonable to omit the poetesses by whom the present epoch was distinguished. One indication of a highly intellectual age is the full development of the female mind, and the frank recognition of

its excellence. In an inferior state of society a poetess could scarcely be produced, or if produced, would be gazed at as an unnatural phenomenon, and heard with envy and dislike. But the British mind had now attained that pre-eminence from which such exclusiveness is discarded—in which intellect is recognized as of no especial sex, and is welcomed alike whether it be in man or woman. The earliest of these distinguished women was the well-known Hannah More, who



HANNAH MORE.—From a portrait by H. W. Pickersgill, R. A.

was born in 1745, who in her early years was the friend of Johnson and his distinguished contemporaries, and who died in 1832, after a long and honoured life, in which she was distinguished by her poetical, moral, and theological writings, and by which she advanced, especially among the higher classes, the cause of religion and virtue more than most of the authors of this age of renovation and upward struggle. Still more exclusively a poetess was Joanna Baillie, who was born at Bothwell, Lanarkshire, in 1762, and who died in 1851. She wrote several Scottish songs of great poetical merit; but her chief predilection was for dramatic composition, so that she wrote many plays, the most remarkable of which were entitled "Plays on the Passions," each passion separately being illustrated by a tragedy and also a comedy. Such an artificial and restricted plan was scarcely suited to the purposes of the stage; but viewed as dramatic poems, her productions are distinguished by more than ordinary merit, exhibiting great depth of thought and power of expression, combined with much origi-

nality and inventiveness. A still more popular poetess, and one better fitted by her writings for universal sympathy, was Mrs. Hemans, whose exuberant genius was such that it overflowed into authorship at the early age of thirteen, and continued to the close of her life, in 1835. This was a range comprising nearly thirty years, in which almost every variety of subjects and play of feelings were her themes, while each successively bore the impress not only of rich original genius, but of careful elaborate study. In this spirit she wrote "Modern Greece," "Wallace," "Dartmoor," the "Sceptic," "Historic Scenes," the "Forest Sanctuary," "Records of Women," &c. Such, however, is the richness of fancy and melody of versification by which her poetry is characterized, that it is in her smaller lays rather than her larger pieces that her genius appears to highest advantage, the latter being too uniformly beautiful for the sustained attention of the generality of readers. The writings of Mrs. Hemans have been still more popular in America than in England, and in the former country have been adopted as imitative models by some of its best poets. The last of the distinguished poetesses of this period was Miss Landon, better known in the literary world during her day by her signature of L. E. L. Like Mrs. Hemans, she was an authoress at a very early period, and like her, she was characterized by an overflow of imagination that seemed to make incessant writing a requisite of her very existence. But with this fertility she had not the regularity and classical polish of her talented predecessor—a defect, however, by which her poetry became more popular with a numerous class of admirers than that of Mrs. Hemans. Her chief poetical works, which followed each other with great rapidity, were the "Improvisatrice," "Troubadour," "Golden Violet," "Golden Bracelet," and the "Vow of the Peacock." Even poetry, however, which she wrote more rapidly than prose, was not enough for her restless intellectual activity; and in addition to these works, she was authoress of three novels, that were characterized by the same play of imagination and vividness of feeling which distinguished her other writings. Having done so much, and achieved a high literary reputation while still young in years, Miss Landon was married to the governor of Cape Coast Castle; and on repairing with her husband to Africa, she went thither with the purpose of continuing in that remote region the intellectual pursuits which had so greatly conduced to her happiness in England, while the improvements of her latest works gave promise that she would even yet surpass whatever she had previously accomplished. But a death sudden, startling and tragical, supposed

to be the result of an over-dose of hydrocyanic acid taken as medicine, terminated her hitherto brilliant career in 1838.

Previous to the commencement of this period, the department of criticism had existed in a very subordinate condition. Magazines, reviews, and newspapers there had indeed been in abundance, so that not less than sixty were published in London at the beginning of the present century. But these productions were little else than worthless straws, that floated passively upon the tide, rather than active and powerful agencies to influence its direction; and, with a few respectable exceptions, their criticisms were rather publishers' advertisements of new works, than influential estimates of their merits and defects. But in an age of such literary maturity, it was impossible that this department should continue in abeyance. This especially was the case when the chief product consisted no longer of writings in the different departments which are regulated by fixed and understood rules, but of works of imagination, appealing to those æsthetic principles which will always be a fertile source of controversy and conjecture. A matured poetry will produce a school of criticism as certainly as a completed language will create a host of grammarians. The critical elements had gathered for action, and the only question was the quarter from which the storm should issue that was to overturn, to purify, and enliven. It was in the Scottish rather than the English capital that the commencement was made. In Edinburgh a band of young men, of high intellectual mark, had become impatient of the old dull routine of periodical literature, which they longed to regenerate; and for this purpose they assembled at the house of Francis Jeffrey, at that time a young and almost briefless barrister, who inhabited a humble domicile in the attic or third story of Buccleugh Place; and while a tempestuous night was raging over the eaves of the house, which only seemed to give spirit to their determinations, they projected the plan of their ominous work, the *Edinburgh Review*, the first number of which was issued on the 10th October, 1802. It was an *avatar* in the literary world; it was a standard and style of criticism such as the public had never dreamed of, and a tribunal before which authorship was constrained to tremble. The succeeding numbers of this wonderful periodical raised its character and established its supreme authority, so that not only in Britain, but over Europe at large, it was recognized as the literary autocrat, whose decisions were irreversible. The chief writers in the *Edinburgh Review*, at its commencement, were such also as no other city in Europe could have surpassed: these were Francis Jeffrey, its editor, and the animating

spirit of its pages; Sydney Smith, the modern Rabelais; Henry Brougham, the universal genius, and who excelled in every department; Francis Horner; Thomas Brown, the metaphysician; Lord Webb Seymour; Mr. Hamilton, the accomplished scholar in oriental literature; Thomas Thomson, the antiquary; Dr. John Thomson, the pathologist—men in the full energy of youthful talent, which ultimately carried them to high literary distinction and influential office; and who were subsequently joined by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, who finally attained such fame as poet, statesman, orator, and historian; Playfair, Malthus, Mackintosh, and others, the most eminent writers of the day. It could scarcely be otherwise, therefore, than that the articles of the *Review* should range through a wide variety, and be of chief excellence in their several departments. But it was not merely to literature that their censorship was confined: politics was also included within their survey; and upon the questions of government their principles were those of the new school of reform, of which they became the champions and expounders, and which every year they were making more palatable and more popular. After the first five years of its existence had elapsed, the *Edinburgh Review* commanded such a circulation that Sir Walter Scott, in writing of it, says—"Of this work 9000 copies are printed quarterly, and no genteel family *can* pretend to be without it; because, independently of its politics, it gives the only valuable literary criticism which can be met with." Another extract from the same author explains the causes of this wonderful success, and the admirable manner in which the work was superintended:—"The extensive reputation and circulation of the *Edinburgh Review* is chiefly owing to two circumstances; first, that it is entirely uninfluenced by the booksellers, who have contrived to make most of the other reviews merely advertising sheets to puff off their own publications; and secondly, the very handsome recompense which the editor not only holds forth to his regular assistants, but actually forces upon those whose circumstances and rank make it a matter of total indifference to them. The editor, to my knowledge, makes a point of every contributor receiving this *bonus*, saying that Czar Peter, when working in the trenches, received pay as a common soldier. But there is still something behind, and that of the last consequence. One great resource to which the Edinburgh editor turns himself, and by which he gives popularity even to the duller articles of his *Review*, is accepting contributions from persons of inferior powers of writing, provided they understand the books to which the criticisms relate; and as such are often of stupefying mediocrity, he renders them palat-

able by throwing in a handful of spice—namely, any lively paragraph or entertaining illustration that occurs to him in reading them over. By this sort of veneering he converts, without loss of time or hinderance of business, articles which, in their original state, might hang in the market, into such goods as are not likely to disgrace those among which they are placed. This seems to be a point in which an editor's assistance is of the last consequence; for those who possess the knowledge necessary to review books of research or abstruse disquisition, are very often unable to put the criticism into a readable, much more a pleasant and captivating form; and as their science cannot be attained for the nonce, the only remedy is to supply their deficiencies, and give their lucubrations a more popular turn."

The success alone of the *Edinburgh Review* would soon have created rivals; but it was political rancour and jealousy, rather than literary emulation, which provoked hostility, and summoned an opponent into the field. The cause of Whiggery, lately so odious, was now in the ascendant; the attacks of the great periodical upon Tory measures and Tory ministers were daily becoming more formidable; and while the adherents of the old order of things were writhing under its inflections, they saw the necessity of establishing a counter-periodical, for the advocacy of their cause and the chastisement of their assailants. This originated the *Quarterly Review*, which had Canning and the ministry of the day for its patrons; Gifford, the accomplished scholar and keen satirist, for its editor; and Scott, Southey, and a host of eminent Tory writers for its contributors. Strong in such political influence and literary support, the first number of the *Quarterly* was published in February, 1809; but notwithstanding its great advantages, by which it speedily acquired a high literary reputation, it scarcely attained the popularity of its spirited, ably-conducted rival. Something more trenchant still was needed for the purposes of a party who felt their influence continuing on the decrease, and *Blackwood's Magazine* commenced its existence in April, 1817. As it was a monthly, not a quarterly periodical, it required lighter and shorter articles and a wider range than its more elaborate predecessors; and in its two principal contributors, Wilson and Lockhart, it possessed a fund of genius and variety of intellectual endowments seldom enjoyed by any literary magazine. The consequence was, that it soon outstripped both the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Review*, and became the chief mark of popular favour—and this, too, in spite of the sins of its early youth, which were neither few nor trivial. Among the great merits by which it amply redeemed its character, not the least were, that it was the steady advocate of

Wordsworth when the whole critical world was assailing him, and was the earliest of our periodicals to vindicate the character of German poetry, and make its readers conversant with the laws and principles of the German poetical school. The two great parties in politics were thus represented by their respective literary organs; but the third, or radical party, now rising into consequence, was also desirous of entering the intellectual field; and this it effected by starting the *Westminster Review*, in 1825, as the exponent of the principles of Jeremy Bentham and his followers. After having thus mentioned the origin of the four chief periodicals of the nineteenth century, it is unnecessary to notice the other numerous magazines which were called into existence by such prevalent examples: it is enough to state that their general merits were such as would have given them a high place in an earlier stage of our literature, and that they were only inferior, because measured by the standard which their illustrious predecessors had established.

This predominance of magazines during the present period was of the utmost intellectual consequence. Nascent genius struggling into existence, had no longer the publication of a separate volume as its only perilous alternative, but might essay its strength, and imp its wings anonymously, in the pages of a periodical. Talent of a higher description, that eschewed the labour of professional authorship, could thus throw off its superfluous energies, and appropriate the merit of such contributions when their worth was recognized. In this way senators, theologians, men of science, the theorists and speculators of every department, could find a ready asylum for the offspring of their brain, and ascertain whether they were likely to live, and be worth the trouble of nursing. But it was in this form also that authorship in its highest state delighted to put forth its strength; and the articles of Scott, Brougham, Macaulay, Jeffrey, and Wilson, originally published in the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, are, in their collective forms, the richest treasures of modern literature. So high, indeed, was the distinction, that to be a writer in any one of these periodicals, was accounted the choicest test of excellence. It was in these works, also, that the great political battle was mainly fought, by which the last relics of feudalism were thrown to the winds, and the reforms in government effected—that the principles of taste, hitherto so uncertain, were in some sort moulded into a regular system—and that the public at large were taught to judge according to rule, and enabled to give a reason for their preferences and dislikes. A barrier was also opposed to that headlong zeal of rushing, unfitted

or unprepared, into the press, which was so necessary a consequence of the revival of literature; and young writers were compelled to bethink themselves of the tribunal before which their works might be condemned, either by stately silence or searching inquest and exposure. It was not always, however, that these self-created and irresponsible courts were governed in their decisions by the principles of abstract justice; and the political opinions of a writer, whatever might be his department of authorship, were too often the criterion by which his work was lauded or condemned. In this way, Byron, in his first attempt, was almost extinguished by the *Edinburgh Review*, because he was a nobleman; and poor Kents was absolutely done to death by the *Quarterly*, because he was the friend and protégé of Leigh Hunt.

In such a spirit-stirring age as that which had now commenced when the great signs of life were thought and action, a new era of poetry and another of journalism might have been deemed a sufficient revolution in the world of intellect and learning. But every man was now a critic not only in literature but in politics: and a long, eventful war, in which the fate of every country in Europe had successively been at stake, had, from the commencement of the present century, made the morning's newspaper as absolute a necessary of life as the morning's breakfast. The political movements on the Continent, the menaces of invasion, the fate of our armies in the Peninsula, and the anxious deliberations of the British senate on the subsidizing of new allies or the imposition of fresh taxes, were matters of more vital and every-day import than the last new poem, or the critical analysis of its qualities; and the broad-sheet wet from the press, fraught with such tidings of life-and-death importance, could not be too rapidly or too frequently issued to meet the feverish, universal demand. Even when the war had terminated, an omnivorous appetite had been created that craved its daily sustenance; and the newspapers which had awoken this new appetite, were bound to stanch it, let the provender be found where it might. But the newspapers were equal to the emergency. Their importance had created able writers; the liberty of the press, that magna charta of authorship, had given them full range and scope; and in the absence of great European events, they could explore every creek and corner of the island, and drag to light the public iniquities or private wrongs that hitherto had been unnoticed amidst the glare and noise of warfare. In this way, the daily prints had become not merely the echoes, but the exponents of public feeling, and the impulse of each twenty-four hours was indicated at the earliest by the first shower of the

morning press. But to direct as well as to indicate the public mind upon the course of political events, was also the great ambition of this species of journalism, and the high assumption was well backed by the authoritative tone that enforced, and the talent that supported it. In illustration of this fact, we need only to compare the numbers of the *Times* at the commencement of this period, with those of the close; or even the leading articles of a country newspaper in 1830, with those of the metropolitan journals in 1800.

The progress of the fine arts during this period was not commensurate with that of literature; the latter, indeed, may be said to have absorbed the attention which would have been bestowed upon the former, and the empire of poetry to have been arbitrary and exclusive. In architecture, the scientific survey by James Stuart of the glorious remains of classical antiquity, and the admirable work which, with Nicholas Revett, he subsequently published, as well as the labours of the Dilettanti Society in the same field, directed national attention to the Greek style, which became predominant at the commencement of this period, in its application to public buildings; but it was unfortunately a cold imitation of colonnades and fluted columns, rather than the genuine inspiration of old Grecian taste, and its accommodation to climate and circumstances. Almost the only exceptions to this censure were the works of Sir John Soane, who at the close of the last, and commencement of the present century, endeavoured to engraft upon this spirit the inspiration of an original genius. After completing his public works, among which were the Bank of England, Buckingham House, Pall Mall, Trinity Church, Marylebone, and his plans for the improvement of the Houses of Parliament, he, at his death in 1837, bequeathed his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, and its rich collections of art, to the public, as a model in domestic architecture. The contemporary of Soane was John Nash, who accommodated the plans of his buildings to the corrupt taste of the prince-regent, and under this perverse inspiration, amplified the incomprehensible Pavilion at Brighton, and converted Buckingham House into a royal palace. But where he was allowed to follow the bent of his own genius in works of public utility and beauty, his ability was unquestionable, and to him we owe Regent Street and the Regent's Park, the conversion of the morass of St. James's Park into a pleasant place of recreation, and the change of the dull, monotonous brick walls that defaced our streets, into specimens of light, varied, graceful architecture. In his plans for the improvement of the metropolis, he combined the zeal of an artist and the skill of a financier, basing the creation of elegant thoroughfares on the im-

provement of the public revenue. The importation of the Elgin marbles into England, which took place in the year 1814, was a fortunate circumstance for the fine arts in general. These wondrous works of antiquity tended to correct the professional, as well as to enlarge the public taste, and showed how the spirit of Greece might be adopted, without being slavishly imitated or absurdly perverted. From this event an improved taste was introduced into the national architecture. The classic styles, however, had their opponents in architects who directed the public attention to our own noble medieval structures, and to the domestic architecture of the Tudor period. The series of illustrated works by John Britton, which commenced in 1807, and the admirable essay of Rickman, first published in 1816, contributed greatly to the development of a taste for medieval architecture. A decided improvement took place in church architecture, and the "Carpenter Gothic" was displaced by edifices in much better taste. Of the numerous villas which the thriving citizens were erecting by the hundred among the suburban villages round the metropolis, the Elizabethan style of building—or what was intended to be such—became the exemplar; and at the close of this period, the many-cornered and curiously-pinnacled little mansions, however grotesque in themselves, that were to be seen in the great approaches to our principal cities, were a pleasing diversity among the square, tasteless, monotonous dwellings, which all seem to have been cast in one mould, and with which the eye had long been filled to utter weariness.



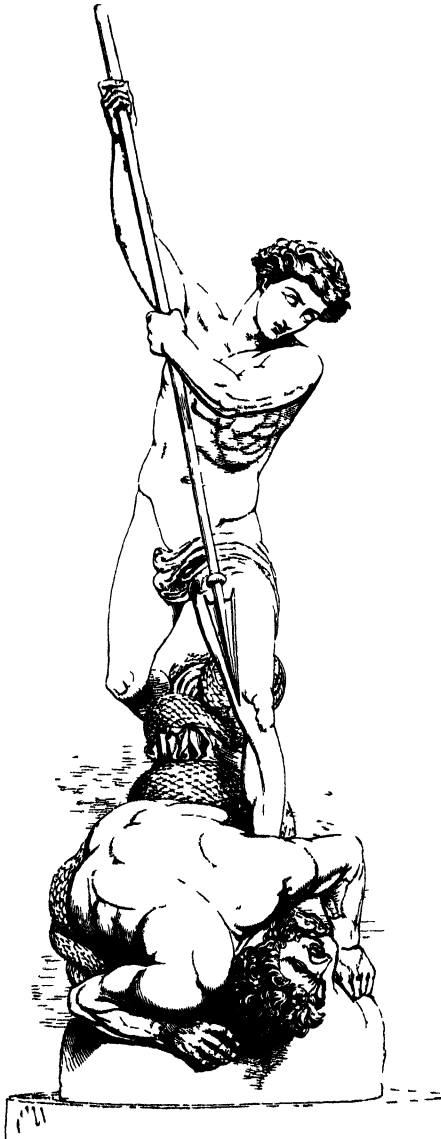
JOHN FLAXMAN, R. A.—From a portrait by Jackson.

In sculpture, the greatest name at the commencement of this period was John Flaxman, who was born so early as 1755, but whose chief productions belong to the present period, and

who died in 1826. From early boyhood, his whole soul was pervaded by the devotional spirit of his art, that longed to express itself in the subjects of sacred writ, to which Grecian taste was to serve as the hand-maid; and his works of this kind, as well as his illustrations of the Greek poets, have been recognized by general consent as the master-creations of modern art. Amongst these his designs from Homer, his Shield of Achilles, and his group of the Arch-angel Michael and Satan, deserve special mention. The same can scarcely be said of his monumental productions, in which he was confined by conventional rules; but to this stricture, his well-known monument to Lord Mansfield in Westminster Abbey, that to Lord Nelson in St. Paul's Cathedral,¹ and his statues of William Pitt and Sir John Moore,² both in Glasgow, are happy exceptions. But still, it is a melancholy truth, that Flaxman is not even yet so justly appreciated by the British public as in foreign countries, and especially in Italy, where he is considered the greatest designer since Greek times. A far more popular and successful artist was Sir Francis Chantrey, who was born in 1782, and died in 1841, and who, eschewing the imaginative, for which he had no aptitude, confined himself to portrait sculpture, in which he was without equal or rival. His handling of modern costume, the manner in which he imparted to it a grace that was all his own, and the flesh and blood like softness of countenance which he infused into the cold, hard marble, would of themselves secure a perpetuity of remembrance to those who were so fortunate as to be of the num-

ber of his sitters. His busts are universally recognized as of the highest excellence, and his larger works are numerous and well known. Of the latter, it is sufficient to cite the statues of

James Watt and Francis Horner in Westminster Abbey, and that of William Pitt in George Street, Edinburgh,³ as fine examples of the artist's style, and how completely he overcame the difficulties involved in modern costume. Of less distinction than Flaxman and Chantrey, although of high poetical taste, combined with delicate execution as a sculptor, was Sir Richard Westmacott, who was born in London in 1775, and who died in 1856. His cenotaph to Sir Ralph Abercromby in St. Paul's, is the best-known, as well as most favourable monument of his own artistic genius. Discarding every allegorical adjunct, Westmacott had the good taste to represent the old general just as he was, and falling mortally wounded into the arms of one of his brave Highland soldiers. But opposed to allegorical mummeries though he was, this vicious taste had not yet been cast out of the living generation; and Westmacott, in an evil hour, was saddled with the commission of reproducing in bronze one of the marble Colossi, from the Monte Cavallo at Rome, to commemorate the victories of the Duke of Wellington. All the world knows how this



FLAXMAN'S GROUP—MICHAEL AND SATAN.

commission was executed, and what marvel it has occasioned to the present hour; but no one has yet been able to comprehend the connection between this reproduction of such a familiar ancient statue, and the events or the hero which it commemorates. From this nondescript, by which he is too well known, it is refreshing to turn the eye to Westmacott's beautiful imaginative and

¹ See engraving, vol. iv p. 238.

² See engraving, vol. iv p. 260.

³ See engraving, vol. iv. p. 344.

poetical impersonations, such as his "Euphrosyne," a "Nymph unclasping her Zone," the "Distressed Mother," and the "Homeless Wanderer," where he could give full scope to his native genius and inspiration.

The art of painting during the present period was more earnestly cultivated, and made greater progress than architecture or sculpture; and for this perhaps a prevalent cause might be found in the peculiar character of the age, and the direction which the course of progress had chosen. An age so prolific in poets was likely to be fruitful in painters. The present was also a period in which painting was encouraged beyond all precedent. In 1805 the British Institution was established for the promotion of the fine arts, and the exhibition and sale of the best productions of living artists; and in 1824 the National Gallery was instituted for the collection, by gift or purchase, and the gratuitous exhibition to the public, of the works of the great masters, and their most distinguished followers. With such increased facilities for study, it could not be otherwise than that the principles of art should be more correctly understood, and its highest efforts more generally appreciated; and thus, in addition to the other agencies that were at work, the refining and purifying but silent influence of the glowing lessons imprinted upon the canvas was diffused, like a new element of life, through the public mind, before which the original coarseness and apathy were imperceptibly passing away.

Of the painters who held eminent places in historic art during the latter part of the eighteenth century, Benjamin West, J. S. Copley, and Henry Fuseli still continued to multiply their productions and maintain their merited popularity. On the death of West in 1820, Sir Thomas Lawrence became president of the Royal Academy. This distinguished artist, who was born at Bristol in 1769, had attained even in boyhood such excellence, that his copies in crayons of the works of the ancient masters, when he had reached his twelfth year, created surprise by their spirit and fidelity, while such was his industry, that before he had passed the age of twenty, the same number of his pictures had appeared in the exhibitions of the Royal Academy. His peculiar department was that of portrait painting, in which he became the Reynolds of his day; but while that great master impressed mind, and thought, and character upon his portraits, so that they looked, and spoke, and appeared to be living realities, Lawrence—who seldom aimed at such a high ideal—depended more upon gracefulness of drawing, elegance of attitude, and a masterly style of execution. His pictures are for the most part the likenesses of royal and princely sitters

in the full glow of their beauty, or the highest of their grandeur—the occupants of power and dwellers in palaces, whose look abashed the eye of criticism, and compelled the crowd to approach with reverence. But this brilliancy, however it may fascinate for the time, is at last felt to be too artificial; and the eye turns away from it, to the more sobered, but more intellectual and elevated portraits of Reynolds, or those of the old masters. His chief productions are the portraits of the distinguished personages that occupy the Waterloo Gallery at Windsor, and these exhibit his highest excellences as well as his principal defects.

While Sir Thomas Lawrence had so rapidly risen to distinction as to have seized the highest place almost without an effort, another artist was labouring in the field, by whom he was finally to be rivalled as a portrait painter, and in some respects eclipsed. This was Sir Henry Raeburn, born at Stockbridge, one of the suburbs of Edinburgh, in 1756, who was of humble parentage, and left an orphan when only six years old; and who followed the bent of his genius uncontrolled, by which he became in a great measure a self-taught artist. Circumstances as well as inclination made him a portrait painter; and at the age of sixteen he commenced with miniatures, which were soon exchanged for portraits in oil; and so greatly were his merits appreciated in his own country, that the most distinguished Scotsmen of the past and present period were among the number of his sitters. In this way, his reputation continued silently to grow every year, until it well-nigh matched that of Lawrence himself, whom he equalled in the dignity and gracefulness of his male portraits, while he surpassed him in intellectual character and truthfulness of colouring. It was fortunate indeed for Raeburn that his powers were allowed to develop themselves by natural growth, instead of being fostered into premature fulness by such an atmosphere as that in which Lawrence flourished; and that while the latter enjoyed the patronage of London and the court, the other was contented with his undisputed sovereignty in Edinburgh. His productions are numerous and well known; and although not always successful in delineating female beauty, his power of expressing moral and intellectual dignity, and perpetuating the characters of the truly great and illustrious as they looked, and lived, and were honoured among their contemporaries, will endear his portraits to future generations. The other eminent portrait painters of the period were Sir Martin Archer Shee, who succeeded Sir Thomas Lawrence as president of the Royal Academy; John Jackson, almost the rival of Reynolds in the heads of his portraits; Thomas Phillips, distinguished for his

female portraits. To these, also, may be added the names of William Owen and John Hoppner, who had attained high reputation at the commencement of the present century.

Of the historical and poetical painters of the period, John Martin occupied an important place. His subjects were the grand, the vast, and the supernatural, to which he brought a bold and fervid imagination: his palaces are gorgeous dreams of oriental fancy, his towers are buildings whose tops reach to heaven, and his compositions are peopled with men in nations; while all are crowned by a sun and sky, such as may be supposed to have heralded or accompanied some miraculous event which they lighted or overshadowed. In the same walk, more perfect in drawing, and with more artistic execution, although inferior in power and vastness of conception, was William Danby, whose "Opening of the Sixth Seal" and "Passage of the Red Sea" have been familiarized to the public by engravings. Still greater as an historical painter was William Hilton, whose works were but little appreciated during his lifetime, although they are now held in high estimation. He chose his subjects from Scripture, from English history, and from the poets, and some of them are executed on a great scale. To a rich and harmonious style of colouring, and a refined taste in composition, he added great perfection as a draughtsman, at a time when such an accomplishment was too generally neglected. Passing over other painters of historical and poetical subjects, we can only afford room for William Etty, whose power of delineation and richness of colouring might well give him a place by the side of the great ancient masters of the Venetian school—and Benjamin R. Haydon, whose too high ambition was to restore the grand style of the ancient masters; who, under this inspiration, executed paintings on a colossal scale, in which the defects of the artist were palliated by a certain greatness of conception; and who finally died a martyr in the attempt to which he was unequal, and the public indifference with which his efforts were regarded.

In the painting of domestic and social scenes, Sir David Wilkie attained the highest excellence. Of him it is not too much to say, that he is the Burns of Scottish life in its humble estate. Like Burns, also, he was born and reared among the scenes that inspired his first productions, and upon which his fame was established, being a native of Cultra, in Fifeshire, where he was born in 1785. He commenced his professional career at the age of nineteen with the "Fair of Pittlesie," a village in his own neighbourhood, and all the characters in the painting were veritable portraits which he had furtively sketched from the living originals while they were little aware of the

young artist's purpose. His "Village Politicians," "Blind Fiddler," "Rent Day," "Village Festival," "Distraint for Rent," "Chelsea Pensioners," and other productions both humorous and pathetic followed, in which humble life was delineated with great fidelity and power, while each production, accounted a master-piece of its kind, was employed, like those of Hogarth, to inculcate some homely but striking and useful lesson. It was here, indeed, that his great strength lay; and as a painter of social and domestic scenes and events, the truthfulness and power of Sir David Wilkie, while they come home to the Scot-



SIR DAVID WILKIE, R.A. —From a portrait by T. Phillips, R.A.

tish heart, are recognized as completely by the humble and uneducated as by the most critical and experienced judges in art, both in Britain and throughout Europe, over which his fame is established as the head of our modern school of *genre* painters. In his later years he forsook a department of his art in which he reigned without a rival, for historical painting, in which, notwithstanding his genius, and the power with which many of his later pictures were painted, he failed to enlist the public sympathies. In 1841, returning from a visit to Constantinople and the Holy Land, whither he had gone in quest of materials for the pursuit of his profession, he fell sick on board the steamer *Oriental*, and died on the 1st of June, when nearing Gibraltar, and on the evening of the same day his body was committed to the deep. Next to Wilkie as a painter of domestic life, William Mulready holds the most prominent place; and

it is to the praise of both artists, that their humble subjects of home-life, hitherto so little appreciated in painting, were elevated by the force of their genius into an honoured department that has many followers both in England and France. In general painting, Sir William Allan holds a high rank, whose Russian and Circassian subjects were alternated with events in Scottish history and romance, and Scottish modern life, and whose last productions were two great pictures of the battle of Waterloo, the one as seen from the French, the other from the British lines. In landscape painting, this period was distinguished by the productions of Calcott and Turner, the last of whom drew nature in all her variety of land, and sea, and sky, and was inimitable in them all. Next to these, may be mentioned John Constable, the two Nasmyths, Andrew Wilson, and William Collins, the latter of whom peopled his scenery with living groups admirably executed.

Hitherto, whatever existed in the form of water-colour painting had been rather as applied to miniatures and preparatory sketches for painting in oil, than a distinct and separate branch of art. During the previous period Paul Sandby, who was the first to apply water-colour painting to an accurate representation of scenery and buildings, led the way to what may be termed "Topographical Art." He drew with a firm outline, produced a simple effect of light and shadow with Indian ink, and indicated the local tints with thin washes of transparent colour. His example was followed, and his practice improved by other artists, the chief of whom were Thomas Girtin, Andrew Wilson, and J. M. W. Turner, who, in the early years of the present century, produced water-colour pictures of great power and excellence. By Turner and other artists of eminence, this branch of art continued to be prosecuted, till from its meagre resources in the hands of Sandby and his earlier followers, it had gained almost the power in colour and force of oil-painting, while it inherently possessed means for realizing delicacy and transparency peculiarly its own. In 1804 the Society of Painters in Water-colours was instituted, and the importance of the new art continued to be illustrated by such masters as John Varley, George Robson, Hugh Williams, Samuel Prout, and Copley Fielding, whose individual excellences we cannot from want of space particularize. It is enough to state that in power of effect and colour, fidelity in representation, whether of earth, or sea, or sky—in delicacy of tone and vigour of execution, their productions afford a variety and an excellence that elevates them to a very high rank among the landscape painters of this period. Having thus not only created a

separate department of art, but carried it to a state of perfection, England became the instructor of France through Richard Parkes Bonington, who settled in Paris in 1816, and was there the founder of a water-colour school that now competes, and sometimes not unsuccessfully, with the parent source from which it was derived. The same impulsive spirit by which a new improvement was introduced into painting extended itself to engraving, and during the latter part of this period the use of steel was adopted for plates, by means of which a minuteness of detail and delicacy of finish was imparted that could scarcely be secured by copper, and through which what would otherwise have been rare and costly impressions could be cheaply multiplied for general use. This improvement fostered that fruitful series of works termed "Annuals," which distinguished our lighter literature at the close of this period, and in which the best productions of modern painters were engraved in such a perfect manner as had not hitherto been attained, even in the most finished specimens of the art.

The name of Turner, which we have mentioned only incidentally, and in connection with the painters in water-colour, is too distinguished to be thus briefly dismissed; for in it might be comprised the history of pictorial art during the whole of this period. Joseph Mallord William Turner was born in London in 1775. His taste for drawing was shown even in early boyhood. As he was of humble parentage, he was obliged to turn his talents to some account; and this he did, first by colouring prints, afterwards by filling up architectural designs with skies and foreground, and finally, by teaching water-colour drawing at schools. In 1789 he entered the Royal Academy as a student, and during the ten years that followed he exhibited there not less than fifty-nine, and in the two following years, fourteen pictures, and in 1802 was elected an academician. During this time it was to water-colour painting that he chiefly confined himself, a department which he carried to the highest style of excellence; while his industry in it was so great that his drawings, especially for engravings to illustrate books, are almost beyond numbering. On being elected an academician, Turner, though still continuing to practise in water-colours, directed his attention more to oil-painting, and between that period and 1851, the date of his death, he exhibited on the walls of the Royal Academy more than 200 pictures. Many of his works are familiar to the public by the engravings from them to illustrate the *Scenery of the Southern Coast, England and Wales*, *Rivers of England*, *Rivers of France*, and the *Italy* and poems of Rogers. So completely was Turner imbued with the spirit of art, that it was the living

principle of his existence: to him the world itself was a vast and varied picture-gallery, and in every object over which his keen eye glanced, he saw a beauty which he was impatient to delineate, and which he never afterwards forgot. In this way the smoke of a chimney, a shadow on the wall, a dissolving cloud, were to him no evanescent objects: on the contrary, they left on him as permanent an impression as if they had been electrotyped, and when the time came he could reproduce them in their original freshness, and with all the high accessories which art can lend to nature for the purpose of heightening its effect. It is therefore as a landscape painter that he is distinguished; and in this, he is considered as even the equal of Claude and Poussin, whom he surpassed in range of subject and variety of effect. Turner's rivalry with Claude was also manifested in 1808, when he produced his *Liber Studiorum*, in competition with the other's *Liber Veritatis*. In many of his later works there is at first sight little discernible except a mass of colours; but on retiring to the proper focal distance, these colours assume form and character, and become a beautiful perspective of land and water, valley and mountain stretching into the far distance, and clothed with brilliant sunshine, or surmounted by a cloud-world equally gorgeous and alluring. So long and so productive a life of artistic excellence was divided into three successive stages, like those of youth, manhood, and old age, in which his enthusiastic admirers are unable to decide where the pre-eminence is to be assigned; and although in the last, his eccentricities were both manifold and startling, these have been attributed only to his more exalted conceptions of excellence, combined with his failing power to give them full embodiment and vitality. These epochs of his artistic life have been thus happily characterized by an enthusiastic, intelligent critic:—"He worked in three styles: the best of his early works resemble Wilson and the Poussins; in his second style Claude was his model; and in his third he competed with nature only. . . . As examples of his three styles may be mentioned the 'Garden of the Hesperides,' the 'Shipwreck,' and the 'Sun rising in Mist,' illustrating the first; 'Crossing the Brook,' the 'Morning of the Chase,' and 'Apuleia in search of Apuleius,' his second or Claude style; the 'Rise,' and the 'Fall of Carthage,' 1815 and 1817, showing his transition from this second style to his third and greatest, of which the 'Bay of Baia,' 'Caligula's Bridge,' and 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,' painted between 1823 and 1832, are grand examples; and lastly, the 'Fighting Temeraire,' painted in 1839, may

be instanced as the indication of the point of final transition from the sublime to what we must call the ridiculous, in some of those strange productions which occupied the last years of his prolonged life." The close of Turner's existence was in complete keeping with his character and career. From the great demand for his paintings, and the high price given for them, combined with his simple, hermit-like habits, it was known that he was very rich, and surmised that he must be a miser; but his money had been hoarded for the generous purpose of promoting the progress of that art to which his whole life had been so exclusively devoted. For this he had not only saved his best productions, and painted others which he refused to sell, but re-purchased others which he had painted in earlier life, that he might form a collection which he meant to bequeath to his country. And this he did at his death in 1851, on the simple condition that within ten years, a suitable place should be prepared for their accommodation. This splendid gift comprises 100 finished paintings in oil, some hundreds of finished water-colour drawings, and several thousand studies and sketches, ranging over almost the whole of his career, and exhibiting every phase of his style and excellence. Taken merely in their commercial value, this great national bequest of the Turner pictures is a princely donation; but in its artistic worth it is beyond all price, not only from its intrinsic excellence, but the impulse it will communicate to art in general, the emulation it will kindle in his successors, and the taste it will cultivate in the British community at large for the grand and the beautiful in pictorial delineation. In this way, the name of Turner will descend to posterity as one of the greatest and noblest of our national benefactors, while his own professional fame will be perpetuated as one of the best of England's illustrious artists.

It will be seen from this brief notice of the fine arts, and the few names which have been cited for each department, that the art of painting predominated over the others; and in the patronage with which it was fostered, and the wealth and distinction to which it led, we see the motives which inspired its cultivation, and the causes of its superior excellence during the present period of our history. In all these arts, indeed, the progress of Britain had as yet been slow, and even in the nineteenth century she had not reached the excellence which other countries had attained at a far earlier stage. But it is gratifying to think that she had been still better occupied, and that she had secured the substantialities of life, before proceeding to its elegancies and refinements; and if, in some of these she is excelled as yet by other lands, she can console

¹ Wornum, "Essay on the Fine Arts" in the *Popular Encyclopedia*.

herself with her political constitution, her commerce, and her triumphs in science and literature, in which she has established for herself an imperishable name, and laid a firm foundation for future excellence. It is only when the building is completed that the graceful pinnacles should be set up. It is gratifying, however, to mark the proficiency in the fine arts which had already been attained. This was especially the case in painting through all its departments, in which our artists, while as yet inferior in drawing the human figure, were, in landscape and marine painting, superior to those of any other modern school. Even at the close of this period, also, there was the promise of a still greater abundance and a higher excellence, in the fact, that the artistic spirit was now in full vigour, while the most eminent of our artists were still alive, and some of them not yet half-way in their career. The same may be said of sculpture, of which the full promise had not yet been fulfilled. In these, as well as in other congenial departments, the call of "Excelsior" has continued to be heard by the living, as well as by the past generation, and at each call the step has been advancing upward till the present hour.

The cultivation of music as a science made little or no progress in England during the present period; and for this tardiness during a season of such general advancement, two causes may be assigned. Of all the sciences, music seems the most dependent upon court or royal patronage; but when George III. was laid aside from public life, the influence of his encouragement upon its cultivation and improvement was not continued by his successor, who in this, as in other matters, had no inclination to follow the paternal example. But a still greater cause might be found in the plentiful supply of music which was continually issuing from those countries that might be considered as the fountain-head of harmony. By this time, England had learned that a competition with Germany or Italy in the production of rich, original music, was as hopeless

as a trial of these countries would have been to compete with her in manufactures; and accordingly, a mutual exchange took place in their several products in the true commercial spirit of the age: the German and Italian were clothed in the broadcloth of England, and the Englishman in return contented himself with their songs, oratorios, and operas. It was a mutual barter, in which the defects of either were plentifully supplied, and wherein each was the gainer. And thus it has continued even to the present day. Indeed, only one distinguished English composer appeared during the period; this was Sir Henry R. Bishop, many of whose smaller pieces are exquisite productions, and who, but for the incessant demands which obliged him to compose without intermission, and the false taste of the age to which he was compelled to accommodate his style, would have secured a wide and permanent celebrity. But if music as a science was thus neglected in England, it was far otherwise as a practical occupation; for while the stage rejoiced in such transcendent singers as Catalani and Braham, who everywhere commanded overflowing crowds, vocal, and especially instrumental concerts, had become a necessary recreation in every important town in Great Britain. Music had also become as essential a part of female education as Latin for the other sex, and was inculcated with the same indiscriminate application, whatever might be the inclination or aptitude of the pupil; and thus, while the son at school was flogged through the Latin interjections, and compelled perforce to recognize the beauties of Horace, the daughter was weeping at home over the scales, and manipulating the keys of her instrument with abhorrence or despair. As yet, however, we have scarcely become a nation of musicians or linguists. As a necessary consequence of this musical despotism, that choicest of instruments, the piano, had become as essential an article of furniture in the houses of the higher and middle classes during this period as a side-board or a tea-table.

BOOK XII.

PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM IV. TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE INDIAN REVOLT.

FROM A.D. 1830—1858.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.	Spain.	Russia.	Prussia.
1830 WILLIAM IV.	1814 FERDINAND VII.	1825 NICHOLAS I.	1797 FREDERICK WILLIAM III.
1837 VICTORIA.	1833 ISABELLA II.	1855 ALEXANDER II.	1840 FREDERICK WILLIAM IV.
France.	Portugal.	Sweden.	Turkey.
1830 LOUIS PHILIPPE.	1826 MARIA II.	1820 CHARLES XIV.	1800 MAHMOUD II.
1848 REPUBLIC.	1853 PEDRO V.	1844 OSCAR II.	1839 ABDUL MEDJID.
1852 NAPOLEON III.			Two Sicilies.
Austria.	Denmark.	Popes.	1816 FERDINAND I.
1792 FRANCIS II.	1808 FREDERICK VI.	1829 PIUS VIII.	1830 FERDINAND II.
1835 FERDINAND I.	1839 CHRISTIAN VIII.	1831 GREGORY XVI.	Sardinia.
1848 FRANCIS JOSEPH.	1848 FREDERICK VII.	1846 PIUS IX.	1831 CHARLES ALBERT.
			1849 VICTOR EMANUEL.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1830—1831.

WILLIAM IV.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1830—DEATH, A.D. 1837.

Succession of William IV.—Revolution in France—Its causes—Expulsion of Charles X.—Louis Philippe becomes King of France—Effects of the revolution in England and Belgium—Coronation of William IV.—Assembling of the new parliament—Cry for parliamentary reform—The Duke of Wellington's hostility to the proposal—Invitation of the king and queen to Guildhall—Their visit postponed—Offence occasioned by their absence—Duke of Wellington resigns the premiership—Earl Grey becomes premier—Formation of the new ministry—Regency bill passed—The first railway and its accident—The French take possession of Algiers—Nature of the demand for parliamentary reform—Causes of its present urgency—Effect of the example of France upon the British advocates for reform—Excitement of the public mind upon the subject—Agitation of political parties at the commencement of 1831—Parliament re-assembled—Government plan of reform brought forward—Its leading principles—Debate on the subject—The bill read for the first time—Reform meetings and their threatening language—The second reading of the bill carried by a majority of one—Question about the dissolution of parliament—Excitement occasioned by the question—Motion against a prorogation or dissolution of parliament—Confusion produced by the king's entrance into the House of Lords—Parliament prorogued and dissolved—Public triumph of the reform party at the event—Political enthusiasm in behalf of reform—Pledges demanded from the candidates for the new parliament—Effects of these demands on the parliamentary elections.



UPON the death of George IV., on the 26th of June, 1830, William Henry, Duke of Clarence, was forthwith proclaimed king by the title of William IV. No immediate alteration took place in the government, his majesty signifying to the Duke of Wellington and the ministers of his cabinet that he was anxious to retain their services. A portion of the Whigs had been for some time contemplating a coalition with the Wellington and Peel party; but their advances were not met half way, and the Whigs more resolutely than before took up the cry for a reform in parliament.

On Friday, the 23d of July, his majesty went

in state to the House of Lords, and, after a most gracious speech, prorogued parliament. The necessary dissolution was made next day by proclamation; and writs were ordered for the election of a new parliament, to be returnable on the 14th of September.

On the 28th of July the throne of Charles X. of France was overturned by the populace of Paris. This unfortunate prince had displayed much less prudence and moderation than his predecessor and elder brother, Louis XVIII. But there had been an incessant plotting against the throne in the time of Louis, and had Charles been a wiser king he would none the less have been exposed to similar machinations. The court party firmly believed that one portion of the French nation was determined at all hazards to get rid of the Bourbons and of monarchy, and to try over again the republic, with its blood-

shedding, spoliation, irreligion, and atheism. On the other side, that great portion of the French nation, having some grounds for its belief, were intimately persuaded that the king and his chief advisers contemplated nothing less than the subversion of the constitutional charter, the suppression of the liberty of the press, and the enforcement of a bigoted intolerant religion under the auspices and guidance of the Jesuits. And this party had long been making and maturing preparations for a rising, while the royalists had made no preparation at all. Those who well knew France in July, 1829, were not much taken by surprise at the events of July, 1830. It was impossible to travel through the country with eyes open in 1829 without seeing that the popular masses and the greater part of the army were ripe for revolt. By fatality or fatuity, the king and his ministers put themselves completely in the wrong, and so remained chargeable as being the aggressors in this inevitable contest, which almost any accident might have brought about at any given moment. Finding themselves unable to manage or control the liberals in the chambers, Charles and his ministers agreed that they must instantly dissolve the chamber of deputies. Instead of losing, the liberals gained immensely by the new election. They were preparing to assemble, when the king, by ordinance, dissolved the newly-elected chamber, introduced a new law of election, and suspended the liberty of the press. The royal ordonnances, which in reality superseded the constitution, were issued on the 25th of July. On the morning of the 26th the gens-d'armes and other agents of the police began to seize the types and break up the presses of some of the refractory journalists, who had long been intimating that a change of dynasty or a return to republicanism was as inevitable as it was desirable, and who would not now be silent at the bidding of an unconstitutional illegal command. It was these journalists, who, during a series of years, had prepared the public mind for revolution. They saw that their moment was now come. Paris was covered with their papers and placards, and they presented themselves boldly to the people as martyrs in the cause of liberty; and, pointing to their invaded houses, their broken presses, and their scattered types, they asked whether these things were to be permitted?—whether Frenchmen would be quiet and be slaves, or fight and be free? The blundering court was taken wholly by surprise. Marshal Marmont had scarcely 5000 men, and not one-half of them could be depended upon. We will not describe the fighting: it began seriously on the afternoon of the 27th. On the 28th the regiments of the line joined the people; and it was all over by three o'clock in the after-

noon of the 29th. The number of the killed and wounded was not very considerable. The people fought under cover of their barricades and houses, and with every advantage in their favour, and they were deservedly applauded for their moderation and clemency in the hour of victory.

The elder branch of the royal line of Bourbon was driven once more to seek an asylum in a foreign country, and to hide for a time its dishonoured head within the walls of Holyrood Palace, in Edinburgh. But the sincere fanatics of republicanism were wofully disappointed when that vain inept old man Lafayette, drawn once more by the accidents and circumstances of the time from solitude and obscurity, passed his arm round the neck of Louis Philippe, son of the Duke of Orleans, or the Philippe Egalité of the former revolution, and, addressing the people, said "*Voilà la meilleure des républiques*"—[Here is your best of republics!] Had these liberty and equality men been duped? Had they been playing the game of others? There was no doubt of it. Republic there was to be none. But Louis Philippe, with monarchy hereditary in his family, was to take quiet possession of the throne from which his aged kinsman had been driven. From that moment the fanatics and the desperadoes renewed against the new king the plots they had kept up against the old one. Louis Philippe had mounted the throne through the barricades; they would try if barricades could not make him descend from it: as for those of the late agitators who were not fanatics in republicanism, but were time-servers and self-seekers, they soon settled down quietly under the re-established royalty, and took the good things which the gods or Louis Philippe gave them.

The ultra-Whigs of Britain hailed the event as the dawning of a new and glorious day in the history of mankind. Public meetings were held to pass resolutions commending the spirit with which the Parisians had shaken off encroaching despotism; deputations were sent to congratulate them on their triumph; and subscriptions were proposed to relieve the families of those heroic citizens who had suffered in the cause. At some of these meetings, and in some of the more radical newspapers and other periodical works, the people were called upon to consider how little was to be feared from military power, and how much could be done by pikes, barricades, and reversed coaches, carts, and omnibuses. As in the year 1790, the French now boasted that their revolution would make the tour of the globe. It very soon travelled into Belgium and into Poland, and it cast a few of its firebrands into Italy, Saxony, Brunswick, Switzerland, and other countries. The Belgians had long been dissatisfied with their union with the Dutch; but that

union might have lasted many a long year but for the events of Paris. On the 25th of August a riot broke out at Brussels, which very soon assumed a character of political insurrection. The flame spread to Liège, Namur, and other cities. The Dutch troops, numerically weak, could not maintain themselves in Brussels—that capital was evacuated after very little fighting; and Belgium was declared to be a separate and independent nation.

On the 8th of September, the coronation of our king, by the title of William IV., was solemnized in the ancient Abbey of Westminster; and even on this occasion, the change of times and fashions as well as sovereigns was marked in the event. In the coronation of George IV., who was eminently a king of shows and pageants, not an iota of the old feudal observances, whether chivalrous or mediæval, had been omitted, and according as the minds of the spectators had been affected, it was the most august and splendid of exhibitions, or the most useless and ridiculous of imitations or caricatures. On the present occasion, it was an observance suited to

the more refined spirit of the times and the serious importance of the occasion. It was mainly a solemn religious service, confined to the interior of the building; and the chief procession was that of the state carriages which conveyed William and his queen Adelaide from St. James's Palace to the Abbey. William was dressed in his naval uniform, the sight of which warmed the hearts of his subjects as the appropriate token of our naval supremacy, and the joyful cry that rang from street to street, as he moved along, was, "God bless our sailor-king!"

It was under circumstances of gloom and anxiety that the new parliament assembled on the 26th of October. The king opened the session in person. In his speech he alluded to the events which had occurred on the Continent; to the continuance of his diplomatic relations with the new French dynasty; to the endeavours which, in concert with his allies, he was making to restore tranquillity to the Netherlands; and to the expediency of maintaining those general

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treaties by which the political system of Europe had been established.¹ The usual addresses were carried in both houses, though not without very evident signs of a vigorous opposition to ministers. The rallying cry was "Parliamentary Reform," or "Parliamentary Reform and Retrenchment." The Duke of Wellington resolutely declared that he would grant no reform—that no reform was necessary—that the constitution would be spoiled if an attempt were made to amend it. In replying to Earl Grey, he said,

'that he would not hesitate unequivocally to declare his opinion that we possessed a legislature which answered all good purposes, better than any which had been ever tried; and that if he had to frame a legislature for another country, his aim would be to form one which would produce similar results: under such circumstances, he was not only unprepared to bring forward any measure of reform, but ready at once to declare that, so long as he held a station in the government, he should feel it his duty to resist any such measures when proposed by others.' In the commons, Mr. Brougham

brought forward the question of reform even before the address was moved. He reprobated the report that he was desirous of introducing a radical, sweeping innovation. This report was utterly devoid of truth. He for one was resolved to take his stand on the ancient ways of the constitution.

The king and queen had promised to honour the lord-mayor's feast at Guildhall with their presence. The citizens had made magnificent preparations for their reception. Late on the evening of the 7th of November, the lord-mayor



WILLIAM IV.
From a portrait by G. Clint, A.R.A.

¹ When some exclaimed, in reference to the late events in France, "This is the revolution of 1688!" one of the ablest political writers and statesmen in Holland replied: "No, indeed! the difference is remarkable. The two monarchs did not resemble each other in their conduct. James II. had attempted the subversion of the constitution, particularly as respected Protestant ascendancy, and that, too, with the utmost contempt of justice and without any motive for his excuse. Charles X., when self defence seemed impossible by ordinary means, endeavoured, it would appear, in the most imprudent and perhaps irregular manner, to maintain himself and the limited monarchy against the ever-increasing boldness of the foes of the crown and the

received a note from the home secretary (Mr. Peel), stating that his majesty had resolved, by the advice of his ministers, to postpone his visit to the city to a future opportunity, *because*, from information recently received, "there was reason to apprehend that, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty and affection borne to his majesty by the citizens of London, advantage would be taken of an occasion which must necessarily assemble a vast number of persons by night to produce tumult and confusion, and thereby to endanger the properties and lives of his majesty's subjects; and it would be a source of deep and lasting concern to their majesties were any calamity to occur on the occasion of their visit to the city of London." This announcement filled the metropolis with doubt and alarm. Men believed that some atrocious conspiracy against the royal person had been discovered, or that the poorer classes had organized a revolution. The funds fell, and in the provinces it was pretty generally expected that the next mail would bring intelligence that London was in a state of insurrection. By the advice of ministers, the purposed visit of the king was abandoned.

The most was made of the event by the opposition in parliament. It was laid to the account of ministers that his majesty could not meet his faithful commons of London without fear and riot. It was urged that the exceeding unpopularity of the Duke of Wellington had been the cause of so shameful an occurrence; and that that excessive unpopularity had been caused by the fatal declaration of the duke against every species of reform. It was asked whether the duke did not now feel that he had quitted his own proper sphere of greatness? whether a ministry so unpopular could hope to stand?

On the 15th of November, Sir Henry Parnell moved for a select committee to make a thorough revision of the civil list. The debate was a short one. Mr. Calcraft and Mr. Herries, both members of the government, opposed the motion, principally on the ground that it never had been customary to submit the civil list to a committee, and that retrenchment and simplification had now been carried as far as was practicable or prudent. The motion was supported by the Whig Lord Althorpe, and by the Tories Messrs. Banks, Wynne, and Holme Sumner. On the

division there appeared a majority of twenty-nine against ministers, the numbers being 233 to 204. Next day the Duke of Wellington in the lords, and Sir Robert Peel in the commons, announced that, in consequence of the vote of the preceding evening, they had tendered, and his majesty had accepted, their resignations, and that they continued to hold their offices only until successors should be appointed. They afterwards declared that they had come to this resolution, not so much on account of the civil-list vote, as from an anticipation of the result of a division on Mr. Brougham's proposition for reform, which stood for the very day on which the announcement was made.

The Tories and anti-emancipationists had lent their votes to displace the Duke of Wellington, but by themselves they were not strong enough to entertain any hope of setting up a cabinet of their own. The Canning party were far asunder from them, some of them being all for the duke, and some for reform. The king had no choice. He could only take the Whigs. Accordingly he authorized Earl Grey to form a new administration. The earl accepted the office, on condition that he should have his majesty's authority to make parliamentary reform a cabinet measure. In the course of a week the new government was put together: it contained a considerable admixture of those who had been adherents of Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson. Earl Grey was first lord of the treasury; Mr. Brougham, lord-chancellor; Lord Althorpe, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Melbourne, home secretary; Lord Palmerston, foreign secretary; Lord Goderich, colonial secretary; Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty; Marquis of Lansdowne, president of the council; Lord Durham, lord privy-seal; Lord Hill, commander-in-chief; Lord Auckland, president of the board of trade; Mr. C. Grant, president of the board of control; Lord Holland, duchy of Lancaster; the Duke of Devonshire, lord-chamberlain; the Duke of Richmond, postmaster-general; Lord John Russell, paymaster of the forces; the Right Hon. C. W. Wynne, secretary-at-war, &c. Mr. Denman became attorney-general; Sir William Horne, solicitor-general. The Marquis of Anglesey was again appointed lord-lieutenant for Ireland. There was a suspension of business in parlia-

ment, and also of the charter and real freedom. The one was held to have abdicated when he took to flight; the other fled because regarded as a dethroned and criminal monarch. In 1688, people started from the principles of acquired rights and legitimate hereditary succession: departing from these as little as possible, and only from necessity. In 1830, people considered themselves as bound to nothing of any sort, and if some of them have succeeded in having the now dishonoured crown placed for a time on the head of the Duke of Orleans, this has been because to many this seemed still a matter of expediency, not because he was regarded as having any rights to it. In 1688, society re-

mained as it had subsisted before—all held each his own right and place; and the respect for laws and customs which has ever been the true stay of England's constitution survived the dissipation of the public alarm. In 1830, franchises, rights, and customs were deprived of their true basis; all was subjected to the caprice of the deplorable sovereign people, cajoled, deceived, and rendered miserable by turbulent, ambitious, and selfish demagogues. Comparisons accordingly must be made, not with 1688, but with 1648 and with 1791.—*Nederlandsche Gedachten*, 2d August, 1830. It is remarkable that the temporary possession of the crown by the Duke of Orleans is here foretold.

ment till the new members should be re-elected. Mr. Stanley, the new chief-secretary for Ireland, encountered a mortifying defeat at Preston, where the right of suffrage was almost universal. He was opposed by Orator Hunt; and by that demagogue, aided by radical reform, the heir of the house of Derby, a member of the new Whig ministry, and the representative of temperate and moderate reform, was completely beaten.

During the remainder of the year no business of importance was transacted, except the passing of a regency bill. This bill provided that, in the event of a posthumous child of the present queen, her majesty should be guardian and regent during the minority. If no such event should occur, the Duchess of Kent was to be guardian and regent during the minority of her daughter, the Princess Victoria, the heiress presumptive. The Princess Victoria was not to marry, while a minor, without the consent of the king, or, if he died, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament: and the regency of the Duchess of Kent was to be at an end, if, while regent, she married a foreigner.

On the 23d of December, parliament adjourned to the 3d of February, ministers having declared that a long adjournment was necessary, in order that they might have time to prepare the different measures which they intended to submit, and more especially to concoct that plan of reform to which they had pledged themselves on accepting office, and by which alone they could hope to retain it.

In the course of this eventful year, there came into operation in England a change far more important than all the political mutations on the Continent put together. The first great railway with locomotive engines—that between Liverpool and Manchester—was finished and opened; and the triumphant success of the experiment led directly to the construction of far more extensive lines. Unhappily the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was clouded by the lamentable death of Mr. Huskisson, one of the members for Liverpool, who had accompanied the Duke of Wellington to the celebration.

Before the revolution of July, the French government had sent a powerful fleet and a large army to Algiers, in the hope that such an enterprise would draw off the disaffected, and its military glory make the administration at home more popular. Algiers, so strong towards the sea, was very weak on the land side. Marshal Bourmont soon compelled the dey to capitulate, and the French took possession of the city, the forts, and all the neighbouring country. The dey retired to Italy, where he very soon learned that Charles X., who had dispossessed him, had been driven from his throne and country. At

first the French gave out that they intended merely a temporary occupation of Algiers, for the good of humanity and the perpetual suppression of corsairs; but they had not been long there before they announced that Algiers rightfully belonged to France—that the French must have an extensive African empire as a set-off to our Indian empire, and to our sugar and coffee-bearing islands in the West Indies.

Before the close of 1830, the demand for parliamentary reform had assumed a new character and aspect. It was no longer the mere war-cry of a political party, that could be silenced by contradictions or trivial concessions. It was no longer limited to the disfranchisement of a few close or corrupt boroughs, and the transference of the forfeited suffrage to certain towns and communities that were still unrepresented. Neither could it be postponed, as had hitherto been the case, to a convenient season, when circumstances would be more favourable for change, and the public mind in a more tranquil state for its accomplishment. It was to be upon a scale so ample, that instead of being a political step in advance, which the contention of parties might favour or retard, it was to be a national revolution; and not only was it to be granted by wholesale, instead of instalments, but granted immediately—upon the instant. Never indeed was the “omnipotence” of parliament so devoutly believed in as now for the cure of every national evil, and in proportion to the extravagance of such a hope, was the loudness and universality of the outcry.

This urgency for change, and the character it had assumed, might be traced to old causes that had been long at work, but still more especially to new causes that had lately arisen, and were peculiar to this season of trying difficulties and innovations. The sufferings of the lower classes, though considerably abated, had not yet been fully relieved. The public mind had been tantalized with promises of parliamentary reform, that had ended either in empty debates, or partial and trivial concessions. The unpopular character of the Duke of Wellington's ministry had sufficed to complete the general dislike to the Castlereagh and Holy Alliance mode of government, and sharpened the eager desire for a more liberal system of rule. And to all these causes was added the provocation arising from the grant of Catholic emancipation, which, after promising so fairly and so much, had only deepened the wild anarchy and desperate poverty of Ireland, and brought them back, with a heavier recoil than ever, upon the exasperated and over-burdened community of Britain. Still, it is possible that the ferment occasioned by so many powerful agencies might have been stilled by time and

prudent management, had not the French revolution occurred to animate the general discontent and point the way to action. The unanimity with which France had risen against Charles X. and his counsellors, the imposing magnanimity and moderation of the national revolt, and the facility with which the king had been deposed and a new government established, had a charm to the British people, which made them adopt the event as their great pattern for imitation. Was it not, also, a more easy and legitimate task to reform a parliament than to dethrone a dynasty? Crowds hurried from England to France, either to witness the spectacle or learn the lesson of safe successful revolutionizing; and their proficiency was shown by certain events, which, in Britain as in France, preceded and led the way to the great coming change. The mysterious practice of rick-burning—which was carried on during this year in England, and especially in the southern agricultural counties, in spite of every precaution of watch and patrol—by which the food of the people was destroyed, and a feeling of dread and insecurity promoted, was the same method which in France had madened the populace, and driven them into rebellion against their rulers as the best remedy of the evil. This rick-burning, a new crime in England, so that men wondered at first what it meant, was continued till the commencement of 1831, through Kent, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, and Surrey; and simultaneously with it, went on the more intelligible process of machine-breaking, to which the English labourers had been always too prone. And when fear, discontent, and hunger had fevered the public mind, and unfitted it for dispassionate inquiry, there were reform unions, political clubs, and radical meetings over the country, ready to prove to the people that all these evils originated in our bad government, and that everything wrong would be adjusted by a sweeping thorough parliamentary reform. It was well that even there the demand stopped short; but it was not only English and constitutional, but it had the king himself and his ministers for its leaders and supporters. How far the example of France might have been followed out if William IV. had been like Charles X., and Earl Grey like Peyronnet or Polignac, is too dreadful to contemplate.

While the mass of the nation were thus resolute for a great political reform, in spite of the nobility, the aristocracy, and the landed representation who were generally opposed to it, and while the new ministry was pledged to the fulfilment of this wish, the minds of men were still further agitated by hopes and fears as to the character and amount of the concession. How much

would be destroyed and how much reconstructed? What venerable evils and time-honoured corruptions in the state would still be spared or only modified? A reform indeed there was to be, and to this the new ministry stood committed, with Earl Grey the premier at their head; but when it was remembered that Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Grant, the pupils of Canning, who was the enemy of all change in the constitution, were also members of the cabinet, it was difficult to guess how much the progress of the reform might be impeded, or by what half-way measures it might be compromised. Even the king, too, it was remembered, was still a sovereign, and therefore *ex-officio* a doubtful friend to popular liberty and liberal institutions. All this general suspense, in itself so intolerable, was further racked and tortured by the length of time that was occupied by ministers in forming their plan of reform, and the delay in the opening of parliament. On this account political unions were multiplied and new local associations for town and country created, until the whole kingdom was brigaded and disciplined for the opening campaign; and confident in their numbers, union, and strength, the reformers did not scruple to dictate as well as petition, and use the language of intimidation, and threats of physical force where arguments were ineffectual. Such was the general state of society over the whole island, at the opening of that momentous year, 1831. Nothing equal to it in universal stir and excitement, in magnitude and political importance, had occurred in Britain since 1689, when the whole constitution was remodelled and the ancient dynasty swept away.

On the 3d of February, the appointed day, parliament re-assembled, and Earl Grey in the lords, and Viscount Althorpe in the commons, announced that a plan of parliamentary reform had been agreed to by ministers, and would be introduced at as early a period as possible. It was not, however, until the 1st of March that the plan was introduced in the commons by Lord John Russell. The plan, we believe, had been altered and re-altered during the interval. Lord John Russell now declared that ministers discarded the notion of complying with violent and extravagant demands. Their wish was to frame a measure which would give satisfaction to every reasonable man in the country: they wished to take their stand between two hostile parties, neither agreeing with the bigots on the one hand, that no reform was necessary, nor agreeing with the fanatics on the other, that only one particular reform could be wholesome and satisfactory.

The leading principles of the ministerial plan consisted, first, of disfranchisement of small

places which had hitherto sent members to parliament, and of enfranchisement of large towns and cities which had hitherto been unrepresented: of an extension of the franchise, in order to increase the number of electors in those places which were allowed to retain, in whole or in part, their existing privileges. All voters were to be duly registered—an excellent regulation. In order to diminish the expenses of elections, as well as opportunities for bribery, drunkenness, and corruption of all kinds, the duration of the poll was to be diminished, and that for counties to be taken simultaneously at different places. The good which has proceeded from this regulation is indisputable and great. Lord John Russell said that the general result of the measure would be to create a new constituency of about 500,000; for the increase in counties would be about 100,000, that in towns already represented about 110,000, that in the new boroughs 50,000, that in London 95,000, that in Scotland 60,000, and that in Ireland about 40,000. His lordship declared himself against short parliaments and vote by ballot, and concluded by requesting leave to bring in his bill. This motion brought on

a debate which lasted seven nights, and which called up more than seventy orators. The opponents of it said that the whole essence of the scheme was not reform but revolution; that the measure proposed nothing less than to remove from the House of Commons every alloy of monarchical or aristocratical principle, and convert it into a pure and resistless democracy, which it never had been, and which, consistently with the British constitution, it never ought to be. This new constitution rested on some supposed necessity for increasing the power of the people; but the power of the people was already strong enough: the true danger to be dreaded in our mixed government arose from the influence of the people, and not from the influence of the crown or of the aristocracy. Was it intended to convert these kingdoms into an unrestricted democracy? Were ministers prepared to say that a mob could govern a mob? There was a variety

of interests connected with the country which required to be represented in parliament, and were now represented by means of the boroughs (called rotten) that were to be disfranchised by this bill. If they were so disfranchised, the representation of those interests would be annihilated. Mr. Horace Twiss said he had no objection to any increase of the representation of great trading interests; but he could not see the policy of calling in the wisdom of householders paying £10 of rent. The measure would let in no

great interests: it would promote the influence of shopkeepers and country attorneys. The leader of the country club would now be the important man in his district, and these interests, however respectable in their way, were not the interests which required additional representation. They were interests which would be represented under the proposed change, by those shallow but dogged politicians, with whom relief from taxation was every thing, and public credit and national faith nothing—by whom rent and tithe were regarded as vile incumbrances. And when half the constitution had thus been surrendered, would the violent reformers be sat-



EARL GREY —From a portrait by Sir T. Lawrence

tisfied? They themselves had avowed that they would not; and that, having obtained so much, they would, at a convenient time, demand more. It was not this parliamentary reform that could reduce the present expenditure or pay off the debts of the past. Numerous references were made to the French revolution and to the imitations of it in other parts of Europe. The promoters of the bill more than hinted that the reformers would try a revolution in England, if they were not pacified by this measure: the opposers of the bill denied that there was any such fear—denied that the measure would satisfy the radicals. There was a better security than the moderation or timidity of the radicals for the preservation of order. The widely-spread industry of the country, the stored-up savings even of the lower orders, the dividends of the public stocks, were solid grounds for confidence in the security of the institutions of the country.

The very burdens of the country formed some sort of security for its tranquillity and welfare. The superincumbent weight of the national debt, while it pressed, gave stability. There would be no revolution to fear nor any permanent dissatisfaction to dread. But if we decided on this great question, not according to experience and wisdom, but according to the cry of the day, then we should let in danger, then we should let in revolution, by teaching the people that their impatient will alone could control the course of the legislature. The opponents of the bill, however, permitted this long contest to terminate without a division: and Lord John Russell's bill was brought in, and ordered to be read a first time. Ministers afterwards admitted that if a division had now taken place, they would, according to their calculation, have been left in a minority. But the opposition did not form a combined body; it had no regular plan of operations, and it was guided by no great leader.

Between the first reading and the motion for the second reading, strenuous efforts were made to persuade the radical party to rest satisfied with the bill, and not commit the cause of reform by asking for more than could be granted. Nor were these efforts wholly unsuccessful; the manufacturers of petitions were again set to work, and the same places which a month ago had petitioned for far more, now joined in praying that the bill might pass untouched. During the same anxious interval the political clubs and associations continued their labours and demonstrations. Monster meetings were held, and threats resorted to. The chairman of the Birmingham political union openly declared that that town and neighbourhood could supply two armies, each of them as numerous and as brave as that which had conquered at Waterloo, if the patriot king and his ministers should require them in the contest with the boroughmongers—under which appellation were now comprehended all who differed from themselves in opinion. At a reform meeting held in London, Colonel Evans announced, that he had just arrived from Sussex, where two reform meetings had taken place, and he assured the Londoners that he knew that 10,000 men were ready to march up from Reigate to the support of his majesty's ministers, if they should be defeated in the measure now before the house.

On the 21st of March the second reading of the bill was moved in the commons. The debate lasted two days. It was opened by Sir R. Vyvyan, who moved, as an amendment, that the bill should be read a second time that day six months. At the division there were, including the speaker and the four tellers, 603 members present, the largest number that had ever divided on any

question in that house. Of these 302 were for the original motion, and 301 for the amendment; the second reading being thus carried by a majority of *one*.

On the 18th of April, Lord John Russell moved the order of the day for a committee of the whole house, when General Gascoyne immediately endeavoured to get rid of the bill by a motion for counteracting one of its essential clauses, respecting the proposed diminution of the number of representatives for England and Wales. This motion led to a violent debate, ending in a division on the following night, which left ministers in a minority of eight.

Two days after this division, or on the 21st of April, Lord Wharncliffe in the upper house asked Earl Grey whether ministers had advised his majesty to dissolve this parliament, which had not yet existed quite six months. He put the question, he said, because, if he received a certain answer, it was his intention to adopt some measure in relation to that subject. Earl Grey replied that he declined answering the question. Lord Wharncliffe then gave notice that he would next day move an address to the king, praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased not to exercise his own undoubted prerogative of dissolving parliament. On the same day Sir R. Vyvyan asked ministers in the commons whether they intended to proceed with the reform bill, or to advise his majesty to dissolve parliament, *because the House of Commons would not consent to reduce the number of English members?* The chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Althorpe, replied, "that he had no hesitation in answering one of the questions, or in saying that ministers, having considered the necessary consequence of the division of the house on the bill the other evening, it was not their intention to proceed further with the bill. It would not be consistent with his duty to answer the second question." Lord Althorpe, one of the most honest, amiable, and straightforward of men, must not for a moment be suspected of insincerity or falsehood. When these words were uttered by him in the House of Commons, ministers had made up neither their own minds nor the mind of the king to the unusual measure of so sudden a dissolution. Many things connected with the reform bill were done in such a hurry that they could scarcely have been foreseen the day before. On the 22d, which was the very day after the question was put by Lord Wharncliffe and Sir R. Vyvyan, there was a great ferment in both houses, for the rumour had been spread in the course of the day that king and ministers had made up their mind for dissolution. In the lords the ferment became a storm, a tempest. The order of the day was Lord Wharncliffe's

motion for an address to his majesty against the dissolution. His lordship had uttered only a few words, when the Duke of Richmond, post-master-general in this recently-seated ministry, rose to complain that all the peers were not sitting in their proper places, as was usual on such occasions. Some expressions of dissent being uttered, his grace of Richmond insisted that the standing order should be enforced—that their lordships should keep their places, and that persons present who were not members of that house should be ordered to withdraw. Noise and confusion ensued, and the Marquis of Londonderry was heard to say that ministers were taking the crown off the king's head. The Duke of Richmond would then move another standing order—that against the use of improper language. The Marquis of Londonderry denied that any offensive language had been used, “though the noble duke seemed to think himself the hero of this *coup d'état*, and to be able to smother the expression of their lordships' sentiments on this most extraordinary occasion.” Lord Wharncliffe being allowed to proceed, hurriedly moved—“That an humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly to represent that we, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, &c., think ourselves bound in duty humbly to represent to his majesty that alarming reports of an intended dissolution of parliament have gone forth; that, dutifully acknowledging the wisdom of the constitution in trusting to the crown that just and legal prerogative, and fully confiding in his majesty's royal wisdom and paternal care of his people for the most beneficial exercise of it, we desire with great humility to represent to his majesty, that it appears to us that a prorogation or dissolution of parliament at the present juncture, and under the present excitement of the public mind both in Great Britain and Ireland, is likely to be attended with great danger to his majesty's crown and dignity, and to every institution of the state, by preventing that calm and deliberate consideration of any question tending to the reform of the representation of the people which the importance of that subject so especially requires.” The lord-chancellor (Brougham) exclaimed—“My lords, I have not yet heard it doubted that the king possessed the prerogative of dissolving parliament at pleasure, still less have I ever known a doubt to exist on the subject at a moment when the lower house has thought fit to refuse the supplies.” And his lordship having uttered these words, hurried out of the house to receive the king, whose near approach was announced. Lord Shaftesbury being called to the woolsack, amidst great excitement and discordant noises, succeeded in restoring some degree of

order. Lord Mansfield then addressed the house. Such a scene as this, he said, he had never before witnessed in that house, and he hoped never to see anything like it again. He had heard from the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, with the utmost surprise, that the House of Commons refused the supplies. The noble and learned lord had, indeed, perhaps with wilful ignorance, declared this to be the case. The supplies had not been refused. He would use no intemperate language, but he would nevertheless assert, as far as God Almighty gave him the means of understanding, that the crown and the country were now about to be placed in a most awful predicament, unparalleled at any previous period. He must accuse his majesty's ministers of weakness and incapacity—of conspiring together against the safety of the state and the dignity of the crown by acting in such a manner upon such a question. He had not stated his opinions generally on the reform bill, because it was not before the house, and he really was always of opinion that the bill would never come there, and that it would necessarily end in a complete abortion. He had himself, as a peer, given his advice to the sovereign—he had told his majesty that if, for the sake of this reform bill, he should give his assent to a sudden dissolution of parliament, it would be a measure pregnant with danger.

Lord Mansfield was yet speaking when the king entered the house and put an end to all discussion. The House of Commons having been summoned, his majesty prorogued parliament with a speech in which he said the prorogation was with a view to immediate dissolution, and that he had been induced to resort to this measure for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of his people, in the way in which it could be most constitutionally expressed, on the expediency of making such changes in the representation as circumstances might appear to require. The speech also thanked the commons for the supplies which they had voted. Next day came forth the proclamation announcing a dissolution and directing a new election. The writs were made returnable on the 14th of June.

The dissolution was celebrated in many places by illuminations. The lord-mayor authorized an illumination of the city of London. At the west-end a rabble vented their fury on the houses or windows of several peers and commoners, because they had opposed the reform bill. Among the windows which suffered most were those of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Baring. “In political disputes, to place candles in windows is no proof of political opinion or of anything else except a prudent desire to avoid the outrages of a mob; but these illuminations were made use of by the reformers to keep up their ~~indignation~~ ^{excitement}.”

that the inhabitants of the country, from one end to another, were animated by one universal feeling of enthusiasm for the reform bill, and for the act which got rid of a parliament that would never have passed it."¹

During this session Earl Grey's cabinet had not only declared that there could be no reduction in the national expenditure, but they had also increased the standing army by 8000 men, confessing that this increase was rendered necessary by the disturbed state of England as well as Ireland. These facts, however, did not shake the confidence of political enthusiasts in the will and capability of ministers, and it was laid down as a moral certainty that, with a reformed parliament, this cabinet would be enabled to lighten the public burdens to a prodigious extent. The general elections commenced and ended in a popular tempest. All manner of appeals had been made to the people in order to excite them. The antagonists of the bill were represented not merely as the corrupt and profligate enemies of the liberties of the people, but also as dangerous and audacious contemners of the loyalty which they owed to the monarch. It had been assumed all along that the heart of the king was in the bill. The king's name was therefore made the watchword of democracy. Now, too, were begun practices which tended to turn the representatives of the people into mere delegates. Pledges were demanded from candidates that they would vote for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." Men were to be sent to parliament not to exercise their understanding on the principles of reform which ought to be applied, but merely to say "yea" to every proposition which ministers might produce as a part of the bill. Printed

lists of the majority and minority on General Gascoyne's motion were assiduously circulated through the country, and every candidate whose name was found in the majority was denounced as an enemy of reform, although many of those gentlemen were really reformers who were willing to grant representatives to the great towns, and only unwilling that disfranchisement should be carried too far, and the total number of English members diminished. In every respect the reforming electors, instead of merely choosing legislators, set themselves up as such. They did not elect men on whose honesty and understanding they could rely, but they elected men as speaking-trumpets to deliver and re-echo their own opinion. A ministry *in esse* always has and must have a great influence over elections. We need not say how the influence of the Grey cabinet was exercised. Stormy everywhere, the elections were downright riots in many parts of Scotland and Ireland. General Gascoyne found it impossible to make head in Liverpool; Sir R. Vyvyan was expelled from Cornwall; Sir Edward Knatchbull did not venture to contest the county of Kent; Sir Robert Wilson, an ultra-reformer, but who had dared to think that it was not the time to diminish the number of English representatives, durst not show his face in Southwark, where he was succeeded by Mr. W. Brougham, a brother of the new lord-chancellor; Mr. Bankes was defeated in Dorsetshire by Mr. Calcraft, whose sudden conversion to the doctrines of ministers had carried the second reading of the reform bill; Lord Lowther's candidates were defeated in Cumberland and at Carlisle; and in many other directions, returns were made of members who were for the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill.

¹ *Annual Register* for 1831.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D 1831—1832.

WILLIAM IV.

Opening of parliament—The king's speech—Lord John Russell again brings forward the reform bill—It passes through the commons, and is carried into the House of Lords—Debate in the lords at the second reading of the bill—Lord Brougham's appeal in favour of the bill—The bill rejected in the lords—Popular meetings in consequence of this rejection—Mob riots in London—Parliament prorogued—Progress of reform meetings throughout England—Dreadful riot at Bristol—Excesses of the mob—Waste of property—Excessive caution in using military aid—Extent of the havoc and conflagration in Bristol—The riot subsides—Court-martial held on Colonel Brereton—Another held on Captain Warrington—Political unions—Their dangerous doctrines—Impunity allowed to their proceedings—Urgency of the London reformers with the premier—Proposal for the creation of new peers—Parliamentary session opened by the king—He recommends the speedy settlement of reform—Allusions to the disturbed state of Ireland and the reform riots in England—Sir Charles Wetherell's justification of himself in reference to the Bristol riot—Amendments proposed in the answer to the king's speech—Sir Robert Peel's censure of the violence of reform agitation—Lord John Russell moves to bring in a new reform bill—Its alterations upon the old bill—Entrance of the cholera—The second and third readings of the new bill passed—It is carried into the lords—Its second reading—The Easter recess follows—Monster meetings in England during the interval—Their proceedings and demands—Similar meetings in Scotland—Parliament re-assembles—The ministers in a minority in the House of Lords—Earl Grey and the ministers resign—The king petitioned to accede to their proposals—Meetings against the opponents of the reform bill—Resolutions to pay no taxes and withhold the supplies—Earl Grey and the ministers recalled on their own terms—The third reading of the bill in the House of Lords—It passes and receives the royal assent—Parliament dissolved—Foreign affairs—Dom Pedro endeavours to establish his daughter on the throne of Portugal—He receives aid from England—Greece erected into a kingdom—Its crown rejected by Prince Leopold—It is conferred upon Prince Otho of Bavaria—Anarchical condition of Greece—Proceedings of the Belgians in establishing their nationality—Unsuccessful termination of the Polish revolution—Oppression of Poland by the Czar of Russia—Disappointment of France from the revolution of 1830.



AFTER an amount and universality of rioting, that shook the island to its extremities, the election for the new parliament was completed. It was as thoroughly pledged to reform as the most sanguine of the expectants could desire; and from the test that had been established for the candidates when they presented themselves for the suffrage, and the promises exacted from them, the chosen members were styled by their opponents, a company of pledged delegates, and no true House of Commons. Only six out of eighty-two county members were opposed to the bill. London returned four reforming members, and Yorkshire the same number. On the 14th of June the parliament was opened by commission, and Mr. Mannors Sutton was re-elected speaker without opposition; but a whole week was occupied with swearing in the members, so that the session was not opened by his majesty in person until the 21st. The first subject in the royal speech was that of reform, to which the attention of both houses was earnestly called, and the confident hope was expressed that in their measures for its adjustment, they would "carefully adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogative of the crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and

liberties of the people are equally secured." It expressed the confident hope that peace would be maintained by England, notwithstanding the civil commotions which had disturbed some parts of Europe, and the contests that were existing in Poland. It stated that a British squadron had been sent before Lisbon with a peremptory demand of satisfaction for a series of insults and injuries; that a prompt compliance with that demand had prevented the necessity of further measures, but that his majesty had not yet been enabled to re-establish his diplomatic relations with the Portuguese government. The only dismal parts of the speech were those which referred to the spread in Europe of the cholera, to the scarcity and famine which prevailed in the western counties of Ireland, and to the system of violence and outrage which had for some time been carried on to an alarming extent in that country. As the king returned to St. James's Palace he was vociferously applauded by the people as "the Patriot King," "the Sailor King," "the best king that had ever been."

In both houses the government was severely blamed for not acting with proper vigour in suppressing the disgraceful riotous proceedings at the late illuminations. The addresses were agreed to without any useless division. And then to the reform bill!

On the 24th of June, Lord John Russell again brought forward that bill, admitting that there had been some slight alterations made in it, and insisting that all such alterations were improvements. Sir Robert Peel professed his unaltered sentiments in opposition to the measure. The first reading was allowed to pass, but at Sir Robert's suggestion, the second reading was postponed from the 30th of June to the 4th of July. The alterations which had been made in the bill went rather to enlarge than to limit the number of electors.

On the 4th of July, when the second reading was proposed, Sir John Walsh moved as an amendment that the bill should be read a second time that day six months. The debate, prolonged to very late hours, was continued during the 5th and 6th. At the end the division showed a majority of 136 in favour of ministers; the votes for the second reading being 367, and those for the amendment 231. Other efforts were made to obstruct the passage of the bill into committee, and five distinct motions for adjournment were made and defeated. In committee the bill was discussed clause by clause from the 12th of July to the 15th of September, when it was ordered to be engrossed. On the 19th of September, Lord John Russell moved the third reading, and was backed by 113 against 58. After two more days of debate on the question "that the bill do pass," ministers carried their point by 345 against 236. Next day, the 22d of September, the bill was carried up to the lords by Lord John Russell, attended by about 100 of its stanch supporters in the lower house. The bill was then read a first time on the motion of Earl Grey, without any remark being made, and was directed to be read a second time on the 3d of October.

When that day had arrived, after the presentation of numerous petitions in favour of the bill, Earl Grey moved the second reading. His speech on this occasion was chiefly remarkable by an appeal to the bench of bishops. He said, as they were the ministers of peace, he did most earnestly hope that the result of their votes would be such as might tend to the tranquillity and happiness of the country. And this was a species of intimidation; for, in other words, it was telling the prelates that if they voted against the reform bill, the tranquillity and happiness of the country would be put in peril. Lord Wharncliffe again declared that the bill would destroy the constitution by giving too great power to a most democratically constituted House of Commons. A popular or rather delegated House of Commons had passed this measure, and now the upper house was told that it had nothing to do but to record and register it. His lordship concluded by moving "that the bill be

rejected;" but on being reminded that this mode of proceeding implied disrespect toward the lower house, Lord Wharncliffe withdrew his motion for another, "that the second reading be postponed to that day six months." The lords then adjourned. On the next day the principal speakers were, for the bill Viscount Melbourne, and against it Lord Harrowby and the Duke of Wellington. The debate was again adjourned, to be renewed on the morrow. Lord Dudley and Ward, the Marquis of Londonderry, Lords Wynford and Eldon, argued against the whole bill with great force and with equal excitement. Lord-chancellor Brougham concluded a speech of four hours' duration, by conjuring their lordships to pass the bill, as the only means of preserving tranquillity. "As your friend," said he, "as the friend of my country, as the servant of my sovereign, I counsel you to assist us in preserving the national peace and perpetuating the national prosperity. For these reasons I pray and beseech you not to reject this bill! I call on you by all you hold most dear, by all that binds every one of us to our common country—I solemnly adjure you, yea, even on bended knees, my lords (here the chancellor bent his knee on the woollack), I implore you not to reject this bill!" Their lordships, however, at six o'clock on the following morning did reject the bill by a clear majority of forty-one.

Then ensued an excitement, a turbulence even greater than that of the late general election. Great meetings were instantly convened in the metropolis. One was held at the Thatched House Tavern, consisting of all the members who had voted for the bill in the commons. The common council of London, who counted a majority of reformers, also assembled. There was another meeting at the Mansion-house of merchants and bankers of the reforming party, who passed resolutions approving the conduct of Earl Grey's government, and pledging themselves to its support. There was a tropical rain-fall of petitions to the king, praying his majesty to continue his ministers in office, and to create new peers in sufficient number to carry the bill through the upper house. The mob, who had been taught by the radical newspapers and the harangues of demagogues that there ought to be no peers at all, that nothing in human nature was so detestable as a lord, were now told they must shout for "more lords—more peers." Fifty thousand persons in the train of the lord-mayor, Sir John Key, went up to St. James's Palace to present a petition. Mr. Joseph Hume, M.P., exhorted them to be firm, united, and peaceable. The last part of the advice was thrown away. The mob went and smashed the windows of the Marquis of Bristol and the Duke of Wellington.

Being driven by the police from Apsley House, the duke's residence, they went off by Piccadilly and Park Lane to the mansion of Lord Dudley and Ward, but there they were held in check by a strong body of the police. They then collected in Hyde Park to look out for anti-reforming peers. There the Marquis of Londonderry was severely pelted, and the Duke of Cumberland was dragged from his horse, and was thought in some danger of being killed, when a band of policemen came up and dispersed the cowardly assailants.

The day before these exhibitions of violence, Lord Ebrington, in the House of Commons, moved a resolution declaratory of unabated confidence in the king's ministers, and the determination to adhere to the reform bill. The resolution was carried by a majority of 131. Both houses were occupied for several nights in desultory but violent discussions on the disturbed state of the country, and on the causes which originally led to such disturbance. The friends of reform held that the riotous spirit proceeded from the obstinacy of the lords; the opponents of the bill maintained that the people had been excited and driven mad in order that the bill might be carried, through a dread of their excesses. On the 20th of October the king in person prorogued parliament. On his way to and from the house, his majesty was enthusiastically cheered by the multitude.

Rioting was not confined to London; it raged, with loss of life and property, at Derby and Nottingham. At the latter place the mob destroyed by fire the castle, the splendid seat of the Duke of Newcastle. While the reform bill had been before the lords for its second reading there had been a meeting of political unions at Birmingham; and, if that meeting did not terminate in an actual riot, it filled the minds of peaceable men with alarm, and it became the provocative and cause of riots elsewhere. The numbers that met were roughly estimated as forming a grand total of 150,000 persons. Reform members of the House of Commons presided and spoke. An address was voted to the king expressive of alarm at the awful consequences which might arise from the failure of

the bill, and of indignation at the infatuation of the peers; and containing an earnest prayer that his majesty would forthwith create as many peers as would suffice to carry the bill. Coupled with vehement harangues and the proposition of anarchic resolutions, a vote of thanks was passed to Lord John Russell and Lord Althorpe. The answer returned to this vote of thanks, passed by an illegal and dangerous association, was far too courteous and encouraging; at least it might be interpreted as an encouragement offered by these two noblemen and ministers of the crown to the direct interference of the people with the leg-

islature. And, assuredly, the ignorant populace, for some time, considered that they might do as they pleased, provided that they did contribute, in any way, to terrify the enemies of reform, or to hasten the passing of the bill. Attacks had been made upon Lord Tankerville, upon the friends of Lord Ashley at Blandford, upon Lord Tenterden, and others. At Croydon the Archbishop of Canterbury was grossly insulted while presiding over a meeting for the propagation of the gospel; in Somersetshire the bishop of the diocese was rudely attacked



LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

while consecrating a new church. The Bishop of Exeter and other prelates were burned in effigy.

But all these excesses were mere trifles compared with the devastation committed at Bristol, when, on Saturday, the 29th of October, Sir Charles Wetherell arrived in that city to discharge his official duties as its recorder. Sir Charles, who had distinguished himself by the warmth of his opposition to the reform bill, was hissed, hooted, all along his road from Bath to Bristol. On entering Bristol, although he was surrounded by constables and by 300 or 400 respectable persons, he was assailed by yells, groans, and hisses, and his carriage was pelted with stones. Sir Charles, however, took his station on the bench at the Guildhall. With great difficulty the mob was kept out of that building by the constables. Having discharged his usual preliminary duties, the recorder adjourned the court till eight o'clock on Monday morning. Sir Charles remained in the Mansion-house. For hours the constables were left alone to contend with the mob of 10,000 or more vagabonds, for it was Saturday, and the

colliers and other labourers of the neighbourhood of Bristol, who had received their week's wages, had flocked into the town to get drunk and see the fun. Out of the mob which did all the mischief not one man in ten had come with any higher or better motive, or had any notion of the real meaning of the reform bill. When, at about half-past eleven o'clock, these motley fellows were full of drink, they began to talk of burning Sir Charles Wetherell out of the Mansion-house; but the foremost of them got their heads broken by the constables, and no farther mischief was done until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the constabulary force was permitted, or took permission, to retire to their homes for the purpose of refreshing themselves. Then, from gin-cellers and pot-houses issued forth a mob full of bold daring. The mayor came forward to beg of them to depart, and to tell them that he should be very sorry to be compelled to read the riot act and call out the troops. It is said that shortly after this gentle admonition the mayor did read the riot act; but the mob, seeing nothing to oppose them except a few constables, rushed upon them, disarmed them, and beat them severely. Then followed a general attack on every part of the Mansion-house, with a smashing-in of windows and shutters, and a breaking open of doors. At this critical moment Sir Charles put on a disguise and effected his retreat through the adjoining premises; but it was not made known until twelve o'clock on the following day (Sunday) that he had left the city. Materials had been collected for setting fire to the Mansion-house; but that edifice was for the present saved from conflagration by the arrival of the troops. But Colonel Brereton, who displayed, all through this crisis, doubt, weakness, and vacillation, would not charge the mob, who greeted him with loud cheers and with a great show of cordiality. The soldiers merely trotted their horses backwards and forwards, and they too were cheered by the rioters, some of whom were heard saying that the troopers were just as anxious for the passing of the reform bill as they themselves were. For some hours the greater part of the multitude withdrew, or were quiet, or only shouted vengeance against the recorder. If the worshipful mayor, or any other magistrate, had assured them that Sir Charles was gone, there is no doubt that many of them would have repaired quietly to their own homes. A little before the hour of midnight the public-houses, cellars, and dens vomited forth their inmates once more; fresh bodies of men, armed with bludgeons, crossed the bridges into the town; and then a concentrated attack was made upon the council-house. As they were smashing the windows and breaking open the doors, the soldiers, for the first time, rode upon

them in earnest. Before this charge the mob gave way at once, making a fearful noise, and running off by all the streets that were open to them. The soldiers followed, wounding a few of the fugitives, but striking more merely with the flats of their sabres. Some of the most determined of the rioters made a stand in alleys and narrow passages, whence they assailed the troopers with stones. A soldier, being severely hit, turned round upon a man and shot him dead upon the spot. This, we believe, was the first carbine or pistol that was fired. In a short time the whole mob vanished. The troopers continued to ride through the streets all night, to prevent the rioters from re-assembling.

On Sunday morning the troops, who had been more than twenty hours on duty, were withdrawn for some refreshment; but no sooner were the soldiers gone than the rioters re-appeared and renewed their operations with greater fury than ever. Everything in the upper apartments of the Mansion-house was destroyed in a trice. The people forced their way into the cellars, and then followed intoxication, wild drunkenness, raving madness! After a short pause, having procured sledge-hammers from the blacksmiths' shops, and adzes and other tools from the ship-yards, they broke into the new jail, liberated *all* the prisoners, and set fire to the building. Exclusive of debtors, above one hundred criminals—some of them convicts of the worst class—were let loose upon Bristol. During these proceedings, *twenty* troopers of the 3d rode up—to see that they could do nothing against such a multitude. From the new jail the rioters proceeded to the three toll-houses, and burned them all. Then they moved off in two divisions, the one going to the Gloucester county jail, and the other to Bridewell. Having released all the prisoners, they set fire also to those two buildings. It was now about eight o'clock of Sunday evening. The soldiers were suddenly called from the front of the Mansion-house to protect the bishop's palace, to which some miscreants were applying their combustibles. The conflagration there was stayed for a time; but while the soldiers were at the palace the mob set the Mansion-house all in a blaze, and before the troops could return to the spot the roof and whole front of that edifice came down with a tremendous crash, burying some of the mad rioters under the burning ruins. As midnight advanced, conflagration, outrage, and ruin advanced with it. The custom-house, with all the back buildings in Little Queen Street, presented one immense mass of fire. Many of the drunken incendiaries were consumed in the flames they had themselves kindled. A small band, chiefly of boys and youths, who seemed to go about their employment as if they

had been systematically trained to it, extended the conflagration, preceding their operations on each house by the giving of a short notice to the inmates to retire, and so escape being burned. In this manner they destroyed one whole side of Queen's Square, and then proceeded to another, commencing with the excise office at the corner. When Monday morning dawned upon Bristol the

flames were subsiding; but the aspect of Queen's Square was truly appalling. Ruins, smoking ruins, on either side! Rioters lying dead-drunk, with countenances blackened by the smoke, and bestialized by their excesses! At *last* that was done which ought to have been done at *first*. The soldiers who had been ordered out of the city were brought back, and ordered by the civil



BRISTOL, from Clifton Wood —From a view by W. Muller.

power to act with all vigour, and clear the streets. This order was executed to the letter, and the rabble poured off in torrents—men, women, and children running, roaring, shrieking, in every direction. By Monday afternoon (November 1st) a mournful tranquillity was restored to Bristol.

A riot so disgraceful and so destructive as this had not been known in England since the London no-popey riots of 1780. Many cases of the wounded must have remained concealed; but the total number of killed and wounded that were known did not exceed a hundred, of whom some were burned in the fires of their own lighting, and some died from excess of drink. About two hundred were taken prisoners during the outrages, and several individuals were afterwards captured with plundered property in their possession. Government allowed nearly two months to elapse before a special commission was appointed to try the offenders. Then eighty-one were convicted, and five left for execution, but only four suffered the extremity of the law. A military court of inquiry ordered that Colonel Brereton should be tried by court-martial. On the 13th of January, being the fourth day of his trial, the colonel shot himself through the heart. Another court-martial was held on Captain Warrington, senior officer of the 3d dragoon guards. This officer's plea was that he had never received

proper directions from Colonel Brereton, nor due assistance from the city magistrates. He said the head of those magistrates had purposely concealed himself when his presence was most needed; and that all the aldermen had declined accompanying the soldiers, *because they could not ride on horseback*. General Sir Charles Dalbiac laid down on this occasion the following doctrine, as applicable to all such occasions, and as being a fundamental principle of the common law of England:—"That if the occasion demands immediate action, and no opportunity is given for procuring the advice or sanction of the magistrate, it is the duty of every subject to act on his own responsibility in suppressing a riotous and tumultuous assembly; and in whatever is done by him honestly in the execution of that object he will be justified and supported by the common law; that law acknowledging no distinction here between the private citizen and the soldier, who is still a citizen, lying under the same obligation, and invested with the same authority, to preserve the king's peace as any other subject." This was the doctrine of the great Lord Mansfield, and is confirmed by the authority of the excellent and humane Lord Chief-justice Sir N. Tindal. It was a doctrine upon which no doubt could be entertained by any man who understood Blackstone; but the

writers of radical newspapers, who had so long been inflaming the minds of the populace, and preaching the necessity of powerful demonstrations and the efficacy of street-warfare and of pikes, brazenly denounced the doctrine as contrary to English law and dangerous to the liberties of the subject. Partial disturbances broke out at Bath, Coventry, and Leicester; but these, being properly opposed by the municipal and military powers, were speedily put down without bloodshed, and without any material injury to property. If the example of the mayor of Bristol and the unfortunate Colonel Brereton had been followed in these places, there would have been in them the same carnage and barbarous devastation.

On the 2d of November, a royal proclamation was issued, exhorting all classes to unite in suppressing such tumults. Soon also it was found necessary to issue a proclamation against the political unions which had been formed for the sole purpose of forcing the acceptance of the reform bill. Birmingham was the great birth-place of these unions, but they had affiliated in London, Manchester, and other great towns, and they were threatening to become as formidable as the Jacobin societies had been in France. In London, the working classes had a union of their own, with officers named by themselves. In a printed paper calling a general meeting of the working classes, these London unionists demanded universal suffrage, annual parliaments, and vote by ballot, declaring at the same time that all men are born free and equal; that all hereditary distinctions of birth are unnatural, and opposed to the equal rights of man; and that they, for their own parts, would never be satisfied with any law or any reform which stopped short of these holy principles! This was going farther than those who had originally got up the unions either intended or anticipated; but such a system once set rolling among the people must always grow into monstrous proportions. Moreover, these London unionists invited their fellow-workmen in all parts of the country to meet for the same purpose on the same day. They also told the working reformers "that union was strength, and that a general union of the labouring classes would be far stronger than any power that could be brought against it." While this paper was in circulation, government received information that sticks, bludgeons, and sword-canes were in great demand in the market. It was time to swear in special constables, to look after the London prisons, and to bring infantry, cavalry, and artillery round the city. This was done by Earl Grey's ministry. The meeting had been called for the 7th November, and was to have taken place at White Conduit House. On

the 5th, the unionists were warned by the magistrates of Hatton Garden that the intended meeting would be illegal and seditious. Hereupon a deputation of the unionists went up to Lord Melbourne, the home secretary. His lordship admitted them to an interview, and told them, in his bland manner, that their printed declaration was not only highly seditious but perhaps treasonable, and that any person attending the meeting with the object for which it was professedly called would be guilty of an act of treason. The leaders then agreed to abandon the meeting; but no step was taken against them either for their seditious publication, or for their misdemeanour in calling such meeting; and the royal proclamation against the political unions in general was not issued until the 22d of December.

The parliament which had been prorogued on the 20th of October, 1831, was again assembled on the 6th of December. The bill had scarcely been negatived, when deputations of London reformers intruded themselves into the presence of Earl Grey, urging the necessity of not prolonging the prorogation beyond a week or two, and of immediately renewing the efforts to accomplish the same kind and measure of reform. Ministers themselves were pledged neither to propose, nor to accede to, any bill "less efficient" than the one which the lords had just rejected. It was possible that they might consider something very different in kind to be equally efficient in its results; but to the ears of their supporters this language must have meant, that the same quantity of actual innovation was still to be enforced; and if so, then it was not easy to see how a different result could be anticipated in the House of Peers. The political unions, therefore, the reforming clubs, and the reforming journals, pressed upon the ministry, day and night, the necessity of constraining the king to create such a number of reforming peers as would render futile all opposition in the upper house; and Earl Grey was told that if he hesitated to take this step he would be regarded and treated as a betrayer of that cause which alone had given him power, and had enabled him to retain it. It was taken for granted that the king, who was himself held forth as the great patron of the bill, was ready to secure its success by making the peers bend to the prerogative; or, if he should be reluctant, then it was plainly announced, the people would find means to bring both his majesty and the peers into a fitting temper of concession.¹

On the 6th of December the king opened the session in person. The first allusion in the speech was to the one absorbing subject. His majesty read—"I feel it to be my duty, in the first place, to recommend to your most careful consideration

¹ *Annual Register for 1832.*

the measures which will be proposed to you for a reform in the commons' House of Parliament; a speedy and satisfactory settlement of this question becomes daily of more pressing importance to the security of the state and to the contentment and welfare of my people."

More regrets were uttered about the disturbed state of Ireland. A systematic opposition had been made to the payment of tithes, attended in some instances with afflicting results; it would therefore be one of the first duties of parliament to inquire whether it might not be possible to effect improvements in the laws regarding tithes. His majesty had the satisfaction to inform them that he had recently concluded with the King of the French a convention for the effectual suppression of the African slave-trade. This convention, having for its basis the concession of reciprocal rights, to be mutually exercised in specified latitudes and places, would, it was trusted, enable the naval forces of the two countries, by their combined efforts, to accomplish an object which was felt by both to be so important to the interests of humanity. Of the riots, the king said or read—"The scenes of violence and outrage which have occurred in the city of Bristol and in some other places, have caused me the deepest affliction. The authority of the laws must be vindicated, by the punishment of offences which have produced so extensive a destruction of property, and so melancholy a loss of life; but I think it right to direct your attention to the best means of improving the municipal police of the kingdom, for the more effectual protection of the public peace against a recurrence of similar commotions." Nor could his majesty avoid speaking of those political unions which had been so menacing, and against which he had issued his proclamation:—"Sincerely attached to our free constitution, I never can sanction any interference with the legitimate exercise of those rights which secure to my people the privilege of discussing and making known their grievances; but, in respecting those rights, it is also my duty to prevent combinations, under whatever pretext, which, in their form and character, are incompatible with all regular government, and are equally opposed to the spirit and to the provisions of the law."

During the debate on the address in the commons, Sir Charles Wetherell entered into some of the details of the Bristol outrages. He complained that he had been directly charged by the daily press as being himself the author of those disastrous events. How stood the facts? A deputation from Bristol, consisting of the sheriff and one of the aldermen, had waited on him in London, and had stated that the person of the recorder, who, in the exercise of his official duties,

should make a public entry into the city, would not, under the circumstances of the period, be safe. He had inquired of the sheriff and alderman if they could not furnish a constabulary force adequate to the maintenance of the public peace; and they had given it as their opinion that a sufficient constabulary force could not be furnished. In consequence of this he desired them to wait upon the secretary for the home department. The deputation accordingly waited on the noble secretary, and military assistance was furnished. He had absented himself from this interview in order that the noble secretary might put any inquiries to the sheriff and alderman of Bristol without the restriction which his presence might possibly have imposed. Subsequently the noble lord requested his attendance at the home office, and he did attend. Now, in the first instance, the information was conveyed to government that military assistance was requisite. On the second occasion it was arranged that everything should go on as usual. Thus, if government thought that military co-operation was necessary, and that it was also necessary to suspend the usual jail-delivery, there existed two opportunities for declaring the facts, one in his (Sir C. W.'s) absence, the other in his presence. Was not this, then, a flat contradiction of the charges which had been so flagitiously circulated against him? It had been further alleged, that he had proceeded to Bristol against the remonstrances of the magistrates, when they sent to Bath beseeching him not to come. This charge, like the other, was utterly unfounded. The magistrates themselves were abused for an irritating display of the military; whereas, in fact, the soldiers were not stationed in Bristol, but were placed under cover in the neighbourhood, and but for the interference of the political union their presence would not have been known to the people of the city. All unnecessary display of the military had been avoided by the judicious plans of the magistrates. He would follow the example afforded by the royal speech, and abstain from going into the consideration of what had subsequently occurred, simply stating that he did not retire until the chief magistrate's feather-bed was taken from its accustomed depository, and used as a barricade for a window of the Mansion-house hall. All the transactions of Sunday and Monday had taken place after his departure from Bristol. He conceived that, under the circumstances which he had laid before them, he might presume that in the eyes of that house he had exculpated himself. It had been said that the occurrences at Bristol did not spring out of reform, but had been perpetrated by delinquents ever ready to take advantage of any opportunity for plunder. He would not inquire

at present how far these outrages were owing to the spirit which reformers had conjured up; he would only draw the notice of the house to a document by which the Bristol political union, a reform association, assumed to itself the power of deposing the magistrates and the recorder. This paper, which had been published on the 25th of October, set forth the surprise of the council at the conduct of the corporation in having called in the assistance of the troops for the purpose of conducting the recorder into the city—a statement which was not true. It then stated, that if the magistrates found themselves incapable of maintaining the public peace without military aid, it was their duty to resign and allow the citizens to elect the municipal authorities. Who the electors were to be was not intimated; but here was an association telling the magistrates that they ought to resign rather than use the aid of the military for the preservation of the public peace. And this document, after recommending sedition, added a recommendation to the reformers to respect the public peace! He could not join in the applause given by the seconder of the address to government for the “promptitude” which they had displayed in appointing the special commission; and had that word been introduced into the address, he must have moved an amendment.

In the upper house, amendments were proposed by Lord Harrowby, and in the commons by Sir Robert Peel, on that part of the address which related to the affairs of Holland and Belgium. In his speech, Sir Robert took occasion to express his thorough detestation of the violence and intimidation which had been resorted to in order to force the reform bill down the throats of the peers. He said, “Has there ever been in the whole history of the last century any period in which such effectual practical restrictions were imposed on the freedom of speech, as have been imposed on it since the agitation of the question of reform? Believe me, sir, there are other tyrannies than those of individual despots. Who can deny their existence? Who can doubt their galling and oppressive character, after having seen the bitter and unrelenting animosity with which the populace have pursued many of those great and illustrious characters who acted the part of good subjects and honest men in the House of Lords? Can it be denied that it was not safe for those peers to travel home to their country-seats after the conscientious votes which they had given in defence of what they considered the true interests of the people of England? What system of government can that be, in which you deny to your opponents the free exercise of judgment and of speech? You cannot propose changes extensive as those of your reform

bill without expecting, if you are reasonable men, that they will encounter opposition. You may denounce that opposition, you may visit it with confiscation, exile, death; but so long as honour and courage exist among men—and in English bosoms I trust these qualities will find an eternal spring—you will not, you cannot deter us from the expression of our honest opinions.” Sir Robert, however, did not divide the house.

On the 12th of December, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a new reform bill, stating that the principles of the measure were to be the same as those of its predecessor. The alterations bore chiefly upon the process of disfranchisement, and upon the qualification of electors. Within the last ten years there had been an increase of fifteen per cent. in the population of Great Britain, yet the preceding bill had gone upon the census of 1821. That very obvious objection was now got rid of, by adopting the census of 1831. Sir Edward Sugden called the whole bill “a bill to encourage the growth of £10 houses in England.” Sir Robert Peel hoped that the bill would undergo a great many more alterations before the house thought of passing it. The debates were long, but not very interesting. The house divided early on the morning of Sunday, the 18th, when the second reading of the new bill was carried by 326 against 162. The house then adjourned for the Christmas holidays. During those holidays, the cry was kept up by the journalists and by the political associations, that the king must create more peers. His majesty’s health was affected by his anxieties on this head.

But it was not the political convulsions alone that now filled every anxious heart, and formed a ground of perplexity and trembling. The cholera had entered our troubled island to deepen the general dread and confusion. This terrible visitant, which at first had appeared on the banks of the Ganges in 1817, had traversed through the chief countries of Europe like a destroying angel, moving so mysteriously in its course that none could tell where it might next alight, but realizing, wherever it came, the worst calamities which the pestilence had been wont to inflict upon the doomed nations of the medieval period. Already it had decimated France, and Britain, even amidst the intensity of her political anxieties, had trembled at the thought that she might herself be the next victim. And this was soon shown to be no groundless fear. In the month of October, it was whispered that the cholera had been seen upon our shores; and before the close of the year, it had established itself in Sunderland and Newcastle, and was advancing to the metropolis. The plague-spot was soon upon the walls of our principal cities, and the fierce

outcries of contention were mingled with the groans of agonized sufferers and lamentations over the dead. It was in vain, also, to inquire into the causes of the disease, or the remedies for its extinction, for, even more than the political troubles at issue, it baffled the wisdom of the wise and the researches of the skilful. Was it contagious or not? Was it the Indian cholera or a new complaint? Was it imported or indigenous? Was it to be a permanent or only a transient infliction? Each was affirmed and contradicted in turn. Happily, however, it was not of the same deadly character which it manifested in other countries, the ratio of deaths being only one in three, while its range also was less universal in Britain than elsewhere. Still, it was a fearful calamity, mixed up as it was with the prevalent confusion and political anxiety, and the most selfish or ambitious were compelled to study the progress of the wasteful destroyer, as well as of those national measures which they had so much at heart.

Parliament met again on the 17th of January, and the bill was at once pushed into committee, as the reformers would allow of no delay. In committee its details were attacked by Mr. Croker, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Vyvyan, and many others, who fell more particularly upon the clause which proposed to confer eight additional members on the metropolitan districts. It was urged that it would give to the capital a too preponderating influence over the rest of the country. The Marquis of Chandos moved an amendment against the clause; but in a house of 552 members, he was out-voted by eighty. The bill came out of committee about the middle of March, and on the 19th of that month Lord John Russell moved and carried the third reading by a majority of 116 in a house of 594. On the 23d of March the bill was passed; an amendment which went to raise the qualification to £20, in Liverpool, and all new boroughs returning two members, having been negatived without a division.

On Monday, the 26th of March, the reform bill was carried up to the peers by Lords Russell and Althorpe, accompanied by an unusual number of members. Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe, who had led the opposition in the upper house last session, now announced their intention to vote for the reading of the bill. They were induced to this course by a desire to save the respectability of the house from a band of political agents formed into peers to serve the purpose of the moment. The Bishop of London was so impressed with the dangers hanging over the country, that he resolved to vote in the same way. The Duke of Wellington and the Marquis of Londonderry declared that their opinions were

unchanged, and that they would oppose the bill as they had always done. The bill was read a first time that same day. The number of the waverers was increased by the report, industriously and most confidently spread, that his majesty had at last consented to create as many peers as Earl Grey might think necessary for carrying the bill. The Earl of Haddington, Lord Gage, and others, followed the example of Lords Harrowby and Wharncliffe. Previously to the second reading, the Duke of Buckingham gave notice that if there should be, as he hoped and trusted there would be, a majority against this reform bill in their lordships' house, he would bring in, after the Easter recess, a bill for the purpose of giving members to large towns whose importance entitled them to be represented in parliament; also for conjoining and consolidating certain boroughs, each of which returned now two members, in order to make room for the new representatives, and prevent any man from being deprived of his existing rights; whilst a third provision of his bill would be to extend the elective franchise, so as to prevent its abuse in boroughs.

The second reading of the ministerial bill was moved by Earl Grey; Lord Ellenborough immediately moved as an amendment, "that it be read a second time this day six months." This gave rise to a very animated debate. The Earl of Mansfield and the Duke of Wellington reprobated not the bill only, but the waverers also. A second adjournment took place. In opening the debate next day, the Earl of Winchelsea spoke with great indignation against a wholesale creation of peers, declaring, that if such a measure were adopted, he would no longer sit in the house, but would retire, and bide his time till the return of those good days which would enable him to vindicate the insulted laws of his country by bringing an unconstitutional minister before the bar of the peers. The debate was again adjourned. When it was resumed, Lord Durham, son-in-law of Earl Grey, made a long and vehement speech, pouring invectives upon the head of Dr. Philpott, Bishop of Exeter, who had himself been guilty of much intemperance both in writing and in speaking against reform and its authors. Lord Durham attributed the expenses of the late war and that war itself to parliamentary corruption and profligacy. Reviving the exploded absurdities of many years ago, his lordship spoke as if we had willingly entered into a crusade against the French republicans, and as if Britain would have been left in the full enjoyment of peace, prosperity, and national honour, if she had not girded on the sword against France. At the end of this very long debate, at five o'clock in the morning, minis-

ters divided the house, and found that they had then a majority of nine. The bill having been read a second time was ordered to be committed.

The lords broke up for the Easter holidays on the 17th of April, and the commons the day following; but on the 18th the Duke of Wellington had entered on the journal of the lords a protest against the second reading of the bill. This spirited protest, which dwelt more especially on the violation of chartered rights, and the introduction of an extraordinary degree of democratic influence, was signed by seventy-four other peers, including the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, with six prelates. Lord Lyndhurst did not sign.

During the Easter recess, agitation was carried to its utmost limits. More monster meetings were called: the people of Leeds voted an address to his majesty, whom they designated "their sheet anchor, their refuge in the storm," imploring him to yield to *necessity*, and to create more peers. At Birmingham a special meeting of the political union was held on the 27th of April, when Thomas Attwood, M.P., was again in the chair, and when a series of resolutions was agreed to; in consequence of which, a general meeting of all the political associations from surrounding districts in the counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford, was convened for the 7th of May. On the appointed day, there was such an assemblage of people at the foot of Newhall Hill as this country had never before witnessed. The grand northern division alone was estimated at nearly 100,000. The procession extended along a line of four miles; upwards of 200 bands of music were in attendance, and more than 700 flags and banners waved over this heaving multitude. The commencement of proceedings was announced by the sound of a bugle; the orations delivered were trumpet-tongued, and were all in one tune; for these unionists were merciless to a minority, and would never listen to an opinion opposite to their own. A hot sharp petition to the House of Lords was very soon carried. They told their lordships, or, as they had it, they implored them, "not to drive to despair a high-minded, generous, and fearless people, or to urge them on, by a rejection of their claims, to demands of a much more extensive nature, but rather to pass the reform bill into a law unimpaired in any of its great parts and provisions; more especially uninjured in the clauses relating to the £10 franchise." Other monster meetings were held at Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, &c., as well as in every great town in the south of England. Their petitions to the king all ran in the same key—more lords, and passing the whole bill! The Edinburgh meeting was 80,000

strong. It was held in the King's Park, near Holyrood House; and from the windows of that palace the exile, Charles X., could gaze upon it. The meeting, however, was very orderly. In the metropolis an extraordinary assembly of the members of the national union took place on the 3d of May, under the presidency of Joseph Hume, M.P. The petition of this London meeting was very menacing: it told the lords that if they rejected or mutilated the reform bill, "there was reason to expect that the payment of taxes would cease, that other obligations of society would be disregarded, and that the ultimate consequence might be the *utter extinction of the privileged orders.*"

It was four days after the concoction of this London petition to the peers, or on the 7th of May, that parliament re-assembled. The peers went at once into committee on the bill. When the house divided, ministers were left in a minority of 35, the votes for an amendment, moved by Lord Lyndhurst, being 151, and those against it 116. Earl Grey then moved and carried that all farther consideration of the bill should be deferred till Thursday the 10th.

On Tuesday the 8th, Earl Grey and the lord-chancellor proceeded to Windsor to demand more peers or to tender their resignations. The king was nervous and unsettled. He hesitated on account of the great number of new peers requisite—he thought the anti-reform peers very obstinate, very wrong, very wrong indeed—but he did not like making a dangerous precedent—the lords would say that he had swamped their house—he was afraid he could not do it! In the end he desired till next day to deliberate. On the morning of the next day, Wednesday the 9th, it was intimated to ministers that his majesty had been pleased to accept their resignations.

This unlooked-for intelligence produced a new hurricane. In the commons, Lord Ebrington gave notice of his intention to move an address to the king, on the perilous state of public affairs, next evening; and Lord Althorpe's well-meant liberal proposal that this motion should be postponed for a short time, to prevent any embarrassment in the formation of a new ministry, met with no acceptance in that agitated and stormy assembly. They would let the Tories know that if they would accept office, they must do it in defiance of that branch of the legislature which commanded the public purse. Accordingly Lord Ebrington's motion, being submitted to the house on the very next day, was carried by 288 against 208; and the following address was speedily carried and presented to the king:—"That it is humbly represented to his majesty the deep regret felt by this house at the change which has been announced in his majesty's councils, by the

retirement of those ministers in whom this house continues to repose unabated confidence. That this house, in conformity with the recommendation contained in his majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, has framed and sent up to the House of Lords a bill for a reform in the representation of the people, by which they are convinced that the prerogatives of the crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured."

In London the national union met on the very evening of the day on which the king accepted the resignations; and 1200 new members enrolled themselves at that meeting. On the morrow, there were 2000 more new members. It was unanimously resolved by these London unionists "That the betrayal of the people's cause was not attributed to Earl Grey, or his administration, but to the base and foul treachery of others; that meetings be recommended in every county town and parish throughout the kingdom, which, by inducing compliance with the unanimous wishes of the people, may prevent the mischief that would otherwise result from the general indignation; that a petition be presented to the House of Commons, praying the appointment of commissioners to receive the supplies; and that, until the bill pass, they be not managed by the lords of the treasury." Resolutions to the same effect were voted by the common council and the livery of London. The liverymen went beyond all bounds. They heaped abuse upon the Duke of Wellington, upon the sailor-king himself, upon almost everybody and everything, but most of all upon the majority of the peers, whom they described as men who would gladly mix blood with corruption—as representatives of Dom Miguel of Portugal and Ferdinand the tyrant of Spain—as prototypes of Russian lords who regarded the people as serfs. The electors of Westminster met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, where Sir Francis Burdett, who was in the chair, was eclipsed by the portly person and stormy eloquence of Daniel O'Connell. Similar meetings were held in Southwark and Paddington. At the latter place Joseph Hume harangued a congregation of 20,000 persons. But the manufacturing Birmingham, which had become a speech-manufacturing place, was far hotter than the metropolis. Printed placards were stuck up in nearly all the shop windows—"NOTICE. No taxes paid here until the reform bill is passed!" Great accessions of strength were made to the union of that place; and there was another monster meeting at Newhall Hill, where a petition was voted to the commons, containing, in addition to the common prayer to stop the supplies, this ominous sentence:—"Your petitioners find it declared in the

bill of rights, that the people of England may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law; and they apprehend that this great right will be enforced generally, in order that the people may be prepared for any circumstances that may arise." Manchester was not much behind Birmingham. Liverpool also had its meetings, its resolutions, and its menacing petitions. The political unions corresponded and fraternized with one another. In Scotland, and still more in Ireland, they talked of battles and wars, unless Earl Grey were speedily restored, and the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill carried through the lords and assented to by the king.

In the meanwhile the bewildered sovereign had sent for Lyndhurst, and had authorized him to adopt measures for the formation of a new ministry, declaring that there could be no basis for any ministry except upon the ground of "extensive reform." Lord Lyndhurst repaired forthwith to the Duke of Wellington, who was willing to make large sacrifices and encounter any degree of obloquy, if by so doing he could extricate his king from embarrassment. His grace desired no office, much less that of prime minister; yet, if necessary for the king's service, he was ready to serve in any way that might be thought fit. The premiership was then offered to Sir Robert Peel, but that cautious statesman refused it; as he felt he could be of no service to the king or to the country at that juncture, and as he was still decidedly opposed to any extensive alteration of the constitution. Men were found that were willing enough to fill the subordinate offices, but a premier could be found nowhere; and on Tuesday, the 15th of May, Lord Lyndhurst was obliged to inform his majesty that the commission with which he had been intrusted had failed. Hereby the king was reduced to the humiliating necessity of calling back the discarded ministers. On Friday, the 18th of May, the reinstatement of Earl Grey and his colleagues was certified in both houses. The fact, often disputed, is now notorious. The king, in recalling the reform ministry, had given Earl Grey *carte blanche*, or the power of making as many new peers as he might think necessary for his object. To prevent this swamping of the house, the Duke of Wellington and about one hundred conservative peers ceased their opposition and their attendance. After this the reformers had it all their own way.

On Monday, the 4th of June, Earl Grey moved the third reading of the bill in the upper house. After a short but spirited struggle, the lord-chancellor put the question; and, for some moments, it did not appear that the house intended to divide; but when the premier went on to move "that the bill do pass," Lord Roden remarked

that the third reading had not yet been carried. A division therefore took place, and the numbers reported were, content 106, non-content 22. After a few verbal amendments had been made, the bill was passed and ordered back to the commons, who agreed to the amendments of their lordships; and on the 7th of June the royal assent was given by commission to the bill. The radical press had previously clamoured for the delivery of the royal assent, not by commission, but in person; and great was the disappointment of the reform party out of doors, and deep their resentment at this refusal of his majesty to consummate and crown their triumph. Another damper upon the scene of their success was the emptiness of the chair of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the opposition benches, in which not a single member was present. As if to compensate, however, for this double bereavement of the countenance of church and state, a sunbeam shot into the hall soon after the assent had been delivered, and this was hailed by many as an equivalent for the absence of both king and primate. There were also separate reform bills for Scotland and Ireland. These being carried through parliament with little or no opposition, received the royal assent the first on the 3d of August, the second on the 7th of that month. Festivals and great rejoicings followed throughout the three kingdoms.

Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 16th of October. The registration of the new constituency under the reform bill was then rapidly proceeded with, and other necessary preparations were made for a new general election, which was rendered indispensable by the passing of the bill. On the 8th of December parliament was dissolved; and then began the election, the writs being made returnable on the 29th of January, 1833. Three parties took the field: the Ministerialists, or Earl Grey Whigs; the Tories, who now assumed the appellation of Conservatives; the Radicals, who were already dissatisfied, and were proclaiming that the reform bill did not go far enough, and must go farther, and that they would have universal suffrage and vote by ballot, or wage an eternal war against all governments. Generally, in England and Scotland, the elections were favourable to the ministerialists. Not so in Ireland, for there popular agitation was against them, and Mr. Daniel O'Connell had accused them, and continued to accuse them, of being guilty of injustice and insult towards the Irish.

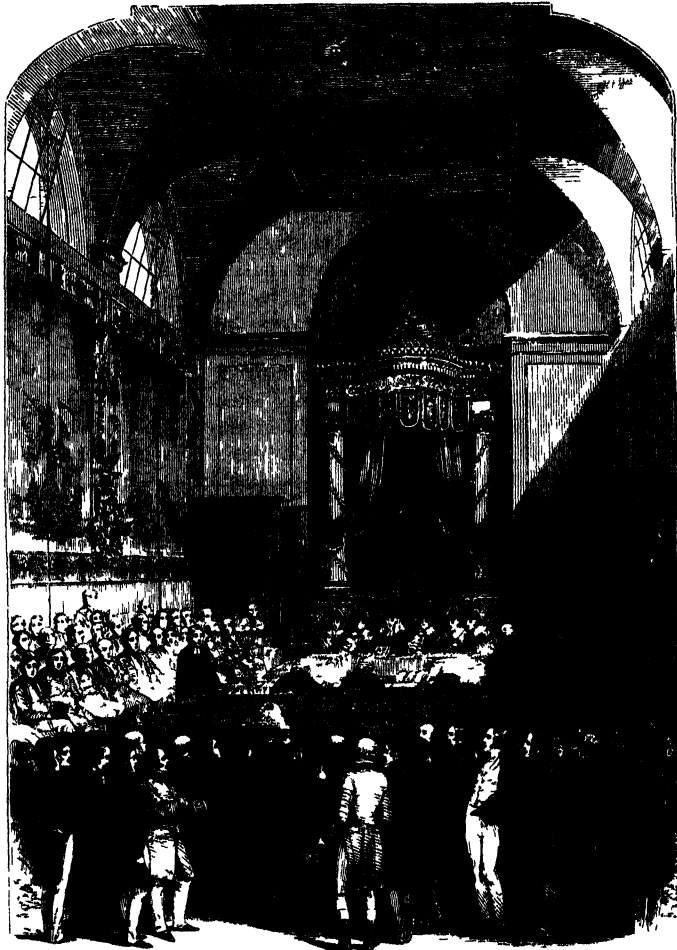
We must now briefly advert to those affairs of Europe in which England was most interested. Dom Pedro, having renounced the crown of Brazil in favour of his son, came over to Europe in 1831 to fight for the claims of his daughter, Donna Maria, to the throne of Portugal. He found

great countenance from our Whig government, who now cast aside the principle of neutrality and non-interference, and who sanctioned armaments and expeditions fitted out in England, chiefly with English money and by Englishmen, to an extent somewhat exceeding what the law of nations would justify. An English officer of distinction took the command of Dom Pedro's fleet, and manned it almost entirely with natives of this island. English military officers entered the dom's service, recruited for him openly in London and Westminster, and elsewhere; and these recruits, armed and equipped, were sent off by hundreds to fight against the Miguelites and for the constitution which had found so little favour with the mass of the Portuguese population. Having collected his forces in the Azores, Dom Pedro sailed for Portugal on the 28th of June, 1832, with eighty vessels and nearly 8000 men, of whom the best and bravest were about 1200 English and French. He effected a landing, and with great ease took possession of Oporto; but he was soon shut up there by the Miguelites, who bombarded the town, blockaded the Douro, and placed the invaders in an unpleasant and critical situation. Provisions fell short, and not even constitutional sauce could reconcile the stomachs of the English to horse-flesh. In this state matters remained at the end of the year, the dulness of the scene being occasionally relieved by sorties and sharp conflicts outside the town.

There had been much discoursing about the propriety and beauty of reviving the ancient Greek institutions, and of making an ultra-classical federal republic for that country; but, for evil or for good, Greece was now turned into a kingdom. In 1830 an offer of the crown of that country had been made to Prince Leopold Saxe-Coburg. For some time the prince certainly entertained the notion of accepting what the Greeks offered; but he wavered as he made himself acquainted with the distracted state of the country, and the extreme, desperate spirit of the people; and, in the end, a most alarming and yet most truthful letter from Count John Capo d'Istria, who was acting as a pro-tempore president, decided him in the negative. The effect of this letter was indeed galvanic. Capo d'Istria might not have been very willing to descend from the seat of eminence he occupied; but the picture he drew of the hardships to be endured by the first sovereign of liberated but anarchic Greece was not overcharged. Capo d'Istria was atrociously murdered on the 4th of October, 1831, at Nauplia, in open day, on the threshold of a church. His brother, Augustin Capo d'Istria succeeded him in the presidency, but the distractions of the country and an active civil war

obliged him to resign. The crown of Greece was sent a-begging. At last, the allied powers offered it to the King of Bavaria for his younger son Otho, then a minor; and the offer being accepted, Otho, accompanied by a Bavarian council of regency and a body of Bavarian troops, arrived at

Nauplia in February, 1833, and was willingly acknowledged by the Greeks as their sovereign. The government was to be a constitutional hereditary monarchy, with a senate and a house of representatives. For a short time there was something like tranquillity; but still many of the Greeks



THE REFORM BILL RECEIVING THE KING'S ASSENT BY ROYAL COMMISSION.¹

ceased not to be "robbers on land or pirates on the deep." The Bavarian soldiery and Bavarian agents of police were little to the taste of the Greeks; and a great many of those excitable, insubordinate men were led to conceive a dislike for their mild and well-intentioned young king.

The disseverance of Belgium from Holland,

which had been brought about by popular insurrection, remained still a question which embarrassed all the cabinets of Europe. There seemed no chance, no possibility, and indeed (save on the part of Russia and Prussia) no wish, to enforce the arrangement which had been made at the congress of Vienna, and for which Holland had

¹ Drawn and engraved by J. L. Williams, after a large print by Walker and Reynolds, from a picture by S. W. Reynolds, sketched on the spot when his majesty's assent was declared. The scene is the old House of Peers. Seated on the woolsack in the centre, and below the throne, is Lord-chancellor Brougham. On his right hand are the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Marquis of Wellesley; on his left the Earl of Durham, Earl Grey, and

Lord Holland—the royal commissioners. The king's assent is being pronounced by Mr. Courtney, now Earl of Devon, in the old-established Norman form, "*Le roy le veut*," which he exclaims standing up and looking towards the auditory. The opposition benches are empty, and also the cross or independent benches. The commons summoned to attend are in the foreground, and gathered before the bar.

in various ways paid a high price; but the Dutch troops had at least the satisfaction of giving one sound beating to the vapouring, boasting Belgians. The *Braves Belges*, who had conceited themselves into invincible heroes because they had made barricades, and had carried on a successful street-and-house warfare against a very small force that was anxious not to injure the fair city of Brussels, ran away like a flock of sheep when they came to try their valour in the open field. This lesson was really needed, for well-nigh all over Europe the populace had been given to believe that no regular troops could stand against them, and that they had only to make one good *émeute* to insure a successful revolution. Brave old Chassé long kept the Dutch flag floating over the fortress of Antwerp; and there it would have continued to float, if the striking of it down had depended solely on the Belgians.

In February, 1831, the Belgian congress had elected the Duke of Nemours to the throne of the new kingdom; but his father, Louis Philippe, King of the French, having refused the crown on the part of his son, a new election became necessary, and the choice fell upon Prince Leopold Saxe-Coburg. This time the prince did not hesitate. He quitted England, took the oaths prescribed, and ascended the throne on the 23d of July, 1831, not quite three months before Capo d'Istria, the monitor who had warned him from the throne of Greece, came to his untimely and bloody end. The strong objections of Russia and Prussia were gradually removed; and on the 15th of November, 1831, those two powers, in common with Great Britain, France, and Austria, recognized the independence of Belgium, and signed at London a treaty fixing the boundaries of the new kingdom. Thus was made a fearful rent in the grand treaty of Vienna.

In the summer of 1831 the rash, ill-conducted Polish revolution was extinguished in blood. The Poles had done well the single thing which they knew how to do—they had fought bravely; but weak in numbers, wanting organization and the means of sustaining the war, wanting credit, and too many of them wanting common honesty, they could not but succumb. After two days' most desperate fighting, Warsaw capitulated on the 7th of September, 1831, and was taken possession of by the Russians. Europe remained as an inactive spectatress of the struggle. In England, as well as in France, the liberals would fain have made common cause with the Polish patriots. The English sent money and clothes; and when

the *débauche* came, and when the streets of London were crowded by utterly desperate or destitute Polish refugees, they were fed and supported by our government and people. We forgot, in the hour of misfortune, the stanch adherence of these Poles to Bonaparte, and the ferocity of the Polish lancers, of which we had tasted the bitter fruits in Portugal, in Spain, and at Waterloo. The Emperor Nicholas exercised the utmost severity against the patriotic portion of the people; for after all, the patriots were only a portion, and scarcely the major portion, of the nation. Many individuals who had taken part in the insurrection were either condemned to the mines of Siberia, or sent to serve as soldiers in the harassing, destructive war of the Caucasus. Men of the noblest birth, and once of the greatest fortunes, were made to undergo these punishments. The constitution was formally abrogated, and another form of government, called the "organic statute," imposed under the Russian bayonet. The universities of Warsaw and Vilna, together with many minor schools, were abolished, and the public libraries and museums were carried away to Russia. Almost every possible measure was adopted which tended to destroy the nationality of Poland.

The French had found that they had not increased their liberty by the revolution of 1830. The country had been in a most troubled state ever since that period. Trade and industry had wofully declined, and the hunger of the stomach had increased the desperation of the heart and brain. To plots and conspiracies there had been no end. There had been riots and street-fights in Paris, and a fierce civil war at Lyons, with a terrible loss of human life. In 1831 Marshal Soult had not been able to reduce that city to order with less than 26,000 men, and a tremendous train of artillery. In the course of the year upon which we are about to enter, Lyons was again the scene of civil war, carnage, and anarchy; and also in the course of that troublous year Louis Philippe made greater inroads upon the liberty of the press, and upon the personal liberty of the subject, than had ever been attempted or contemplated by Charles X. and his expelled government. Old La Fayette had told the French people that they would find in Louis Philippe the best of republics; but La Fayette was always wrong. They really found in Louis Philippe a powerful and adroit master who could and who *would* rule them; by the charter if they could be brought to be quiet, despotically otherwise.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1833—1834.

WILLIAM IV.

Meeting of the first reform parliament—The great change in parliamentary representation—Predominance of the commons over king and lords—Election of a speaker—The king's speech—O'Connell's attack on the address—His amendment and its rejection—Coercion bill to repress disturbances in Ireland—Opposition to the bill in the commons—It is passed—Measures for the redress and improvement of Ireland—Changes effected upon the Protestant Church of Ireland—Curtailement of its revenues—Negro slavery—Plan of government carried for its total suppression—Compensation granted to the West India planters—Death of Wilberforce—Care of the reform parliament for the interests of trade and commerce—Renewal of the Bank of England charter—Renewal of the East India Company charter—Other parliamentary measures of the session—Affairs of Spain and Portugal—Progress of the Portuguese war of succession—Defeats of the Miguelites—Injudicious proceedings of Dom Pedro—Difficulties of Turkey through the invasion of Ibrahim Pacha—The sultan has recourse to the equivocal aid of Russia—Ibrahim Pacha retires from the Turkish dominions—Treaty of Hunkiar Iskellesi between Russia and Turkey—Opening of parliament in 1834—Attack on our foreign policy by the Duke of Wellington—Irish agitation for the repeal of the union—Troubles occasioned in parliament by Irish affairs—Threats of an examination into Irish church property—Lord Grey resigns and Lord Melbourne becomes premier—New Irish coercion bill passed—Its insufficiency—Tithes bill for Ireland—Its discussion in the lords—Its rejection—Demand of the dissenters for relief from church-rates—Their demand for the abolition of religious tests in the universities—Bill to that effect—Hostility against it—The bill discussed in the commons—Arguments adduced for and against the admission of dissenters into the universities—The bill passed by the commons—It is defeated in the House of Lords—Demands of the dissenters for relief from church-rates renewed—Motion for the commutation of tithes in England—It is abandoned.



THE first meeting of the reformed parliament was of itself an important era in our history. This great national representation had undergone not a partial, but a complete change. The first important struggle, in the seventeenth century, had been to reduce the royal authority below the level of parliament; the second, which had just succeeded, was to elevate the authority of the commons above that of the lords, and constitute the house of the former the real governing power of the empire. King and peers were now to form but a subsidiary part of the constitution, and that, too, only by the consent of the people at large, who recognized such checks as necessary against their own abuses of power; and it was now to be seen whether they would cordially unite with the national representatives, and be content with such measure of dictation as the great change had assigned to them.

The alterations which had been made in the popular representation were such as the reform appeared to necessitate. Of these, the greatest was in the county constituencies of England. Formerly, they had been fifty-two, which returned ninety-four members; but now, by the division of counties, these constituencies were increased to eighty-two, which returned 169 members. As all boroughs having less than a population of 2000 were to be disfranchised, fifty-six of these, which had returned 111 members, were no longer represented. Such boroughs as

had a population of less than 4000, and had sent two representatives, were now only to return one, and under this category thirty seats were made vacant. As the number of members that composed the House of Commons was not to be diminished, these 143 constituencies were transferred to the towns and districts that had increased in population and importance. In like manner, while no change was made upon Ireland, Scotland retained her former number of representatives, but with changes adapted to the increase of the population in new localities, and its diminution in the old. The mode of election was also simplified in town and country, both as to the time occupied, and the registration of voters, as also the qualifications for a vote, inhabitants of towns being entitled to the franchise who paid ten pounds of yearly rental, and of the counties, copy-holders and lease-holders to the value of forty shillings. In this way, it was attempted to combine the privileges of the old agricultural and the new mercantile England; to reconcile the moneyed with the hereditary aristocracy; and so to extend the right of election, as to make the House of Commons what it claimed to be—the representation of the bulk of the people, as well as of its worth and intelligence. The members of a parliament so constituted, and assembled for the first time together, must have met with mutual diffidence, and been as yet not fully aware of their proper course of action, or of what was expected from their proceedings. How they settled into their respec-

tive departments, and whether they justified the general expectation, the history of their sessions will illustrate.

The parliament was opened by commission on the 29th of January, 1833, and the first business was the election of a speaker. Mr. Manners Sutton, who had so worthily held the office for sixteen years, had intimated at the close of the last session his intention to retire, and a pension had been granted to him of £4000, with a reversion of £3000 to his son, but without raising him to the peerage, although that distinction had usually been bestowed on those who had so long filled the chair of the House of Commons. But it was thought that now especially the house needed an experienced guide; and he had allowed himself to be put in nomination, while ministers resolved to support his re-appointment. The chief opposition was from the more violent reformers; and Mr. Hume, who moved that Mr. Littleton, one of the members for Staffordshire, should take the chair, alleged that a reformed House of Commons should have a reformer for its speaker. Mr. O'Connell also, who seconded Mr. Hume, denounced the intention of government, as "another instance of the paltry truckling of the present administration." These were harsh notes at the commencement, but Mr. Sutton was chosen by an overwhelming majority. On the 5th of February, the first session of the new parliament was opened by the king in person. A great part of the royal speech was occupied by the terrible disturbances in Ireland, and by the paramount necessity of immediately adopting measures for repressing them; for controlling and punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving and strengthening the legislative union between the two countries,—"which union," said his majesty emphatically, "with your support, and under the blessings of Divine Providence, I am determined to maintain by all the measures in my power, as indissolubly connected with the peace, security, and welfare of my people." This roused the fury of Mr. Daniel O'Connell. In the debate on the address, which re-echoed his majesty's sentiments, he called the whole address a bloody, brutal, and unconstitutional document—a declaration of civil war—such a declaration as England once put forth against America, though she reaped from it nothing but discomfiture and disgrace. After seven centuries of oppression there was still to be a call for blood in Ireland! If after so long a lapse of time, during which Ireland had been subject to England, Ireland—a territory so blessed by Providence, but so ~~curse~~ ^{curst} by man—was still in a state of wretchedness and misery, the governors, the English governors, alone were to blame. The Irish people were and ever had

been innocent and blameless. True it was that deeds of violence and crime had increased in that beautiful country; but why had they increased? The mover of the address had ascribed the increase to agitation; but he, and the other friends of ministers, seemed to have forgotten *that it was only last year they themselves had been reproached as agitators, exciting the people to support changes and innovations which the people did not originally desire or care for!* When he and his friends had most agitated Ireland for emancipation, tranquillity had most prevailed. The Whigs had been riding rough-shod over Ireland; increase of crime had always followed, and always would follow, increase of force and violence. Never had there been such a prosecuting government as the present! They had prosecuted the press, the people, and even the priests of Ireland; but had done nothing to restore tranquillity to the country. So long as Ireland had grievances to complain of, he would agitate to redress them. This was what Englishmen had done to achieve reform. An unreformed parliament had passed two acts relative to Ireland which even an Algerine government would not have sanctioned. A reformed parliament, it appeared, was now to be called on to pass another, to put an end to agitation; but he would tell them it would be many and many a day before they could frame an act capable of effecting their object.

The debate was carried on by adjournments four days, or to the 8th of February, when Mr. O'Connell's amendment, for a committee of the whole house on the address, was rejected by 428 against 40.

A coercion bill for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland was introduced into the House of Lords by Earl Grey, and was there carried without opposition. The necessity of such a bill was shown by the fact that the aggregate of crimes during the preceding year amounted to upwards of 9000, connected with the disturbed state of the country, and that the list was on the increase. But long, and loud, and fierce was the opposition it met with in the commons from O'Connell and his well-jointed tail. Some of these Irish members did not hesitate to say in private that the coercion bill was absolutely and immediately necessary. One of the chief of them said, in the hearing of several members of the house,—"*We, as Irish patriots and members, must oppose the bill to the utmost; but if you do not pass it, by heavens there will be no security for property or for life in Ireland!*" Words to this effect being subsequently repeated, created a hurricane which will not soon be forgotten. Mr. Matthew Davenport Hill, one of the members for Hull, who had first disclosed this precious specimen of Irish sincerity, received a

batch of challenges, being challenged by nearly one-half of the members of the O'Connell tail; and *only* Lord Althorpe stood forward like a man of honour, like an English gentleman, to the rescue of Mr. Hill in the House of Commons. At last, on the 29th of March, the bill being slightly altered in the commons, was read a third time and passed. Its effect was materially to decrease the number of outrageous offences that were prevalent throughout the country. Mr. Stanley now resigned the uneasy office of secretary for Ireland, and was succeeded by Sir John Cam Hobhouse. Mr. Stanley became secretary for the colonies, that place being vacated by Viscount Goderich, who was made lord privy-seal and advanced in the peerage by the title of Earl of Ripon.

Concurrent with the Irish coercion bill, measures of redress and improvement for that country were introduced. The total revenues of the Irish Protestant church amounted to about £800,000 per annum—a sum of course entirely absorbed by the Protestant churchmen. On these funds it was the intention of ministers, after abolishing first-fruits, to impose a tax, varying according to the value of livings and bishoprics from five to fifteen per cent.; from the operation of which, however, livings under £200 per annum were to be exempted; while the larger revenues of the primate and the Bishop of Derry were to be reduced respectively to the amount of £10,000 and £8000 a year. The sum collected by this tax would be applied under commissioners to the abolition of church cess; the augmentation of poor livings and building of glebe houses; the division of unions; and the erection of churches. With respect to the offices of deans and chapters, it was proposed, wherever they were unconnected with the cure of souls, to abolish them altogether, or attach them to such cure. With regard to livings where no duty had been done for the last three years, it was proposed to suspend the appointment of ministers at the discretion of the church commissioners. It was also proposed to abolish ten bishoprics, and annex the vacated sees to certain of those that were preserved. Lastly came the lands attached to bishoprics; and here the chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Althorpe, laid down this principle—"That if by the act of parliament to be introduced any new value was given to benefices, that new value, not belonging properly to the church, might be immediately appropriated to the exigencies of the state; he believed that £500,000 a year was the value of all Irish episcopal lands to the lessees or tenants, though the bishops did not receive much more than £100,000; by a different mode of granting leases, his lordship showed that a sum of near £300,000 might be acquired for the state

without any diminution of income to the bishops; and he concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the laws relating to the Established church in Ireland.

This scheme gave great dissatisfaction to two parties—to the zealous Protestants and conservative members of opposition, who detested its principle as being destructive to the interest of the church; and to the economists, radicals, and repealers, in whose opinion it left far too much of the church property untouched. Sir Robert Inglis stigmatized the measure as tending to the total destruction of the Protestant religion in Ireland. Some alterations were made in the bill, which was read a third time on the 6th of July, and passed by a majority of 274 to 94. Being sent up to the lords, it there encountered considerable opposition, and was subjected to several alterations. Their lordships finally passed it on the 30th of July, the contents being 135, the non-contents 81. On the 2d of August the commons agreed to the amendments of the lords, Mr. O'Connell observing that their lordships had not made the bill much worse than they found it, and protesting against its being considered in any other light than as the first trifling instalment of the enormous debt due to Ireland.

For a long time there had been no collecting tithes in Ireland without a riot—in many cases they could not be collected at all. A resolution was now passed for exchequer bills not exceeding £1,000,000 to be issued for advancing, under certain conditions, arrears of tithes due for 1831 and 1832, subject to a deduction of twenty-five per cent., and the value of tithes for 1833, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent., to any person entitled to such arrears or tithes, and desirous of receiving such advances. The amount advanced was to be included in the tithe composition, so as to be repaid in the course of five years by half-yearly instalments. Many people now said that England, besides paying its own tithe, would have to pay the Irish tithe also. Two commissions were issued, one for inquiring into the corporations of Ireland, and the other for investigating the condition of its labouring classes.

An important question during this season was the abolition of negro slavery in the West Indies. It was a subject which the first reform parliament could not consistently avoid, and its final settlement had been confidently anticipated both by the friends and the enemies of the new state of things. It was also found, that the half measures already passed were unsatisfactory both to the slave and the slaveholder; for while the former had enjoyed such a portion of liberty as made him anxious to possess the whole, the latter could no longer compel the amount of labour

which was necessary for the full cultivation of his farms and plantations. The negroes found that they had rights secured for them by the state, and that their slavery had in many cases been exchanged into voluntary service, while the planters endeavoured to evade these restrictions, even at the double risk of provoking the wrath of the home government, and open rebellion among their own black dependants. It was certain also that these negroes were now so elevated in spirit, intelligence, and self-reliance, that they could not be reduced to their former serfage; that they were fitted for the enjoyment of that full freedom of which the previous instalments had been a promise and preparative; and that if it was not freely and peaceably accorded to them, they would soon be in a condition to extort it by force and violence. Such were the considerations, irrespective of those of humanity and duty, which had prepared the public mind of Britain for the full measure of negro emancipation. All being in readiness, Mr. Stanley, now secretary for the colonies, explained the ministerial scheme for the purpose in a committee of the whole House of Commons, on the 14th of May. On the 30th of August the emancipation act was passed in the lords. As yet, it was not found possible, and it was perhaps not advisable, to let loose in an instant the whole negro population of the West Indies from their bondage into the enjoyment of full-grown liberty; and on this account, as well as from the resistance of the slaveholders themselves, the system of *gradualism* had still to be recognized in this great abolition. But the abolition itself was to be soon, and certain, and complete, while little more than the mere name of slavery was to be for a short time retained. On the 1st of August, 1834, the young children of the slaves were to be free. Of those who were still slaves, their servitude was to be changed into an apprenticeship that was to last, in the case of field-slaves for seven, and of house-slaves for five years, during which they were to be considered as free labourers in every respect, except in the right of changing their masters. In this way, negro slavery was speedily to expire throughout the whole British dominions. But while humanity liberated the bondman, justice was equally ready to compensate the master; and here a sacrifice was made which may well serve as an example to future ages, when some great national error is to be revoked and its injuries atoned for. It was at first proposed that the planters should be compensated for their loss of slave-labour by a loan of £15,000,000 sterling; but when it was represented that this sum was inadequate, and that it could not well be repaid, the loan was converted into a gift, and the £15,000,000 into £20,000,000. Such munificence

on the part of an impoverished nation, by whom it was as cheerfully and readily granted as if it had been the expenditure of a great national triumph, will serve as a brand for the foreheads of all future slaveholders to the end of time. If anything could cloud the joy of such an event, it was the circumstance, that only thirty-one days before the emancipation act had passed, Wilberforce, its author and champion, had died. He had struggled through many a year, amidst despondency and despair, and finally amidst the more wasting inflictions of hope deferred, in behalf of a beloved measure on which his whole energies had been concentrated; and now, when the crowning effort was to be made, he was stretched upon a death-bed, without the hope of witnessing the result. But he was cheered with the assurance that the beloved project of his life was safe, and that in a few days the bill would be passed. It was a happy foretaste of that "Well done" for which his whole life had been a preparation; and joy as well as peace illuminated the good man's departure.

Thus far the reformed parliament had made an auspicious commencement, and in the right direction: it had passed a measure to which the courage of former parliaments had been inadequate, and gratified a heroic and disinterested popular wish at the risk of materially increasing the national burdens. But justice to Africa and insulted humanity was not its only claim to favour during the first session of its existence. It also distinguished itself by its attention to the interests of trade and commerce, so that at no former period had these been better arranged or more widely extended. On these accounts, the temporary evils occasioned by the interruption and shock of reform were rapidly passing away; mercantile confidence in the legislature had revived; and mercantile enterprise, which had thriven so successfully during the period of war, but been thrown back by the return of peace, was girt anew for action, and seeking fresh fields of occupation. The principal subjects upon which parliament legislated in these departments were the renewal of the Bank charter, and of that of the East India Company. In the renewal of the Bank of England charter, which was a subject of complex and difficult nature, and had involved many intricate details and occupied much discussion, the following were the chief provisions:—A monthly publication of the bank accounts; the repayment of a portion of its capital; a partial repeal of the usury laws by which its action was hindered; an annual payment of £120,000 in return for the privileges conceded; its notes confirmed into a legal tender, except at the Bank itself or its branches; a quarterly return of the amount of circulation of all other banks; and certain regulations for the im-

provement of joint-stock banks, among which, one of the most important was the power of obtaining a charter from the crown. In renewing the East India Company's charter, most important and radical alterations were made. The trade, as well of India as China, which the Company had monopolized for centuries, was thrown entirely open. The merchant princes ceased to be merchants—they remained as lords of the soil. Some judicious changes were made in the constitution of the board of control, and every office under the Company was thrown open to British subjects without distinction. This was bold legislation, and it now appears to be universally acknowledged to have been as good and wise as it was bold. Other advances were made in the system of free trade. A free trade or commercial commission was also sent over to France. Laudable efforts were made to ascertain the actual condition of our labouring classes, with a view of improving it. The factory bill was elaborately discussed; and an act was passed, which not only reduced the daily labour of children, but made provision for their education, in a way that satisfied all the different religious classes in general. A reduction of taxation was made to the amount of £1,545,000; and finally, as a continuance or completion of reform, the borough system was altered, a sweeping corporation reform being prepared for England and for Scotland. All the evils of an irresponsible monopoly of municipal legislation were however left in Ireland.

Violent attacks were made upon the Church of England by some of the radicals who had been elected to the first reformed parliament. A Mr. Faithfull, from Brighton, proposed a wholesale seizure or confiscation of church property. He was seconded by Mr. Cobbett, but supported by no one else.

The Jews were now the only class of the community whose religion affected their rights as citizens. Mr. Grant brought in a bill to relieve them from all civil disabilities. It passed the commons, but was thrown out, on the second reading, by the lords.

The king in person prorogued parliament on the 29th of August. His majesty regretted that he could not yet announce the conclusion of a definitive arrangement between Holland and Belgium. Events which had lately taken place in Portugal had induced him to renew his diplomatic relations with that kingdom. He hoped that the recent Bank arrangements would sustain public credit and secure the usefulness of that important establishment.

On the 29th of September, an apoplectic fit terminated the life of Ferdinand VII. of Spain. His infant daughter was proclaimed queen, with her mother for regent. The regent was com-

pelled to throw herself into the arms of the constitutionalists and anti-church party. The priests, the monks, and all the ultra-royalists, declared that by the Salic law, which had been established in Spain at the accession of the Bourbon dynasty, a female could not reign; and that consequently the crown devolved to the late king's brother, Don Carlos. Another interminable civil war commenced forthwith.

In Portugal, Dom Pedro's efforts had been crowned with success. Being reinforced by the arrival of more foreign adventurers, chiefly English and French, he succeeded in driving away the Miguelites, and putting an end to their blockade of Oporto about the middle of April. The fleet, under the command of Sartorius, had fought one or two actions, but had never been paid. Dom Pedro, moreover, had treated the English commander with great coolness, which led to a violent and dangerous quarrel. Dom Pedro sent to put Sartorius under arrest; Sartorius threatened to blockade the regent in Oporto, and appeared with his ships before that town. After some long negotiations, means were found to satisfy Sartorius's claims so far that he consented to give up the command of the fleet, and he was replaced in the beginning of June by another British officer, Captain Charles Napier. On the 21st of June, the regent sailed from Oporto with 2500 men for the Algarves, the most southern province of the kingdom, and in less than a week Dom Miguel had the mortification of hearing that the whole province of Algarves was lost to him. But a still heavier blow awaited him. On the 5th of July, Admiral Napier, with a very inferior force, annihilated the Miguelite squadron off Cape St. Vincent. Dom Miguel had now only the land to trust to, and had put at the head of his army the Bourbon royalist, Marshal Bourmont, who had been, in 1830, the conqueror of Algiers, but who was now in disgrace, and an exile from his country. The Duke of Terceira, with the forces of Dom Pedro or Donna Maria, moved from the Algarves upon Lisbon. On the 23d of July, in approaching the left bank of the Tagus, he came in contact with a Miguelite force, commanded by Telles Jordao. The battle was brief, and the victory complete. The Miguelites, instead of making preparations for defence, evacuated Lisbon a night or two after this battle. The Duke of Terceira was received in the capital with transports of joy by the constitutionalists, who, before his arrival had proclaimed "the Senhora Donna Maria II., daughter of the immortal Pedro IV." Admiral Napier came up the Tagus with his victorious squadron; and now the Miguelites and the priests and monks were scampering off in all directions to seek for hiding-places, just as the constitu-

tionalists had been obliged to do when they were the losing party.

While these decisive events were taking place in the south, Marshal Bourmont was endeavouring to drive the Pedroites out of Oporto. He made a terrible attack on the 25th of July, but was finally obliged to retire, after having suffered a very considerable loss, and was obliged to go and look after the Duke of Terceira, who had taken post at Villafranca, a little to the north of the capital. The French marshal concentrated his forces at Coimbra, on the road to Lisbon. The system of defence adopted by the constitutionalists was to protect the capital by a strong chain of works, extending to the old lines of Torres Vedras, where the Duke of Wellington had so successfully kept the French at bay. The Miguelites might break their force against these bulwarks; and the Pedroites might harass them with sorties as opportunities offered, and as new troops and volunteers came in. The position of the Miguelites still kept at their command the northern and eastern provinces; and even when they had withdrawn from the Douro, there was no popular movement in that part of the country in favour of the queen. In sober truth, the common people, in nearly every part of the kingdom, were averse or indifferent to her cause and to the constitution. In the meanwhile, that young sovereign who had been acknowledged both by England and by France, had made a triumphant entrance into Lisbon, where her father, Dom Pedro, was holding the reins of government in her name, and an English ambassador was at once appointed. After some not very spirited fighting, the Miguelites retreated up the right bank of the Tagus, safely carrying off all their baggage and artillery. The last operation of the year terminated favourably for Dom Miguel. On the 2d of November, a detachment of his army gave the constitutionalists a sound beating at Alverca. These constitutionalists, being for the most part volunteers, ran away at the beginning, shamefully abandoning some of Napier's English marines. Upon finding themselves surrounded in their retreat, a great number of these volunteers went over to the enemy, shouting for Dom Miguel.

Dom Pedro could make constitutions—such as they were, but he would not himself observe them when they were made. His acts in many instances were quite as despotic as any which had proceeded from his brother. He quarrelled with the Marquis Palmella, who was almost the only man of real talent in his service, and recalled him from his embassy at London. He introduced into the government men without name, character, or even party influence. By a decree he sanctioned an act of spoliation of the

greater part of the landed proprietors in Portugal. In contempt of the liberty of the press, which was a component part of the constitution, he arbitrarily arrested a peer of the realm, who, in a printed letter, had spoken freely of the unwise acts of the government. The printer of the letter was also arrested in a manner contrary to law.

The Ottoman empire was again in jeopardy; the throne of the sultan being first menaced by a satrap, Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt; and next endangered by an insidious protecting ally, Nicholas, the Czar of Russia. The victories of Ibrahim Pacha, during the preceding year, had opened to him the passes of Mount Taurus, and the road through Asia Minor to Constantinople. On the 21st of December, 1832, Ibrahim had defeated the grand vizier at Koniah, and had taken almost the whole of the artillery, baggage, and ammunition of the Turks. Between Koniah and Constantinople there was nothing to withstand the Egyptians and Arabs. Ibrahim advanced to Broosa, at the foot of the Bithynian Olympus, and at the distance of not more than three forced marches from Constantinople. Russia could furnish, from the neighbouring ports of the Black Sea, the most prompt and substantial assistance; Russia could send the sultan troops, when France and England could only send ambassadors; and Russia was longing for the moment when despair would compel the Ottoman Porte to throw itself into her arms: this, again, was precisely the state of things which England, France, and Austria were anxious to avert; for it suited not the views and interests of any one of these powers, that the Russians should get a firm footing in European Turkey, or that Turkey should become in everything but in name a mere dependency of the Russian empire. So urgent, however, was the sultan's case, that before the diplomacy of Europe could be set in motion, he was obliged to apply to Russia for assistance both by sea and land; and a fleet from Sebastopol anchored at the entrance of the Bosphorus, on the 20th of February, 1833, to defend the narrow passage from Asia into Europe. The arrival of this Russian force excited the jealousy and alarm of Admiral Roussin, the French ambassador at the Porte, who insisted strongly that the fleet should be immediately sent back. Having failed in this, Admiral Roussin made himself the principal party in framing a treaty of peace, which was to be sent to Mehemet Ali, together with an assurance that he must accept it, or expect to see the combined French and English fleets hostilely arrayed against him on the coast of Egypt. Admiral Roussin's treaty would have left the Pacha of Egypt in possession of St. Jean d'Acre, Jerusalem, and Tripoli, in Syria. The pacha de-

manded the whole of Syria, with the adjoining district of Adana, which would have brought his territories up to the very foot of Mount Taurus; he positively refused to accede to the treaty, and he sent orders to Ibrahim to continue his advance. Constantinople was in dismay—the sultan again applied to Russia for more ships and for troops. Before the end of April, 15,000 Russians were landed at Soutari, the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, and were encamped between the army of Ibrahim Pacha and the Bosphorus. The Russian fleet guarded the Bosphorus itself; thus completely stopping the passage to Ibrahim, who had no ships, and no possibility of obtaining any. A much more numerous Russian army was marching up from the Danube. It was not the interest of Russia that Ibrahim, by receding from his demands, or the sultan by granting, should shorten the duration of her protectorate. It was the interest of the other powers that every pretext for the presence of the Russians should be speedily removed. Sultan Mahmoud wavered as one party or the other made their strong representations to him. The wishes, however, to get rid of Ibrahim Pacha and the Czar Nicholas, induced him to grant to Mehemet Ali part of his additional demands. M. Varennes, of the French legation, was authorized to proceed to the Egyptian head-quarters, and concede the pachalic of Aleppo. Ibrahim, however, insisted immovably on receiving likewise the district of Adana. The sultan at last found it prudent to comply. Military operations in Asia Minor between the Russians and the Egyptians would have thrown him more completely into the power of the czar. On the 5th of May he gave up Adana, along with the whole of Syria. On the conclusion of this peace, Ibrahim began his retrograde movement. By the end of July he had recrossed Mount Taurus. So soon as it was known that he had quitted Asia Minor, the Russian troops and ships likewise took their departure. The march from the Danube had already been countermanded. Shortly after this, the sultan was led into the dangerous and disgraceful treaty of Hunkiar-Iskellisi. By this treaty the czar was to aid the sultan in repressing all future disturbances; and the sultan, at the demand of the czar, in particular circumstances, was to shut the passage of the Dardanelles against the ships of all other nations. England and France complained that such a treaty should have been concluded without their concurrence, and each of them had a fleet at the time near the Dardanelles; but their remonstrances were unheeded, and their fleets returned. They had, in fact, been blaming the sultan for faults of their own commission or omission. They had sent him no aid; they had stood aloof at the moment of crisis; and they had

left the Porte nothing to do, but to throw itself into the arms of Russia. If a British fleet had been sent up the Dardanelles and to the Bosphorus in the month of January, the sultan would have had no need of the Russians, and Ibrahim would have suspended his march upon Constantinople. If a combined French and English fleet, or a fleet of either nation singly, had appeared off the Egyptian coast at the opening of the year, the pacha would have recalled his conquering son. But our ministers had promised a reduction of taxes, and were led to reduce the navy at a time when they ought to have strengthened it.

The free states of South America continued to demonstrate how little they were fitted for the enjoyment of freedom, and how slow they were to learn the first principles of government. They were nearly all rent by conspiracies, insurrections, and intestine warfare.

His majesty opened the session of 1834 on the 4th of January. A war of succession was raging, and was likely long to rage, in Spain; but his majesty intimated that, immediately on the death of the late king, he had recognized the succession of his infant daughter. In the debates on the address, the foreign policy of government was particularly attacked by the Duke of Wellington. To the risk of the repose of Europe, Holland and Belgium stood in the same situation now as they did two years ago. In Portugal the war was notoriously carried on by the subjects and with the capital of this country, yet the King of Spain had been told, "In this contest you must be neutral; and if you are not, we will interfere and support Dom Pedro." Under the protection of our fleets in the Douro and the Tagus, our boasted neutrality had been shamefully violated. In Spain, King Ferdinand thought proper to make an alteration in the succession to the crown, and Don Carlos was expelled. Don Carlos was required to retire to Italy. He refused, but he went to Portugal to seek assistance there, so that, in fact, the civil war in Spain grew out of the civil war in Portugal which was fomented by us. He had formerly ventured to advise the government to issue a proclamation recalling his majesty's subjects from the service of both parties; but his advice had been disregarded. In the East, too, a most unfortunate line of policy had been adopted. Why had Ibrahim Pacha been allowed to overrun the dominions of the sultan? On a former occasion, when the Pacha of Egypt was desired by this government not to carry into execution certain measures which he wished to effect, and when he was positively told that he must not proceed, he at once desisted. If this country wished to prevent him from carrying on war,

we needed only to have a fleet there. If in 1832 or 1833 our ministers had plainly told Mehemet Ali that he was not to carry on hostile operations against the sultan, they would have put an end to the war. But, instead of taking a commanding position in the Levant, our fleets were in the Douro and the Tagus protecting civil war; and in the Channel blockading the fleets of the Dutch, because that ill-used people would not yield to every demand made upon them by the Belgians. The consequence was, that our old allies, Holland, Portugal, Spain, and Turkey, were placed under the protection of other powers.

Ever since the passing of the Catholic emancipation, Ireland had been agitated for a repeal of the union. On the 22d of April, Mr. O'Connell rose in the House of Commons, and moved in form that the union should be abolished. The agitator was well answered by Mr. Spring Rice and Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert repeated the well-known exclamation of Mr. Canning: "Repeal the union! Re-enact the heptarchy!" The security of the empire depended on the maintenance of that union, without which England would be reduced to the condition of a third-rate power, and Ireland to the desolation of a wilderness. Only 38 were found to vote for O'Connell, while 523 voted against him. With a single exception the minority consisted of Irish members.

A most disproportionate share of the time of parliament continued to be taken up with Irish affairs, and the harangues, and quarrels, and mutual recriminations of Irish members. The government was guilty of the folly of yielding too much to the demands of these impatient, long-tongued men. This led to dissensions in the cabinet. It was demanded that the Protestant establishment in Ireland should depend on the comparative strength or weakness of the Romish church; and Mr. Ward made a motion for reducing the temporalities of the Protestant establishment as far exceeding the spiritual wants of the Protestant population. Ministers tried to get rid of the proposal by appointing a commission to inquire into the state of the Irish church. This expedient necessarily implied that, if facts turned out in a particular way, the cabinet would no longer oppose Mr. Ward's principles, and an attack would be made on all church property in Ireland. With this conviction Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Ripon resigned office. Their places were soon filled up: the Marquis of Conyngham became postmaster-general, and the Earl of Carlisle privy seal; Lord Auckland succeeded Sir James Graham at the admiralty, and Mr. Spring Rice succeeded Mr. Stanley in the colonial office. Mr. Abercromby and Mr. Cutler Ferguson, who had not previously held office, were appointed re-

spectively master of the mint and judge-advocate; and Mr. Poulett Thompson was now made president instead of vice-president of the board of trade.

While the cabinet was thus shaken and weakened by internal dissensions, publicity was given to a declaration made by the king to the Irish prelates—a declaration by no means favourable to an attack upon the church. Lord Althorpe informed the commons that a lay commission had been appointed to inquire into the whole state of church property and church affairs throughout Ireland; also into those of Roman Catholics and dissenters; into the number of schools in each parish, the different religious persuasions of those that attended them, &c. Ministers would not have advised the crown to adopt such a measure as this, without being prepared to act on the report of the commission, as circumstances should point out, and as the information procured by the said commission should warrant. Accordingly Lord Althorpe trusted that Mr. Ward, satisfied with what government had done, would withdraw his motion. Mr. Ward refused so to do, saying, he was afraid that the present ministers would not long continue in office; and that if they were removed, the commission would be inoperative. Lord Althorpe then moved the previous question, and carried it by 396 against 120.

The O'Connellites now called for something very like the total abolition of tithes; but they could count but a very few votes in a full house, and ministers carried another bill to amend the tithe system in Ireland. The state of that country rendered it absolutely necessary that the coercion bill, which was to expire in August, should be renewed for another year. The lord-lieutenant, the Marquis Wellesley, vacillated in his opinions, and then recommended that the severity of the bill should be in part mitigated. Mr. Littleton, now secretary for Ireland, held the same opinions, and had committed the fatal error of negotiating with Mr. O'Connell unknown to the head of the government; and Lord Durham, Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. Abercromby, and other members of the government, objected to a renewal of some of the clauses. Worried by the O'Connellites, Mr. Littleton tendered his resignation, which was refused, Lord Althorpe stating that his colleagues could not dispense with his valuable services. This stormy and complicated business ended in the resignation of Lord Althorpe; and this resignation speedily determined that of Earl Grey. No other resignations, however, followed. Lord Melbourne was put at the head of the government in lieu of Earl Grey, and kissed hands on the 16th of July. He was succeeded as home secretary by

Viscount Duncannon; and Sir John Cam Hobhouse now took the woods and forests, with a seat in the cabinet. Some time after this, Lord Carlisle resigned, and the Earl of Mulgrave took the privy seal. The new premier was obliged to declare that he did not intend to proceed with the coercion bill now before parliament; but that another measure, omitting certain clauses, would be immediately introduced in the commons. This announcement produced a vehement discussion, wherein the Dukes of Wellington and Buckingham, the Earl of Wicklow, and other peers, maintained that since the Revolution no instance had occurred of such weakness, inconsistency, and tergiversation. The new or modified coercion bill was rapidly carried through both houses; but it did not pass the lords without a strong protest, signed by the Duke of Cumberland, the Duke of Wellington, and twenty-one other peers. The modified bill was so framed as to have not the least effect upon agitation and agitators. The protesting peers held that this agitation was the real source of nearly all the violence and crime which disgraced Ireland; and those who would dream over a different view of the case must first shut their eyes to facts. Uncontrolled and undeterred the Irish agitators plied their trade—a profitable trade for some of them—with even more than their former boldness.

The ministerial tithes bill for Ireland was now taken up in earnest. Lord Melbourne, in moving its second reading in the upper house, plainly intimated that if it was lost, government would propose no other grant for the relief of the Irish Protestant clergy. Although he admitted that there might be reasons for viewing with jealousy and distrust the quarter whence certain alterations made in the bill subsequently to its original introduction proceeded, yet he thought the arrangement itself not a bad one for the clergy. The tithe in future was to be received by the crown and paid by the landlord, who, in return for the burden thus imposed on him, was to have a deduction of two-fifths, or forty per cent., of the original composition. The incomes of the clergy, however, were not to bear the whole deduction, which was only to be twenty-two and a half per cent. on them; that is, twenty per cent. for increased security, and two and a half per cent. for the expenses of collection: incumbents therefore would receive £77, 10s. for every £100, without trouble, without the risk of bad debts, and without any of that odium which had hitherto attended the collection of tithes. Another consequence was, that the clergy would be relieved from the payment of sums already advanced to them from the treasury, as that charge would be laid on the landlord.

The revision of existing compositions, made under the acts of 1823 and 1832, he thought also a proper enactment. The bill underwent a complete discussion, the Tory lords seeing no security for the rights and interests of the Irish clergy in yielding to what they considered an



LORD MELBOURNE

From a portrait by Sir George Hayter

act of injustice; while their opponents thought that it would be much more advantageous to the clerical body to obtain the sum proposed without risk, than to recover a smaller, if they recovered any at all, through scenes of blood and slaughter. "But the bill," said Lord Brougham, "was to be rejected because Mr. O'Connell approved of it and had amended it: that was to say, a man whom they disliked had only to advise them how to save the country from a civil war, in order to insure the rejection of such a suggestion! It was very easy for such politicians to say, 'Am I to degrade myself by taking a leaf out of Mr. O'Connell's book? Shall I permit him to dictate to me?' But he did dictate to them; and the only difference was, that instead of taking the thing honestly and directly as a beneficial suggestion, they submitted to take the law from him, by enabling him to decide what they should not do." The Earl of Ripon and the Duke of Richmond wished the bill to go into committee, with an intention of restoring it to its original state; and, if unsuccessful in that, they would vote against the third reading. On a division, however, the second reading was rejected by a majority of sixty-seven; and the Irish Protestant clergy were thus thrown on the charity of the British public, who subscribed largely for their relief.

Some of the dissenters of England would have fain left the clergy of the Established church at home as hungry as their brethren in Ireland. They begged to be relieved from the necessity of supporting an establishment, in the advantages of which, they said, they did not participate. Many petitions were presented to parliament, praying to be relieved from church-rates; and in many instances urging the separation of church and state, or recommending a general establishment of the voluntary system. They did not want advocates in parliament, for the radicals had long been looking at the great prize which might be gained in church property if the Establishment should be overthrown. The petitions did not lead to any result, except that of producing a strong expression of opposite opinion, and calling forth numerous anti-petitions, praying parliament to preserve the church inviolate: ministers also fulfilled their declarations, that they would listen to no proposition for its destruction. Nevertheless, a motion made by Mr. Rippon, the new member for Gateshead, to expel the bishops from the House of Lords, found a minority of fifty-eight voices in a house consisting of 183 members.

Among the grievances of which the dissenters complained in their numerous petitions, none were more strongly dwelt on than their practical exclusion from degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, in consequence of being required to sign a declaration of conformity with the Church of England, or to subscribe her articles. They demanded, as a matter of civil right, that religious tests should be abolished, and the universities thrown open for education, and a certain extent of graduation to men of any creed. It was clear that their chance of success would be greatly increased if they could state a feasible case of concurrent opinion in these learned bodies themselves; and fortune at this time favoured their exertions at Cambridge. Great pains had been lately taken by some of the medical professors in that university to advance the interests of their particular science; and, being alarmed at the exertions made in the metropolis, not only to establish a medical school, but to obtain the power of granting degrees, they felt anxious to ward off the mischief which might thence accrue to their *alma mater*, by opening her doors wider to students of medicine. For this purpose, however, it was necessary to admit others with them into the sanctuary: and, as a considerable body existed in the senate who thought the time had now arrived when dissenters from the Established church might safely be admitted to such academical degrees as were unconnected with theology, and who, instead of seeing danger to the Establishment from the introduction of a few young men

of the higher class of dissenters into the academical body, thought rather that the dissenting community had reason to fear for the conversion of their youth—a petition was got up without much difficulty, and signed by sixty-three resident members of the senate, praying for the abolition of religious tests offered to candidates for degrees in arts, law, and physic. At the same time, in making this request, the petitioners stated, "That they were only asking for a restitution of their ancient laws and laudable customs; since the restrictions complained of were imposed on the university in the reign of James I., most of them in a manner informal and unprecedented, and grievously against the wishes of many then members of the senate, in times of bitter party animosities, and during the prevalence of dogmas both in church and state which are at variance with the present spirit of English law, and with the true principles of Christian toleration."

This petition, which simply asked the removal of subscription—neither seeking the admission of dissenters as such, nor their participation in college fellowship, nor any change on their account in lectures or discipline—was presented on the 21st of March by Earl Grey in the House of Lords, and on the 24th by Mr. Spring Rice in the commons, being considered as a convenient instrument to try the temper of the two houses, and ascertain the views of different parties by the discussion which it was sure to produce. No motion, however, was made till after the Easter recess; when Colonel Williams moved an address to his majesty, praying him to signify his royal pleasure to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, that those bodies should act no longer under the edicts or letters of James I., 1616. It was however thought, for many reasons, more advisable to proceed by bill; and Mr. Wood, one of the members for Preston, moved an amendment to that effect, which was carried.¹

Though the Cambridge petition had been presented in both houses by members of the cabinet, and government had declared its entire concurrence in the prayer of the petitioners, no proposition on the subject was brought forward by ministers. Favourable as they were to the measure of relaxation, they expressed their hopes, that, as a portion of one of the universities was already inclined to it, the object, if not pressed too eagerly, might be effected with the concurrence of those learned bodies in a much better form, and to much better purpose, than if they were made to act reluctantly under the compulsion of a statute. They wished, therefore, that neither parliament nor government should be driven to interfere in the business before they could engage with a prospect of terminating it in

¹ *Annual Register for 1834.*

the best and most satisfactory manner. The dissenters, however, and their partizans, took the matter into their own hands, and pressed on with such violence as soon disgusted their best friends. Ministers would not run the risk of preventing them, but took no lead in the measure, though they supported it by their speeches and votes.

Before the bill was brought in, the sentiments of the great mass in the two academical bodies became fully expressed. It was soon discovered that the sixty-three petitioners at Cambridge, by offending the honest principles of many, and the rancorous party spirit of a few, had raised a storm which no argument or explanation, though it engaged some of the ablest pens in that university, could allay. Meetings were held almost daily, pamphlets were showered forth like hail, the public journals gave up their pages to the contest, and the university pulpit resounded with the most awful denunciations. During the excitement thus provoked, a counter-petition was signed by 258 members, resident and non-resident, comprising eleven heads of houses, eight professors, and twenty-nine tutors; while a second was signed by 755 under-graduates and bachelors of arts. These were presented, on the 21st of April, by the Duke of Gloucester, as chancellor of the university, in the House of Lords; and by Mr. Goulburn, one of its representatives, in the House of Commons. On the 9th of May, Mr. Estcourt presented a similar document from the university of Oxford; and a second petition was sent from Cambridge, signed by many members of the senate who had not signed the other.

Although Mr. Wood brought in his bill soon after the Easter holidays, it was not till the 20th of June that he was enabled to move the second reading. Mr. Estcourt then proposed, as an amendment, that it should be read a second time that day six months: he argued that the course of education pursued at Oxford and Cambridge was essentially a religious one, and the supporters of the bill could not succeed in their object without destroying the religious part of the system. "This indeed," he said, "was the aim of the dissenters; to introduce a system of education which would lead to a dissolution of the connection existing between the church and state; or, in other words, to the destruction of the established religion of the country." Mr. Herbert, who seconded the amendment, enforced the argument:—"It had been suggested," he said, "that persons of all denominations might be taught the leading doctrines of morality and religion without touching on debatable questions; but he doubted if this were possible; and he expected no advantage from so vague a system of theology—an emasculated kind of instruction in Christianity and morals, producing no feeling of confidence

or reverence in the minds of its pupils: a bill like the present would operate as a direct exclusion of the clergy from the universities, and every parish in England would feel the consequences!" In addition to this argument, the honourable gentleman asked why the dissenters, who were an opulent and intelligent body, did not found colleges of their own, in which they might adopt that system which pleased them best; and if they hedged in their institutions with religious tests calculated to exclude churchmen, the latter would not complain. The answer to this was given in the speech of Mr. Potter, who, with Messrs. Ewart and Poulter, spoke in favour of the bill; contending that the alteration required was necessary, no less for the benefit of the universities than in justice to the dissenters: by the present system the latter were impeded in their progress to the bar by having to keep terms for five years instead of three, and were prevented from becoming fellows of the College of Physicians for want of academical degrees; and this could not be remedied by degrees of their own. With regard to subscription of the thirty-nine articles, it was said, that instead of insuring sincerity in religion, it generated hypocrisy and indifference to religion altogether; it was also declared that the exclusive spirit of the universities, being no longer in accordance with the spirit of the age, could not much longer be preserved, especially when so large a body of dissenters had grown up, actuated by a desire of obtaining their just rights. Mr. C. W. Wynne was convinced that the present bill was but the first of a series of measures, which, if not checked in time, must lead to the subversion of the Established church and the destruction of all our institutions. On the other hand, Mr. Spring Rice complained that it was unfair to treat the bill, not according to its own deserts, but in reference to other supposed measures which might or might not be connected with that under discussion: in the course of his argument, he asked what could be more inconsistent and unjust than the practice now prevailing at Cambridge, where dissenters were admitted so far as instruction was concerned, but excluded from everything to which instruction ought to lead? They were admitted to the fullest and most complete course of study until the twelfth term; when, on being brought into fair competition with their fellow-students, the odious principle of exclusion intervened, and the dissenter was told, that however obedient he had been to college regulations, however high the eminence he had acquired, still he should not be allowed the badge or symbol of his acquirements, simply because he was a dissenter. He really thought that, so far from deteriorating or endangering the church establishment, the approxima-

tion of dissenters to its members in a course of education might bring many within the pale of that church who would otherwise continue to dissent from it; and he denied that the mixture of persons differing in religious persuasions at Cambridge had been injurious either to the university or any other institution of the country. The house had the benefit of experience, for in Dublin dissenters were admitted to degrees, though excluded from fellowships and all participation in the internal management of the university: and what mischief had followed the admission? Was the university less orthodox in its principles, or less a Protestant foundation than before? Had the zeal of its public instructors been lessened, or their sphere of usefulness narrowed by this interference? It had been said that the dissenters ought to found universities of their own: he concurred in that argument; but the English universities would not allow them to do so: when they proposed such a step, in order to educate the youth of their own persuasion, and reward them with those honours which the universities denied, and thus sought to secure to themselves academical honours and privileges, the universities stepped forward and said—We will not only exclude you from our seats, but will also prevent your enjoying the advantages and privileges of a university of your own. This double ground of exclusion and prohibition was what no one could defend.

The colonial secretary was answered by Mr. Goulburn, who argued that in proportion as the advocates of the bill enforced the danger of excluding dissenters, they rendered manifest the ruinous consequences of concession; if the dissenters deemed it so hard to be deprived of the empty honour of a degree, what would they say if they were admitted to degrees and found a bar raised against their admission to college emoluments and distinctions? When it was said by the right honourable gentleman that Dublin afforded an example which they might safely follow, it was an unhappy one in itself, and unfairly stated; in Dublin the degree conferred on its possessor no power of government, and on this point all the merits of the intended comparison turned: besides, an Irish member had a motion now on the order-book requiring that dissenters should be placed on the same footing with members of the Establishment, in respect to scholarships and fellowships in that university; and his plea was, that, as we were about to admit dissenters to degrees in England, he saw no reason why dissenters in Ireland should not have the advantages which those degrees conferred in England. In speaking of the course pursued at Cambridge, the broad distinction had been forgotten, that a dissenter was not admitted as such, but as a member

of the university willing to submit to its regulations; and, till the period for taking his degree arrived, he followed the rules prescribed by that body; but if he were brought to college openly as a dissenter, either he was absolved from the restraints of religious discipline, or was forced to proclaim his own hypocrisy. Under the proposed bill, every class of dissenters, Jews, Turks, infidels, Socinians, men of any denomination, would be admissible to degrees; it repealed *ipso facto* all the statutes which regulated the internal government of colleges, and did away with all that religious attendance which had been justly lauded: now religious instruction should never be disjoined from general education; and there had been a time in our history when opposite sentiments would have drawn down universal reprobation. The right honourable gentleman went on to show the evil consequences of a system of education without a religious test, drawn from foreign universities; and implored the house to abstain from depriving Christianity of the advantages which it derived from the discipline and constitution of our own—from dis severing religion and learning.

Mr. Stanley said, that when the first Cambridge petition was presented, he had been disposed to concur in its prayer, so far as might be consistent with the safety of the Established church; but he would not conceal his feeling, that the tone subsequently assumed, and the principles asserted by the dissenters, had tended to change in some respects his opinion, and rendered it necessary for the house to view their whole claims with more jealousy than before: still he would vote for the principle of the bill, but not as declaring for a change in the system of university education. It was only in Oxford that subscription to the thirty-nine articles was required from a student entering the university; though a member of that university, he wished to see this part of the system altered, for he could not bring himself to believe in that gloss which had been put on it—that such subscription was merely a matter of form, and that no real adhesion to those articles was implied until the party was instructed in their meaning.

Sir Robert Peel, after a long speech, in which he characterized the bill as an enactment intended to give to Jews, infidels, and atheists—to the man who professed some religion, and to the man who professed none—a statutable right to demand admission into our universities—declared that, after a removal of all civil disabilities from dissenters by the repeal of the corporation and test acts, and from Roman Catholics by the act of emancipation; and after a vast change effected by the reform bill in the constitution of parliament, the question at last was, Were we, or were we not, to maintain an estab-

lished religion? In all those measures of relief alluded to, there never was an intimation that they would lead to further demands, and lay a foundation for ulterior claims. To concede the demands now made, he asserted, would not be for the advantage of the dissenters themselves; to whom, as well as to all Christians, the preservation of the Established church was an inestimable benefit, to protect them as well from superstition on the one hand, as fanaticism on the other; and secure to them and their posterity the decent observance of divine worship, and the substantial benefits of toleration; which could be secured only by such an establishment. What, he asked, constituted the union between church and state? What was the essence of an established church? What, but a legislative recognition of it on the part of the state? Parliament, therefore, was entitled to say to the dissenters—"With that legislative recognition you shall not interfere."

Sir R. H. Inglis and Lord Sandon also opposed the bill, which was supported by Lord Althorpe, who strenuously contended, that by such support he would be guilty of no hostile act against the Established church. He maintained that interference with divine worship was no necessary consequence of the bill, neither would it interfere with the education of members of the Church of England; for if it passed into a law, it would only entitle dissenters to take a degree without subscription to any articles of religion, or any declaration of faith; neither investing them with fellowships, nor with the power of instructing youth. For the principle of the bill therefore he was prepared to vote; and in committee, all changes might be effected for limiting that principle to the extent required. The house then divided, and the second reading was carried by 321 votes against 174. In the committee, the speaker gave his decided opposition to the principle of the bill, and some amendments having been made, it was read a third time, and passed, on the 28th of July, by a majority of 164 against 75. The Earl of Radnor took charge of the bill in the House of Lords, where the arguments for and against it did not vary from those used in the commons. The Duke of Gloucester, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, after denouncing the bill not only as uncalled for, but most unjust and mischievous, moved, as an amendment, that it be read that day six months. His royal highness was followed by the Duke of Wellington, chancellor of Oxford, who argued forcibly on the same side. Lord-chancellor Brougham supported the bill, because he thought it went to remove a practical grievance, without affecting the discipline of the universities or the safety of the church; and the discussion was

closed by a long and ingenious speech from the Bishop of Exeter; when a division took place, and the amendment was carried by the overwhelming majority of 187 against 85 who voted for the second reading.

The dissenters generally, who had materially aided the Whig ministers at the last general election, put a very high price on their services, and seemed to consider that they could not ask



LORD ALTHORPE
From a portrait by T. Phillips R.A.

too much from ministerial gratitude. They demanded to be released from the payment of church rates. Mr. Divett made a motion in the House of Commons to that effect. Some of the friends of dissent, in supporting the motion, said that if practical grievances were not removed, the Established church would possess little security, as the dissenters had become so formidable in numbers. In this estimate noise was made to pass for numbers. Lord Althorpe said that, as he had himself given notice of a motion on this subject, and as he did not think the present a desirable occasion to adopt the principle contained in the resolution, he should move the previous question. Mr. Divett was willing to wait for the government plan, and withdrew his motion. On the 21st of April, Lord Althorpe brought forward that plan in the shape of a resolution, "That, after a fixed time, church-rates should cease; and in lieu thereof, a sum not exceeding £250,000, should be granted from the land-tax, to be applied as parliament should direct." His intention, he said, was to provide for the fabrics of the church, and to relieve the dissenters at the same time. This scheme, however, did not at all suit the views of the dissenters. Mr. Hume led the attack against it,

calling it a contemptible juggle, founded on the old financial principle, that if money were taken out of the pockets of the people by indirect means, they would not be sensible of their loss. On a division, the motion was indeed carried by 256 against 140; but government found it expedient to proceed no further with the measure.

Ministers were not more fortunate in another attempt to gratify the dissenters, by allowing them to celebrate the marriage ceremony in their own chapels. A bill to this effect, brought in by Lord John Russell, was refused by them, principally on the ground that it required the banns to be published in the parish church, which, they said, involved a principle that rendered them inferior to their fellow-subjects.

Lord Althorpe moved a resolution touching the

commutation of tithes in England. He set out with two propositions—"First, that whatever difference of opinion might exist as to the abstract right of tithes, they did not belong to the landlord; secondly, that the revenues of the Established church were not larger than its purposes required: tithes, therefore, must be treated as property belonging to the church, and consequently they could not be taken away without a fair equivalent." What his lordship would have altered, was the mode of collecting the tithes. This, he said, was a source of irritation, and not unfrequently of unpleasant collision. It might be avoided by commutation. But the principles and details of the method he proposed were relished neither by the clergy nor by the landholders; and the measure was dropped for the present.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1834—1835.

WILLIAM IV.

Proposed amendment of the poor laws—Necessity of the measure—Committee of inquiry appointed—Its report—Statement of evils to be remedied—The new poor laws—Their beneficial effects—Motion of Lord Chandos for the alleviation of taxes on agriculture—Mr. O'Connell's proposal on the subject—Sir Robert Peel's indignant reply—The motion of the Marquis of Chandos defeated—Mr. Cobbett moves for the repeal of the malt-tax—His motion rejected—Mr. Hume's motion for an alteration of the corn laws—His statement of their evils—His remedy—The motion rejected—Parties for and against it—Other taxes reduced—Parliament prorogued—Burning of the two Houses of Parliament—Breaking up of the Whig ministry—Sir Robert Peel in his absence appointed premier—The Duke of Wellington holds the office until Peel's return—New ministry appointed—State of affairs in Portugal—Dom Miguel obliged to abandon Portugal—Affairs of Spain—The Biscayans adopt the cause of Don Carlos—Successes of his general Zumalacarrégui—Sir Robert Peel commences office as premier—His resolution not to interfere with the reform bill—Commission to examine the state of ecclesiastical affairs in England and Wales—Meeting of the new parliament—Trial of strength among the parties—The king's opening speech—The Duke of Wellington attacked for holding the interim-premiership along with his other offices—The duke's explanation and defence—He is attacked by Lord Brougham—The Duke of Wellington's discharge of the duties of premier justified by the lord-chancellor—Debate upon the same subject in the commons—Irish affairs—Orange societies—Motion for a repeal of the malt-tax defeated—The Marquis of Londonderry appointed ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg—Opposition to the appointment—Arguments of Mr. Shiel against it—Mr. Ferguson's objections—The marquis charged with having stigmatized the Poles as rebels—Sir Robert Peel's statement of the fitness of the marquis for the embassy—The Marquis of Londonderry resigns his appointment—Report of the commission of inquiry into the state of the church—The Irish tithe question—Plan proposed for its settlement—Debate on the subject—Various motions in parliament—Lord John Russell's motion on the Irish church temporalities question—Irish church affairs.



LITTLE comparatively was done during this session, though one act was passed, the importance of which cannot be too highly estimated. It was the act for the amendment of the poor laws. The alarming increase of pauperism had been complained of from year to year; the remedies hitherto adopted had all been found useless; and when at last the annual poor-rate had grown to more than £7,000,000; a more decisive remedy

than any as yet attempted could no longer be delayed. There was previously needed a more searching investigation of the evil than the parliamentary committees had been able to carry out; and in 1832 a commission of inquiry had been appointed by the crown, consisting of nine persons, among whom were the Bishops of London and Chester, who were to draw up their report, after a strict investigation into the state of every parish in England and Wales. The result, after two years of inquiry, was overwhelm-

ing. It was found that the poor-rate was little else than an incentive to pauperism, and a fund for idleness and crime. In consequence of this provision, which was looked upon as inexhaustible, all who were disinclined to labour applied to it, as to a common property which belonged to them of right; and thus, while the idle folded their hands until they were qualified for a claim upon the fund, thoughtless boys and girls married, and the profligate went on untrammelled and unchecked, in the knowledge that public resources were provided for the maintenance of their numerous broods whether lawfully begotten or illegitimate. Where there were so many claimants, also, it was difficult to send any away empty: bullying and importunity could extort where modest necessity would have been unavailing; and there were parish guardians enough who loved their own ease, and country justices greedy of vulgar popularity, to scatter the doles abroad without stint or question. In this way the £7,000,000 were but a drop in the bucket, which was dried up none knew how. In such a state of society what were industry and property worth? The labourer might work additional hours, but he knew that this extra labour went to feed the idle and improvident. The farmer might sow and reap, but the goodness of his crop would be visited by a heavier assessment. The landed gentleman reduced his establishment and expenditure, and found that his estate, which had sunk to half its value, would soon be worth nothing. Such were the general facts established by the poor-law inquiry, and it was illustrated by such a mass of particular statements as left no further ground for doubt or cavil. It was evident that, whatever might be the apparent grandeur or prosperity of Britain, a worm was at the root, which nothing short of the severest applications would extirpate; and it was to avert these evils that Lord Althorpe, on the 17th of April, after the printed report of the commission had been distributed among the members of both houses, moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the laws relating to the poor.

The report, which had been ably drawn up by Mr. Edwin Chadwick, by whom the inquiry had been chiefly conducted, went far to simplify the work which parliament had now on hand. Relief of the poor was still a Christian and national duty, and therefore must be continued; but the old mode of relief had become so corrupt, that a new one must be adopted. And for this change the season was not too late, for the worst faults were scarcely older than the beginning of the present century. So great at that time was the destitution and discontent among the working classes, that the levelling principles of the French

revolution had obtained ready access among them. It was then that, to assuage this suffering and appease this discontent, the 36th of George III. was enacted, of which the principle was, that the relief to paupers ought to be given them in such a manner as to place them in a situation of comfort. It was, indeed, a humane principle in the abstract, but its effect was to empower the magistrates and overseers to order relief to be given to the poor on the road-side or in their own dwellings. This was enough to open the flood-gates of abuse; the poor, or those who called themselves such, crowded in multitudes for relief, until pauperism itself became the prevalent trade, and all shame and independence of spirit was destroyed. Another, and a still worse mode of relief, because more liable still to abuse, was the allowance plan, through which a labourer was supported by the parish paying one part of his wages, and the farmer who employed him the other—an investiture of pauperism with the fruits of industry and the show of honest independence. And to show that this evil system could even yet be altered, examples were not wanting. Already, in about 100 parishes, the inhabitants had taken alarm at the wasteful increase of the poor-rates, and adopted more discriminating modes of giving relief; and in every instance the experiment had succeeded. But very different was it the while under the old plan; there, the rates were so heavy and the mismanagement so great, that in some places the cultivation of the soil had been abandoned, and the support of their poor thrown upon the neighbouring parishes. Besides this change in the mode of administering relief which now occupied attention, the question was, To whom was relief to be administered? Who were the poor? Those who could work but would not—those who could satisfy their consciences with half-work, and take out the other half of their support in charity—those who improvidently rushed into marriage without providing for a family's support—such, and others less deserving still of aid, were applicants for the weekly allowance of bread and money which was wrung from those industrious poor who were too proud to beg, and who preferred to work and starve. Such worthless characters who loudly trumpeted their wants, had hitherto been called "the poor," and been sustained by the fund that was levied for the support of real and inevitable poverty. But a weeding-out was to ensue that would throw them aside in heaps. Relief was now to be administered only to those who were suffering under accidental or natural helplessness, and not to the sturdy and the idle, for whom occupation could be found.

It was under the light of this experience furnished by the poor-rate inquiry, and for the

removal of these abuses, that the government bill now brought forward by Lord Althorpe for the amendment of the poor law had been framed. The first principle which it recognized was that of the old—that every necessitous person had a claim to relief. But, that their numbers might be lessened, by the free circulation of labour, it was necessary to simplify the law of settlement and removal. Accordingly, settlement by hiring and labour was to continue no longer, and labour was free to come and go wherever it was most in demand. Relief to the able-bodied at their own homes was to be discontinued, and the allowance system was to terminate, so that whosoever sought for public relief must repair for it to the workhouse, and become an inmate there, instead of an easy sojourner in his own home, or a vagabond at large. When the poor were thus gathered within the common workhouse, instead of being distributed over the parish, care was to be taken that these free quarters should not be tempting receptacles for idleness and self-indulgence, but mere shelters for absolute destitution; and therefore the workhouse rules were necessarily of a stringent character. Those who were able-bodied were still to work for their living within its walls, and bestow an equivalent in labour for every meal. The aged and infirm were to be separated from the able-bodied, that they might enjoy greater quiet and fare better suited to their conditions. But the most terrible of workhouse separations, and that which was calculated to deter applicants except under very urgent necessity, was the regulation by which the husband was compelled to live apart from the wife, and the parents from the children. It was at first sight a savage and unnatural requirement; but by no other plan could these institutions be guarded from becoming mere nurseries of an increasing pauper population, and in no other way could the children who were already inmates be properly educated, and trained to habits of regular industry. As it would have been impossible to carry out this plan with the little workhouse attached to each parish, these were superseded by an union of several parishes with one large central workhouse, which sufficed for the whole union. Finally, as such a system could not be carried out by the magistrates, whose prejudices it would have offended, and whose local popularity and influence it would have greatly impaired, its whole government was to be managed by a central board of three commissioners, having twenty-one assistant commissioners under them, these being afterwards diminished to nine when the new organization was completed.

These were the remedies devised for the relief of our overgrown and overwhelming pauperism,

as well as for the gradual diminution of its amount. But even this was not enough as long as the illicit sexual intercourse among the lower orders was encouraged by the trivial penalties with which it was visited, and the facilities which the poor law had provided for the support of their illegitimate offspring. Hitherto, it had been thought enough for the mother to establish a father for her illegitimate child by oath; after this she was absolved from all expense of its maintenance, which was devolved upon the man, or, if he was not forthcoming, upon the parish; and in such cases the female was often tempted to affiliate the child upon some substantial householder, who was able to support it, and who had a character to lose. It was by no gentle, easy measure that this encouragement to immorality and boundless source of pauperism could be checked, and therefore the new law went at once to the root of the evil, by making every woman the guardian of her own virtue. It was proposed that the law should take no cognizance of the father at all, but compel every woman to support her own illegitimate offspring. It was here that the opposition to the new system was at the loudest, and it was thought hard that the whole burden of the offence should be laid upon the weaker offender. But its working, even with many modifications, showed that the benevolent complainers were in the wrong. Parents became more careful of their daughters, and females of themselves; and while a higher tone of morality was thus cultivated among the lower orders, society in general was astonished at the sudden diminution of illegitimate births that had taken place, in comparison with former years.

Such was the new poor law, at which all were astonished and many offended; which required no ordinary amount of courage to propose, and had no common measure of opposition to encounter through whole years of obloquy and trial. But before two years had expired, its fruits were such as might have satisfied the most sceptical. Marriages where the parties were little more than children, with the prospect of the parish for their support, had greatly abated. Instances were becoming rare in which clergymen had to celebrate hasty unions where the female was on the point of becoming a mother. The decrease of illegitimate births throughout England chargeable upon the parish, was to the number of nearly 10,000, or nearly thirteen per cent. Farmers were able to employ more labourers, and redundant labour had its fair occupation. Able-bodied beggary was transformed into active useful industry. The rates, which had increased nearly a million annually during the five years that preceded the new law, had, five years after it, diminished from upwards of seven

millions, to very little above four. Such a result was one of the most glorious of those successes which distinguished the commencement of the reform administration.

While the condition of the labourers was to be so greatly improved by these new poor laws, it was evident that this benefit would ascend to the landowners, whose burdens would be lightened, while their property would become more valuable. But this was too slow and gradual a process, and they wished for something more speedy and more direct. The subject was brought before the commons on the 21st of February, by the Marquis of Chandos. The distress of the agriculturists, he stated, was neither local nor of short standing; on the contrary, it was extended over the whole class, and had continued since 1821, when the returns of capital employed in farming had been considerably below the ordinary rate of profit. He also showed how the prices of agricultural produce had fallen, while wages had risen and burdens been increased, so that the farmer found it impossible to make both ends meet. He therefore moved, "That in any reduction of the burdens of the country, which might be rendered practicable by the remission of taxes, due regard be paid to the necessity of relieving the distress of the agriculturists, which had been alluded to in the speech from the throne." In reply, the chancellor of the exchequer admitted that the agricultural interest was in a very depressed state; but he held that the relief which had been generally granted to the other classes of the community, would also extend to farmers and landholders. The same view was followed by those members who opposed the motion. The government, it was alleged also, did not anticipate a greater surplus of revenue than £1,200,000, and even if the whole of it were impartially applied to the reduction of general taxation, the share of relief which would fall to the agricultural interest would scarcely be felt. Moreover, in making their demand, the supporters of the motion were far from being at one as to the mode in which relief should be afforded, some of them requiring a repeal of the malt-tax, and others a revocation of the change that had been made in the currency. Upon this idea Mr. O'Connell fastened, and he proposed to reform the currency, by arbitrarily striking off at least one-sixth of the national debt. "Talk," he exclaimed, "of the cant of national faith indeed!—national faith, so called, is national injustice. We must at last come to the reduction of the interest of the debt, and, therefore, the minds of all persons ought to be made up to some such measure." Mr. Stanley congratulated the house on the abhorrence it had manifested at so absurd and profligate a

proposal; and Mr. Peel, after an indignant rebuke of O'Connell and his doctrine, said, "You have decided the question of the repeal of the union by this preliminary declaration. Know every man who has property of any description—who has any interest in the national funds, that on such slender pretences of state necessity rests the doctrine which justifies a violation of national faith—a doctrine under which, if once established, no description of property is any longer safe." The motion of the Marquis of Chandos had been ventured, in consequence of a rash declaration of the chancellor of the exchequer that the national funds were exceedingly prosperous; and from this, the agriculturists had been led to hope that certain burdens affecting their interests would be repealed; but although the motion was lost, and that, too, in a full house, it was only by a majority of four. Encouraged by this success, the marquis once more brought forward the subject, on the 7th of July, by moving a petition, to be addressed to his majesty, on the continuance of agricultural distress in the country, and that the attention of government should be directed to it with a view to its immediate relief. But on this occasion, ministers had a majority of sixteen, 174 having voted for the motion, and 190 against it.

Ten days afterwards, a more specific application in behalf of the agriculturists was made by Mr. Cobbett, who moved that the malt duty should cease from and after the 5th of October following. He supported his motion, not only on account of the great numerical superiority of the agricultural over the manufacturing classes, but the vast numbers of all classes both in town and country who drank beer, and would be benefited by the repeal. He stated that if there were no tax, the four million quarters of malt, which cost the people £14,400,000, would only cost them £5,600,000. The tax therefore took from the people nearly nine millions of money, of which sum only four millions and a half went into the exchequer, while the rest was a monopoly of the extensive maltsters. He alleged also, that, on the score of public morals, such a change would be desirable, as the peasant and the workman, if enabled to use their own home-brewed, would be freed from the temptations of the ale-house. But though these arguments were distinct and forcible, they were opposed, as tending to unsettle the financial measures of the country, and diminish the revenue by five millions, for which no substitute could be found. The motion was rejected by 142 to 59.

While the demands of the agriculturists were thus opposed, the corn laws had been quoted against them by their opponents as an answer to all complaints. But now the conflict was changed,

and the corn laws attacked in turn. On the 6th of March, Mr. Hume commenced a discussion which lasted during that and the following day, by moving "That this house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to consider of the corn laws (Geo. IV. c. 60), and of substituting, instead of the present graduated scale of duties, a fixed and moderate duty on the import at all times of foreign corn into the United Kingdom, and for granting a fixed and equivalent bounty on the export of corn from the United Kingdom; with the ultimate view of establishing a free trade in corn." It was well known that the poor law had been framed on the supposition that the corn laws would be relaxed, and several members of government voted on the present occasion with Mr. Hume. Still, the motion was premature, although it served as a preparation for the changes which afterwards followed. It was to these laws that Mr. Hume traced all the existing distress to be found in the country: they occasioned the want of employment, and this want he ascribed to the obstacles which the corn laws presented to the consumption of manufactures, both by raising the price of production, and impeding their export to countries willing to take them in return for corn. Since 1770, when England ceased to be an exporting country, the population had nearly doubled, while the land upon which they would be thrown back under the present system, would soon be unable to support them. By an equalization of the price of food with that of other countries, our tradesmen and operatives would have it thirty or forty per cent. cheaper than it was at present, and would have no longer to work fifteen or sixteen hours a day in order to compete with the foreign producer. The defence of the corn laws had mainly been the necessity of protecting the agricultural interest; but instead of being beneficial to that interest, they had been injurious to it; and even if they were beneficial, it would be inexpedient to confer such a benefit at the expense of all the rest of the community. They had injured both landlord and farmer, in consequence of having missed their aim of keeping the price of corn steady, and this failure was owing to the variations they had undergone to meet emergencies, twelve of these having occurred since 1815. Since that year, when the ports ceased to be open, the average price of corn had become lower upon the Continent than in Britain; but why should the agriculturists claim to be supported in a monopoly which was then granted to them by a parliament of landholders? The plea was, that they had been granted as a counterpoise to particular burdens imposed upon our agriculture; but of these burdens some had been attached to land from time immemorial, some had been lessened,

and the rest were only shared in common with the manufacturing and other classes. In the meantime, our manufactures had been excluded from the American ports, from Prussia, and from Germany, in consequence of our refusal to receive their corn. On every sound principle, therefore, the system should be changed for one which should give steady prices, and at the same time permit free commercial intercourse. We must either relieve the agricultural interest from its exclusive burdens, or confer upon it an equivalent protecting duty. In the present situation of the country, he thought that the duty on wheat should commence at tenpence a quarter, to be reduced one penny on each successive year. This would be a slow mode of relief, but it would perhaps be better than a sudden and extreme alteration. It would be impossible within our limits to give even a summary of the objections with which the motion was encountered; and we can only advert to one of them in passing. Mr. Hume had correctly stated that his proposal would reduce rents thirty per cent., and occasion the transference of two-thirds of the landed property of England into other hands. But had not the landholders suffered enough already? Under the operation of Mr. Peel's bill, a large share of land had passed into the hands of the fund-holders, and numerous families been reduced from opulence to beggary; but by this proposal, the evil would be increased to such an overwhelming extent, as to make it equivalent to an agrarian law. Mr. Hume's motion was rejected by a majority of 312 against 155. Mr. Poulett Thompson, though a member of the government, voted for Mr. Hume, or for free trade. Both Lord Morpeth and Lord Howick took the same course, contending that it was the corn laws which kept the agricultural interest in a state of depression, when all other interests were prospering; that protection had injured, was now injuring, and would for ever continue to injure the protected. The Irish members did not exhibit themselves as advocates of free trade: all those who spoke were decidedly adverse to the proposition, and hoped that all their colleagues in the representation of Ireland would be equally so; for they maintained that a repeal of the corn laws would deprive Ireland of the market for three-fourths of her produce, and render her incapable of consuming the manufactures of England.

Some further slight reductions were made in taxation, but it was again somewhat to the injury of the strength and efficiency of the great national defences. Mr. Hume, who would have been casting up totals or clamouring for little savings if the French navy had been riding triumphant in the Channel, ready to cast on shore an invading

army of 100,000 men, would have still farther reduced our navy estimates, if he had been able.

On the 15th of August his majesty prorogued parliament. The speech dwelt with satisfaction on the numerous and important questions which had engaged their attention, alluding more particularly to the new poor laws, and the establishment of a central court for the trial of offences in the metropolis and its vicinity. It lamented the still unsettled state of Holland and Belgium, but expressed a lively satisfaction at the termination of the civil war in Portugal. It mentioned the quadripartite treaty which had been formed by his Britannic majesty, the King of the French, the Queen-regent of Spain, and Dom Pedro the Regent of Portugal; affirming that the said treaty had already contributed to produce a happy result.

Although the "Parliament of Great Britain," like that of the "Senate of Rome," was now an august name in history, its place of meeting had become utterly inadequate to its grandeur, and St. Stephen's Chapel, although a venerable structure, was too small, as well as inconvenient and unhealthy for those members who honoured it with punctual attendance. There was a general feeling

that the pile had become useless for the purpose, and even Mr. Hume, disregarding the expense, had declared that the commons ought to have a better house to meet in. The wish was gratified, and by one of those accidents to which large cities are liable. The old exchequer tallies had accumulated into such a mass, that to get quit of it, it was used as firewood in the stoves of the House of Lords; but the workmen, who were in haste to finish the job, made such large fires, that on Thursday evening (October 16th) the whole building was in a blaze. The king's sons, the ministers, and such members as were in town, hurried to the spot, but they could do nothing more than witness the conflagration, at which an immense crowd looked on with feelings that no ordinary burning could create. The neighbouring law courts and Westminster Hall were fortunately saved, but the two Houses of Parliament with their chambers and committee rooms were soon reduced to a heap of ruins. The chief loss, however, was among the articles of historical and antiquarian value, although the best

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portion of these was preserved or afterwards recovered.

By this time the Whig ministry was falling to pieces: it had rapidly lost much of its popularity. The radicals and Irish agitators had converted themselves into very active enemies, and the retirement of Earl Grey had greatly weakened the cabinet. The *Times* newspaper, which was exercising a greater influence over popular opinion than any mere journal ought to possess, had singled out the chancellor, Lord Brougham, for its bitter and incessant attacks. His lordship also had disagreed with several of his colleagues. The crisis was precipitated by the death of Earl



ST STEPHEN'S CHAPEL,¹ Westminster, with part of Westminster Hall
From a print in the Crowle Pannant, British Museum.

Spencer on the 10th of November. This called up Lord Althorpe to the House of Peers, making it necessary to find a new chancellor of the exchequer, and a new leader of the House of Commons. On Friday, the 14th of November, when Lord Melbourne waited on the king, for the purpose of submitting to him some necessary changes in official appointments, his majesty informed him that he need not be at the trouble of completing his arrangements, as he intended to apply to the Duke of Wellington. On the following day the duke advised his majesty to intrust the government to Sir Robert Peel, and this was what the king was prepared to do. Sir Robert, little expecting to be so suddenly made premier,

¹ This was the House of Commons from the reign of Henry III. to its destruction by fire in 1834; and was the scene of Cromwell's dismissal of the parliament. St. Stephen's Chapel was founded by King Stephen. It was rebuilt in the reign of Edward II., between 1320 and 1352; and was always looked upon as an excellent example of Decorated architecture of very fine and rich work. The House of Lords, also destroyed by fire in 1834, was the old Court of Requests.—Cunningham's *Hand book of London*.

had gone on a journey into Italy, and was now at Rome. The Duke of Wellington undertook to carry on the public business till his return, and was temporarily appointed first lord of the treasury, and sworn in as one of the principal secretaries of state. The radicals and some of the more violent or most disappointed Whigs accused his grace of unconstitutional conduct in monopolizing in his single person all the powers of the state. The displaced attorney-general for England (Sir John, now Lord Campbell), at a public meeting in Edinburgh, menaced his grace with impeachment. The duke laughed and did his work, and the illustrious son of the Lancashire cotton-spinner made the best haste he could to get back to England.

By the end of December, the official arrangements were completed—Lord Lyndhurst was chancellor, the Earl of Rosslyn became president of the council, Lord Wharnccliffe privy seal, the Duke of Wellington secretary for foreign affairs, Mr. Goulburn for the home department, and Lord Aberdeen for the colonies; Mr. A. Baring was made president of the board of trade, Sir G. Murray master-general of the ordnance, Sir E. Knatchbull paymaster of the forces, Earl de Grey first lord of the admiralty, and Lord Ellenborough president of the board of control; Lord Maryborough, the Earls of Jersey and Roden, Mr. C. Wynne, and Mr. Herries came also into office; Mr. F. Pollock and Mr. Follet were made attorney and solicitor general; the Earl of Harrington went as viceroy to Ireland, with Sir E. Sugden as the lord-chancellor, and Sir H. Hardinge as chief secretary. Sir James Scarlett now received the reward of his adhesion to a Tory administration, being appointed to succeed Lord Lyndhurst as chief baron of the exchequer, with the title of Lord Abinger.

On the 30th of December, a proclamation was issued, dissolving the parliament, and convoking a new one to meet on the 19th of February.

In Portugal it was not the Pedrites by themselves who had put down the Miguelites. If the two factions had been left alone, the civil war might have lasted for many years. Early in the year, Leira was taken for Dom Pedro by Marshal Saldanha; and in April, a Spanish army, under General Rodil, entered Portugal for the alleged purpose of seizing Don Carlos, the pretender to the Spanish crown, who, with a few followers, had crossed over the frontier and taken refuge with Dom Miguel. On the approach of the Spanish troops, the important town of Almeida set up a shout for the constitution, and declared for the young queen. Shortly after this, the quadripartite treaty was signed at Lisbon. It had for its object the pacification of Spain and Portugal, by the expulsion of Don Carlos and

Dom Miguel from the Portuguese territory. On the 26th of May, after the surrender of Santarém, Dom Miguel was obliged to capitulate and sign the convention of Évora. He was permitted to leave Portugal and to embark for Italy. This event ended the struggle, and the young queen was firmly seated on the throne, the regency being continued in her father. Dom Pedro suppressed the monastic establishments and seized their property. This was no more than what the monks had always expected from the establishment of the constitution; and it was to avoid the doom that they had fought for Dom Miguel, and armed the people in his cause. The property was badly sold, and the money soon wasted. The regent attempted to call in the discredited paper-money, and to establish a metallic currency; but he was not very successful, and ever since his time, the finances of the country have been in a lamentable state of decay.

In Spain the civil war, which had its principal seat in the Biscayan provinces, continued to rage, and with even more fury than commonly attends such internecine contests. The Biscayans had merely made of Don Carlos what the priests and monks had made of Dom Miguel. They had set him up as a rallying point, and as a defender of their ancient rights and privileges. For the pretender, personally, they cared very little; they would have quietly submitted to the young queen, if the constitutionalists had been content to leave them in the possession of their own ancient and solemnly-guaranteed privileges. The Biscayans, who had been for many centuries a very free people, and whose privileges and immunities were well worth fighting for, said no, and proclaimed Don Carlos. An incredible amount of ignorance and nonsense was displayed in England on this subject by rhetoricians and journalists. It was said to be the duty of England to support the cause of liberty wherever it was in jeopardy, and that the Englishmen who went over to fight for Queen Isabella and the constitution were engaged in a holy warfare; yet, in those Biscayan provinces, the war was a war against liberty—a conflict into which no Englishman ought ever to have entered. The insurrection had spread to Catalonia and other provinces. On the 24th of July, Christina, the queen-regent, opened the session of the cortes. They easily voted a bill for excluding Don Carlos from the throne; but they could not so easily drive him out of Spain; for, after a short visit to England, he had thrown himself among the bold mountains and brave men of Biscay, and he possessed in Zumalacarreui a general of extraordinary abilities and resources. The queen-regent found, to her very great perplexity, that her soldiery were very mutinous, that the people would not pay taxes, and that no minis-

try she could form was capable of standing much more than three months. Mina, who had gained celebrity as a guerilla chief in the time of Bonaparte's intrusion, was sent against Zumalacarregui, to be beaten, and foiled, and out-manœuvred.

In taking office as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Robert Peel had adopted the resolution not to interfere with the reform bill. In his well-known address to his constituents at Tamworth he said:—"With respect to the reform bill, I will repeat now the declaration which I made when I entered the House of Commons as a member of the reformed parliament;—that I consider that act as a final and irrevocable settlement—a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of his country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or indirect means." After deprecating such a use of the reform bill, or any such extension of it as would lead to a perpetual vortex of agitation, and the overthrow of ancient rights and institutions, Sir Robert further said:—"If the spirit of the bill implies merely a careful review of institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper, combining, with the firm maintenance of established rights, the correction of proved abuses and the redress of real grievances—in that case I can, for myself and my colleagues, undertake to act in such a spirit and with such intentions."

Before the meeting of parliament there appeared in the *London Gazette* of the 3d of February an announcement that the king had issued letters-patent, appointing the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord high-chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Harrowby, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, H. Goulburn, C. W. W. Wynne, H. Hobhouse, and Sir Herbert Jenner, to be commissioners for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching by commendam to bishoprics bene-

fices with the cure of souls; for considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of measures for rendering them most conducive to the efficacy of the Established church; also for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.

Immense exertions had been made at and previously to the general election by conservatives, Whigs, and radicals. The conservatives were rather successful in the counties, and rather unsuccessful in the boroughs. If the radicals should stand by the Whigs, it was pretty clear that the Peel administration must soon fall.

On the appointed day, the 19th of February, the new parliament assembled in full force, and a trial of strength presently took place. Lord Francis Egerton moved the re-appointment of Sir Charles Manners Sutton; Mr. W. J. Dennison moved that Mr. Abercromby should be speaker. Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley supported Lord Francis; Lord John Russell supported Mr.

Dennison. When the house divided, there appeared for Sir Charles M. Sutton 306, and for Mr. Abercromby 316 votes; Mr. Abercromby was then conducted to the chair, which neither before nor since has had a worthier occupant. There are other duties attached to the office of speaker than those which pass before the eyes of the public in the House of Commons. These duties had been but indifferently performed, and in most cases they had been left to clerks and secretaries. Mr. Abercromby did everything himself; he attended most scrupulously to every official duty; and he was never known to keep a parliamentary agent or a deputation waiting. Hence the speed and facility with which the public business was transacted, and an immense and ever-increasing number of private bills got passed.

Three days having been spent in administering the oaths, the king, on the 24th, went in state to the House of Peers to open the new parliament. The two houses having been burned down in the



SIR ROBERT PEELE
From a portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence

preceding month of October, as has been already mentioned, temporary rooms had been fitted up for the accommodation of the peers and the commons. After alluding to the flourishing state of trade and commerce, as well as of the public revenue, his majesty lamented the depressed state of agriculture, and earnestly recommended the consideration of it to parliament, with a view to relief. Having adverted to various projected measures of domestic policy, such as the Irish tithe question, the commutation of tithe in England and Wales, the improvement of civil jurisprudence and administration of justice in ecclesiastical causes, provision for the more effectual maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline, relief of dissenters from the marriage ceremony, and the corporation and church commissions; his majesty expressed his confidence in the willing co-operation of parliament, as well as in their caution and circumspection, regarding the alteration of laws which affected very extensive and complicated interests, interwoven with ancient usages, and conformable to the habits and feelings of his people.

The address in the lords was carried without a division, though not without a debate. The debate turned chiefly on the late change of administration. Lord Melbourne severely censured the recent dissolution of parliament, and attacked the Duke of Wellington for having held at one and the same time the office of the first lord of the treasury and the seals of the three great departments of the state. He admitted that his grace had assumed these offices only for a temporary purpose, and that his doing so might be defended on the ground of necessity and urgency of the case; but it lay with the Duke of Wellington to justify that necessity. The duke calmly replied, that when the king empowered him to form a ministry, he had declined the offer, however flattering it might have been to ambition; he did not act as one who had a personal object to serve; he refused the office of prime minister, and recommended to his majesty to send for Sir Robert Peel, as the individual most capable, in the present times, of discharging the duties of king's first minister. It was necessary, both that some person should be in the government till Sir Robert's return, and that whoever carried it on should exercise no patronage, nor take any step which might prevent the new minister, on his arrival, from acting with perfect freedom. He had therefore advised his majesty to place him (the duke) provisionally at the head of affairs as first lord of the treasury and secretary of the home department. It was true that in the latter capacity he held the seals of the three secretaries: but whoever was appointed to any one of these three offices was competent to hold the seals

of the other two in the absence of those to whom they had been confided; and he had exercised no more authority than if he had been one of the three principal secretaries, and his colleagues absent. No inconvenience had resulted from the arrangement. During the time he held the seals there was not a single office disposed of, or act done, which was not essentially necessary for the service of the king and of the country; and Sir Robert Peel found all things as nearly as might be in the same situation in which they had been when the change of ministry took place. It might be true that there was an incompatibility between the secretaryships and the office of first lord of the treasury, if these offices were held by the same individual for any length of time; but everybody knew that the arrangement was merely temporary. He had only held the government provisionally for another individual who had been sent for by his sovereign. Mr. Canning had been named first lord of the treasury on the 12th of April, while he was yet foreign secretary, and he did not resign the latter office till the 30th of April.

His grace repelled likewise the charge which had been made of his being in any degree responsible for the dissolution of the late government. All the idle stories which had been propagated about court intrigues were now laid aside; it was now fully admitted on all hands that no such thing had existed. For his own part he had had no communication of any description with the court for between two and three months before he received his majesty's message; and, although he was satisfied that some great change in the administration must follow the removal of Lord Althorpe from the House of Commons, that message was as much a matter of surprise to him as it possibly could be to any of their lordships. The late administration had been dissolved by the impossibility of going on longer, from the time they lost their leader in the House of Commons. When Lord Althorpe had resigned on a former occasion, Earl Grey had stated that he could not, under such circumstances, continue at the head of the government, for, by the resignation of Lord Althorpe, he had lost his right hand, and it would be impossible to carry on the government with advantage from the time that that noble lord had quitted power. When, then, the question of the government came before his majesty, it was fairly put to him, whether he would seek for other counsels, and whether he would consent to other arrangements for the formation of a government, or whether he would be content to abide by that particular administration which at that moment existed. Let their lordships only observe the situation in which the king was placed, and ask themselves what he

was to think of the new position in which he found himself. Earl Grey had been under the necessity of resigning, when Lord Althorpe, then chancellor of the exchequer, resigned. The noble viscount, too, had declared that he considered the noble lord's assistance essentially necessary to him. But when his majesty was left by Earl Grey, and when Lord Althorpe was removed from the other house, his majesty, forsooth, was not to be permitted to consider whether his position was not materially altered by these events, and whether it would not be expedient for him to make some other arrangements for the carrying on of his service. Everybody, indeed, but his majesty was to be allowed to consider the alterations which had taken place by the loss of Lord Althorpe in the House of Commons. Their lordships, however, he was convinced, would not acquiesce in this exclusion. Lastly, as to the dissolution of parliament; it was true that a ministry who advised the dissolution of a parliament was liable to be called on for some reason which might have induced them so to do; but he had seldom heard of such a course of proceeding as that ministers should be told, on the first day of the assembling of parliament, "Give me some reason why you thought fit to dissolve, and justify your dissolution of parliament, by showing that the effort you have made has been a successful one." And now as to this success, he wanted to know, after all, how great was the measure of success which the late ministry enjoyed in the late parliament, when it appeared to rest solely and exclusively on the shoulders of a single individual, from which, too, there was no mantle to fall for a successor? So that, when he was removed to the upper house, the government to which he belonged had found it impossible to go on. As to himself, he was convinced that the course which had been pursued was correct, and by it he was ready to stand or fall. He believed there were a great number of persons determined to support the administration, and he hoped the house would have the patience to wait and see what were the measures they had to propose for the benefit of the country.

Lord Brougham, on the other hand, maintained that the Duke of Wellington was responsible for the dismissal of the late ministry, not as having advised or produced it, which he certainly had not done, but as having succeeded to it; for whoever, he argued, takes the place of a dismissed ministry becomes answerable for that dismissal. For many acts of a government a minister might be held responsible, and would by law be held responsible, although ignorant of those acts, and albeit he did not advise them. The reason was simply this—the king could do no wrong; he must, however, have some adviser, and therefore

some responsible adviser. Now, the noble duke stood in this position; he was peculiarly, he was emphatically, responsible for the change of his majesty's advisers. For who could be responsible but he who came into the space which the change had made vacant! If the king thought proper to take the seals from one man to give them to another, the man who took the seals became responsible for the change; he was responsible in point of fact as well as in law; but for his assistance the act could not have been committed. His lordship then argued that nothing like a tangible or intelligible reason for the change of ministry had been ever hinted at. The king's speech, he maintained, admitted that the late ministers had not been dismissed on account of any misconduct of their own. According to that speech, peace had been maintained abroad and prosperity at home. The scheme for the emancipation of the negroes had been successful. The commission for inquiring into municipal corporations, instead of being denounced as illegal, was to be allowed to proceed, and its results were to be submitted to the legislature. The revenue was flourishing, trade was most prosperous, an eulogium was delivered upon the happy state of our commercial concerns, and the clearest evidences were afforded of the general prosperity of the country without a particle of blame being attached to—without the least imaginable imputation being cast on—the policy of the late administration. It was not for a single moment pretended that the dismissal of the late administration arose from any incapacity on their part; it was not from any want of success in their measures; it was not from any failure of any sort or description that, on the 14th of last November, the late administration was dissolved. But, forsooth, it was dissolved because Lord Althorpe had been called from the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and without him, it was said, the government could not go on.

Passing to the dissolution of parliament, his lordship said that the reason given for that proceeding, and the assertion which was made the pretext for dismissing the ministry, were contradictory and destructive of each other. Ministers were turned out because the House of Commons would not follow them after they had lost Lord Althorpe, and then the House of Commons was turned out because it would follow them too much although Lord Althorpe had left them. The reason, and the only reason for getting rid of the late parliament, was, that the late ministers were still its favourites, and that the new ministers durst not allow that house to meet; knowing, as well as he knew, that their first vote would have been, not that they could no longer trust the late ministers because of the loss of Lord Althorpe, but that although they regretted

that event, they still confided in them. Lord Brougham then pronounced a long invective against what he considered the inconsistency between the former policy of the members of the existing administration, and that which they now professed themselves willing to adopt. It was the result, perhaps not more of reason and experience than of a sort of instinct, that men mistrusted all sudden, unaccountable, and miraculous conversions, of which this was one. That a man who had been the enemy of change, and the vituperator of all innovations—who had confounded with revolution, anarchy, and political



LORD LYNDBURST —From a portrait by A. Wivell

insanity, if not depravity, any attempt to touch even one of the outworks of any of the venerable institutions of the country—who had signalized these opinions by years of uninterrupted hostility to every species of reform, and whose protests had stigmatized it in the boldest terms on their lordships' journals; that such a man—without any event having happened, or any change in public affairs—should have so decided a change produced upon him all at once, appeared to him one of the most unaccountable phenomena in human nature which he had ever been called on to contemplate. This was the Duke of Wellington's second conversion; and Lord Lyndhurst likewise had given an example of the nimbleness with which he could be converted. It was always suspicious when people changed their principles and gained something.

The lord-chancellor (Lyndhurst), after repelling the insinuations of Lord Brougham, that the ministry which had carried the Catholic question had abandoned their principles on that occasion for the sake of retaining their offices, which, in fact, were endangered by the course

which they then adopted, adverted to the responsibility which the present ministers were supposed to have incurred, in virtually advising the dismissal of their predecessors by having consented to succeed them.

His lordship next referred to the blame thrown on the Duke of Wellington, as having usurped all the great offices of the state. It was necessary, he said, either that the old government should have remained in power till the return of Sir Robert Peel, or that a new government should be formed provisionally. If the former course had been adopted, where would the new government have been? The late ministers would have used their continued power only to prevent a new ministry from being formed. Even as it was, symptoms of that kind had shown themselves. No lord-chancellor had ever been in the habit of inserting names in the commissions of the peace without consulting the lord-lieutenants of the respective counties; but Lord Brougham, when he was out of office, did that which he could not have done if he had been in office—he had sent for the commissions of six counties, and made out the fiats for the insertion of certain names, not only without application to the lord-lieutenants of the counties, but in direct opposition to their known wishes. He did not say that this proceeding was absolutely illegal; but was it right that such powers should be left in the hands of ministers who would exercise them even after their removal from office? It was necessary that the government should be taken up by some person; and who more fit for the task than the Duke of Wellington? There were repeated instances of such a plurality of offices. Lord Liverpool had been first lord of the treasury and secretary of state at the same time. When the chancellorship of the exchequer was vacant, who was to hold the seals? The law itself said, the Lord Chief-justice of the King's Bench, who also held another high office. He himself, too, had taken on this occasion the great seal, while he was still chief-baron of the exchequer; but in that there was nothing illegal—nay, Lord Brougham himself had told him to do it, and had declared to him it was the best course he could take.

In the commons, also, there was a long and obstinate contest. Lord Morpeth moved an amendment to the address, proposing that words should be substituted, "expressing a trust that his majesty's counsels would be directed in a spirit of well-considered and effective reform, and that in the same liberal and comprehensive policy which had dictated the reform of the representation and the abolition of negro slavery: that the municipal corporations would be placed under vigilant popular control; all the well-

founded grievances of the Protestant dissenters removed; and the abuses in the church, which impair its efficacy in England, and disturb the peace of society in Ireland, corrected; also representing to his majesty that his faithful commons begged submissively to add, that they could not but lament that the progress of these and other reforms should have been unnecessarily interrupted and endangered by the dissolution of the late parliament." This amendment being seconded by Mr. Bannerman, gave rise to a debate which lasted three nights. The principal speakers for the original address were Messrs. Pemberton and Richards, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Stanley, Messrs. Robinson, Goulburn, and Praed, Mr. Serjeant Goulburn and Sir James Graham; for the amendment, Messrs. Grote, Poulter, and Ward, Dr. Lushington, Lord John Russell, Messrs. Harvey, Fox Maule, and Gisborne, Lord Howick, Mr. T. Duncombe, and Mr. O'Connell. On a division the opposition had a majority of seven in an assembly of 625 members; when Sir Robert Peel insinuated that it was possible he might take the sense of the house again on the question of bringing up a report; but next evening he stated that, after having made due inquiries, he felt convinced he could not succeed in that measure. It was understood, indeed, that Sir Robert would not have been supported in it by Lord Stanley, who, in the course of the debate, declared that he would go the whole length of the amendment on the subject of corporation reform. His lordship also said, that the omission of any particular notice of that subject, both in the speech from the throne and the exposition of ministerial intentions, which Sir Robert had given to the house, induced him to regard the government with a more jealous eye than he should otherwise have been inclined to view it. Lord Howick stated, he did not consider that the necessary effect of carrying the amendment would be to remove the present administration; for he should scarcely give the vote he intended to give, if it were likely to have that result; but though he did not desire the immediate retirement of Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, he should regard it as a great calamity if the present government continued without any change.

On the 28th, when the order of the day was read for the house going into a committee of supply, the premier stated in answer to questions put by Lord John Russell, that he had not felt it his duty, in consequence of the vote on the address, to tender his resignation. Sir Robert further said, that, with respect to the church, he was still of opinion that ecclesiastical property ought not to be diverted from ecclesiastical purposes, although any measures not inconsistent

with this principle should have his best consideration; that he had no motive or intention to obstruct corporation reform; and, finally, that in regard to a rumour which had been spread abroad about another dissolution, and an alleged intention of government, in case the mutiny bill should not pass, to keep up a standing army in defiance of parliament—the first he never sanctioned directly or indirectly, and the second he never heard a whisper of until it fell from Lord John Russell's own lips.

The majority of the opposition party was still mainly dependent on the Irish members, who had by no means improved in moderation. The following evening was occupied by discussions respecting the state of Ireland and bribery at elections; but the sitting on Wednesday produced a debate which was of much greater importance to the stability of the administration. This arose from a question put—Whether it was true that 182 addresses from Orange societies had been presented to the king, and whether answers had not been returned to the parties, stating that the addresses had been most graciously received? The question seemed to take ministers by surprise; and the only defence they offered to the charge of returning such answers to Protestant societies, alleged to be illegal, was, that the illegality of the Orange lodges had never been judicially declared; and that the addresses had been received and answered, merely according to the usual form. On the following Friday, Mr. Shiel moved for the production of copies of the said Orange addresses; also for the copy of a letter written by Lord Manners, when Chancellor of Ireland, relative to the illegality of Orange societies, and for the opinions of the Irish attorney and solicitor general on the same point. The latter part of this motion was resisted by ministers; and it was finally withdrawn; but the production of the addresses and answers was agreed to.

On Tuesday the 10th, in a very full house, the Marquis of Chandos moved his resolution for the repeal of the malt-tax. The debate lasted till near one o'clock in the morning. Sir Robert Peel delivered an admirable and most convincing speech. The numbers upon a division were 192 for the resolution, and 350 against it. On this occasion most of the adherents of the late Whig ministry voted in the majority. Mr. Charles Wood declared he was happy to give the present government that support which he and his friends had received in similar circumstances from Sir Robert Peel.

A terrible storm was raised by the rumoured appointment of Lord Londonderry as ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg. The Irish members saw in this appointment nothing but a proof that ministers intended to forward the designs

of despotism and tyranny. On the 13th of March, Mr. Shiel moved an address to his majesty for a copy of any appointment made within the last four months of an ambassador from the court of London to St. Petersburg, and of the salary and emoluments attached to such embassy. He entered into a statement of the aggrandizing policy which Russia had been pursuing towards Persia and Turkey. He blamed the English government for not having interfered on behalf of Turkey during the war between her and Russia, which was terminated by the peace of Adrianople in 1829; and disapproved of the conduct of the late ministers in not having stopped the progress of Ibrahim Pacha in 1833, and in allowing a Russian army to be landed on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. By the treaty at Constantinople, in 1833, ratified by that of St. Petersburg, in January, 1834, Russia had gained great advantages. Turkey was now united with her defensively and offensively. If Russia went to war with England, Turkey would be compelled to do the same, and the English would find the Dardanelles closed against them. Russia had likewise assembled a large army on the frontiers of Persia, where she seemed to be only waiting a pretext for invasion. In the west of Europe the influence of that power was felt in every cabinet, tending to countervail the great principle to which Englishmen were attached. From these considerations he inferred the great importance of a proper person being appointed to the embassy at St. Petersburg. He clearly ought to be wise, sagacious, firm, and discreet. He should be inflexibly attached to those principles to which the great mass of the people of this country were devoted, qualified to protect the commercial interests, and to represent, in his own calm dignity, the honour of this empire, and, perhaps it might be added, to raise his voice in favour of neglected and unfortunate Poland. Lord Londonderry did not possess these qualities. He might be qualified to act as an orator in the county of Down, but was not competent to perform the part of a diplomatist at St. Petersburg.

Mr. Cutler Ferguson likewise objected to the appointment, principally on account of the opinion which the marquis had expressed in regard to Poland. He believed that noble person to be the first individual who in this country had ventured to call the Poles rebels. The Poles were not rebels; they had been driven into resistance. He did not ask that any person should be sent to St. Petersburg to remonstrate with Russia on her conduct towards Poland; the time for such a proceeding had perhaps gone by: but of this he was convinced—that we ought not to send as ambassador one who had spoken of the Poles in the terms which he had stated. That house had

admitted, and the late foreign secretary had admitted, that the resistance of the Poles to Russia was justifiable. Ought, then, a person to be sent as ambassador to Russia who entertained a decided feeling against the cause of that gallant but unfortunate nation, and who maintained that the British government had already gone too far in its favour? Lord Stanley expressed similar opinions.

In reply, Sir Robert Peel said he was in no degree surprised that the intended appointment had occasioned dissatisfaction on the opposite side of the house; for no one appointment of the government had as yet produced in that quarter any satisfaction. He had taken the attorney-general for Ireland of the late government, but even that was objected to. The appointment, too, of paymaster of the forces had been blamed; yet it had been confidently stated, and not contradicted, that Earl Grey's government had offered to that very gentleman the office of secretary at war. He had not a doubt, therefore, of the appointment of Lord Londonderry being unsatisfactory to those whose policy he opposed; but he wanted to know from the course of the present debate what were the allegations which had been made against Lord Londonderry? Was it fair, in this manner, to come down against a public man with a single extract from a speech which it was said he had at some time or other delivered? Lord Londonderry was on the staff of the Duke of Wellington from 1809 to 1813, and filled the office of adjutant-general during that time; he had besides served in a diplomatic character from the year 1813 until the year 1823. He was appointed minister to Berlin in April, 1813; he was appointed ambassador to Vienna in 1814, and he retired from the service in 1823 at his own request. Surely, the question, after all, was the manner in which he had conducted himself, not indeed in his military capacity, not even in his office of adjutant-general, although that office had civil as well as military duties connected with it, but in his diplomatic situation, which he had held with the utmost credit to himself in Vienna, during a very critical time, for a period of ten years. When Lord Londonderry expressed his wish to resign the situation he held at Vienna, this was the letter he received from Mr. Canning:—"My lord—Having laid before the king your excellency's despatch of the 26th ult., requesting his majesty's gracious permission to retire from the eminent post of his majesty's ambassador at the court of Vienna, I have received his majesty's commands to signify to your excellency the permission which your excellency solicits, accompanied with the expression of his majesty's deep regret for the loss of your excellency's services, and of his full and entire appro-

bation of the manner in which your excellency has, for a series of years, and in times of the most critical importance, conducted the affairs of the embassy intrusted to your charge, and maintained the intimate, cordial, and good understanding so happily subsisting between his majesty and his imperial ally." This was the testimony borne by Mr. Canning to the conduct of Lord Londonderry. Yet his lordship was to be excluded from the public service on account of a single expression, said to have been used on one particular occasion. Sir John Cam Hobhouse replied to Sir Robert Peel, insisting that the prime minister having in his manifesto to the electors of Tamworth, in the king's speech, and in his explanatory address in that house, intimated his determination to adhere to the foreign policy of the late government, it would be imprudent, indiscreet, if he sent to St. Petersburg a nobleman entertaining the opinions which the Marquis of Londonderry was known to entertain.

As the motion was for the production of a copy of the appointment, and no appointment had been made out, the motion itself was withdrawn; but the effect of the discussion, although Sir Robert Peel had declared himself ready to maintain the nomination, was to induce the Marquis of Londonderry to decline the situation. The debate in the commons was published on Saturday the 14th; on the following Monday, his lordship stated in the House of Peers, that he felt, so soon as he had read the discussion in the other House of Parliament, that he had but one course to follow, as a good subject, and one attached to the public service. Situated as he now was, were he to depart from this country after what had passed in the House of Commons, he should feel himself, as a representative of majesty, placed in a new, a false, and an improper position. He would go with the remarks and animadversions of one branch of the legislature so strongly imprinted on him, that his efficiency would be impaired, and it would be impossible for him to fill the office to which he had been called with proper dignity and effect. It was on these grounds, standing, as he did, upon his sense of duty to his sovereign, and not meaning to succumb to faction, though he should be devoid of feeling if he were insensible to the scoffs and scorn with which he had been so unjustly attacked, that he had determined, upon no consideration whatever to accept of the appointment. He had had no communication directly or indirectly with the government. He had neither sought advice, nor had advice been proffered. He had taken this position firmly and after due deliberation. The Duke of Wellington, besides defending the appointment, and acknowledging the delicacy which had led Lord Lon-

donderry to withdraw rather than injure or embarrass the public service, questioned the legality of what the House of Commons had seemed inclined to do. There was no part of the prerogative of the crown so important as that of sending ambassadors to foreign courts; nor was there any branch of that prerogative which ought to be kept more inviolate. But the ministers of the crown were responsible for those nominations. They were responsible for the instructions under which ambassadors were bound to act. They were, moreover, responsible for the proper performance of those duties (by the ambassadors whom they selected) to the other House of Parliament, and to the country at large. It was impossible, therefore, for him to believe that the House of Commons would proceed so far as to interfere with that peculiar prerogative, and to say that the person nominated should not fill the situation, inasmuch as, by so doing, the House of Commons would not only take upon itself the nomination of the officer, and the direction of the particular duties which he was to discharge, but would also relieve the minister from the constitutional responsibility of the appointment. He did not think that sentiments of such a description were general; and he could not bring himself to believe that a vote, affirming such a violation of the royal prerogative, would have passed the House of Commons.

The ministry was clearly going to pieces; but the premier introduced his measure for the relief of persons dissenting from the Established church in regard to the celebration of marriage. The chancellor presented the first report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the Established church; and Sir Henry Hardinge, in the commons, brought forward the ministerial plan for settling the Irish tithe question. The plan was this: that in future Irish tithes shall be recoverable only from the chief landlord, or person having the first estate of inheritance in the land; that the owner shall be entitled to demand only seventy-five per cent. on the amount to which he at present has a right; that the tithe shall be redeemable by the landlord at twenty years' purchase, calculated on the diminished rate; that the proceeds thus arising shall be invested in land or otherwise, for the benefit of the tithe-owners; that present incumbents shall be indemnified against any loss accruing in the amount of their incomes below the seventy-five per cent., but that their successors shall receive only the income, whatever it may be, which the investment shall produce; that all litigation for the recovery of tithes due shall be carried on through the incorporated commissioners of the ecclesiastical fund; that the repayment of sums granted under the million act shall not be called

for; but that the residue of that sum shall be further distributed among tithe-owners, in lieu of tithes due to them for the year 1834, which they have not been able to collect.

A long debate followed the proposal of these resolutions. Lord John Russell contended, that in principle they were perfectly identical with the bill brought in last session by the late ministers, and which had been thrown out in the House of Lords by the present government and their friends: his lordship said that of course he had no opposition to offer to the measure. Mr. O'Connell, on the contrary, endeavoured to show that the two measures were entirely dissimilar: in point of fact the main distinctions between them appeared to be, that the bill of last session made the landlords a present of two-fifths of the tithes, or of £40 in every £100, securing to the clergyman seventy-seven and a half per cent. of his legal income, and devolving an annual charge equal to seventeen and a half per cent. of the whole tithes on the consolidated fund; while it was now proposed to give the landlords only one-fourth of the tithes; to secure to the clergyman only seventy-five per cent. of his legal income, and to devolve no charge on the consolidated fund. In the course of the debate such strong objections were taken to the clauses dispensing with the repayment of the sums distributed and to be distributed under the million act, that ministers consented to withdraw them. On the 23d the report of the committee was brought up, and the bill, embodying the resolutions which had been agreed to, was read a first time; when Sir R. Peel intimated that he should move for the reinsertion of the rejected clauses relating to the million act when the measure had arrived at a subsequent stage. In the course of a conversation which arose out of this subject, Mr. Barron denounced what he described as inconsistency and abandonment of principle in Sir R. Peel and his colleagues, whom he charged with being merely actuated with a base desire of office: for these expressions the honourable member was directed by the speaker to apologize to the house, which he accordingly did. Mr. Finn then brought forward his motion for a select committee to inquire into the nature, extent, and tendency of Orange lodges, which was agreed to without a division.

On Tuesday the 24th, in the House of Lords, a select committee was appointed, on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, to consider the subject of prison discipline in England and Wales; and the same evening in the commons, the house having resolved itself into a committee, Sir R. Peel brought forward his plan for effecting a commutation of tithes in England by a voluntary

agreement between the owner and payer of tithe in each parish; when, after a short debate, a resolution, embodying the leading principle of the plan, was agreed to. On the 26th, Mr. Tooke moved that an address should be presented to the crown, to grant a charter to the London University; and, after a debate of some length, the motion was carried against ministers by a majority of 246 to 110. His majesty's answer, which was returned in a few days, stated that the address had been laid before the privy council, and that he would, without delay, call for a report of its proceedings, in order that he might be enabled to judge of the best means of carrying into effect the wishes of his faithful commons.

On the 27th, the army and ordnance estimates were carried by large majorities, though not without a fierce struggle with that champion of economy, Mr. Hume, and his partizans; and on Monday the 30th, after the house had been called over, Lord John Russell brought forward his motion on the Irish church in the form of a resolution:—"That the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole house to consider respecting the temporalities of the Church of Ireland." A debate ensued, which was continued by adjournments over the three following nights. The house divided at three o'clock in the morning of Friday the 4th of April, when there appeared for the motion 322, and against it 289. On the evening of the same day the house went into committee on the motion of Lord John, who moved—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that any surplus which may remain, after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the Established church in Ireland, ought to be applied to the general education of all classes of Christians." When the debate had continued for some time, Mr. Peter Borthwick moved an adjournment, but the motion was negatived. Shortly after, however, the house adjourned to Monday the 6th. On that day the debate was resumed, and the resolution was finally carried by 262 against 237. The house then went into committee on the navy estimates. On Tuesday the 7th, the report of the committee on the Irish church was brought up, when Lord John Russell rose and moved—"That it is the opinion of this house, that no measure on the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment, which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution." The house divided after another long debate, when 285 voted with Lord John, and 258 against him.

In all these divisions, it was the collective weight of the Irish Catholic members that told on the side of the opposition.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1835—1837.

WILLIAM IV.

Causes of the resignation of the ministry—Sir Robert Peel's statement on the subject—Lord Melbourne becomes premier—Members of the new cabinet—Failures in elections of ministers belonging to parliament—The few measures designed by the new ministry—Lord John Russell's statement on the subject—Changes in the municipal elections through the reform bill—Explanation given of the plan of municipal government—Settlement of the boundaries of boroughs—Demand of the Church of Scotland for church extension—Unsatisfactory committee appointed for inquiry—Dissatisfaction of the General Assembly with the appointment—Their resolution on the subject—Motion for vote by ballot in parliamentary elections—The motion negatived—Parliament prorogued—Affairs of Spain—Affairs of France—Fieschi's infernal machine—Opening of parliament in 1836—The king's speech—Committee of inquiry into agricultural distress—Plan for the commutation of tithes—Passing of the bill for the registration of marriages, &c., and amendment of the marriage laws—Plan of reform for the English church—Union of old bishoprics and creation of new—Newspaper stamp tax—Its reduction—Reduction of the duty on paper—Irish municipal bill passed—Irish tithe bill lost—Opposition to the new poor law—Motion against it rejected—Parliament prorogued—Foreign affairs—Aid of British ships and troops to the Queen of Spain—Atrocities of the Spaniards in the civil war—Revolutions in Madrid—Modifications in the Spanish constitution—Revolutionary insurrections in Portugal—Quarrel between France and Switzerland—Parliament of 1837—Bills brought before it—Its attention called to the affairs of Spain—Amendment of our criminal law—Postponement of the Irish municipal bill—Death of William IV.—His character—The Duke of Cumberland succeeds to the throne of Hanover.



HE question of the temporalities of the Irish church, by which the strength of the ministry was tested, was the crowning defeat that left them no alternative but retirement from office. Sir Robert Peel had declared that under no circumstances he would consent to the appropriation of ecclesiastical funds to any but strictly ecclesiastical purposes, and in justification of this resolution, he alluded to the compact with the church in the act of union with Ireland. There were circumstances, he granted, under which all compacts must be broken, and even constitutions themselves dissolved; but the necessity for such moral sacrifices must be inevitable, and as yet, he saw no proof for any such necessity. Before any convulsive proceeding could be honestly proposed, the innovators should be ready with a comprehensive and complete new policy to supersede the existing compact; but no such policy had been prepared. And here he was in the right. The appropriation principle had taken no hold of the public mind, and when it was carried, the Whig leaders had bitter cause of complaint that the people in general cared little about it. On the 8th of April, Sir Robert announced his resignation, and the causes that had led to it. "Considering all that has occurred," he said, "since the commencement of the present session—the little progress we have been able to make from the want of the support and confidence of the house—that ministers have had the misfortune, on each of four successive nights, to be left in a minority, although

on that question they had received the support of those who, not having a general and unlimited confidence in the government, yet have given it their cordial and honourable assistance on every occasion on which it was consistent with their public principles to give it—adverting to all these considerations, in my opinion, the time is come when it is incumbent on us to withdraw from the responsibility which office, under such circumstances, imposes. The vote, too, of last night implies, I conceive, a want of confidence in his majesty's government; because, in my opinion, it was not necessary, for any public purpose, to come to that vote. It was tantamount to a declaration, that the house has not that confidence in the present government which would entitle its members to submit to the consideration of the house the measures of which they had given notice. An intention has been announced likewise, if that vote did not lead to the result which it had led to, to follow it up with an address to the crown. As embarrassment to public affairs would have arisen from the presentation of that address, . . . I have been anxious to give this explanation in a manner the least calculated to give offence or to excite angry feelings. For myself, the whole of my political life has been spent in the House of Commons—the remainder of it shall be spent there; and whatever may be the conflicts of parties, I, for one, would always wish to stand well with the house, whether in a majority or in a minority."

Beth houses remained inactive until the 18th, when Lord Melbourne announced in the lords

that he had been appointed first lord of the treasury, and that the new administration was formed. To a question asked by Lord Alvanley, the new premier replied, that he did not know whether he should have the assistance of Mr. O'Connell or not, but that he had taken no means to secure it, and had entered into no terms whatever with that honourable and learned gentleman. His lordship added, that to Mr. O'Connell's opinions, in favour of a repeal of the union and the abolition of the House of Peers, he was entirely opposed. The house then adjourned to the 30th of April, but on an understanding that no public business should be undertaken till the 12th of May. The same evening, in the commons, there was a motion for new writs on account of vacancies occasioned by the appointment of seventeen members of the house to offices under the crown; and the commons also adjourned to the 12th of May.

This was the construction of the new cabinet:—Viscount Melbourne, first lord of the treasury; Lord Palmerston, Lord J. Russell, and Mr. C. Grant, secretaries respectively for the foreign, home, and colonial departments; Lord Lansdowne, president of the council; Lord Duncannon, privy seal and chief commissioner of woods and forests; Lord Auckland, first lord of the admiralty; Sir J. C. Hobhouse and Mr. Poulett Thompson, presidents of the board of control and of trade; Lord Howick, secretary at war; Lord Holland, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; and Mr. Spring Rice, chancellor of the exchequer. Sir John Campbell and Mr. R. M. Rolfe were made attorney and solicitor general, and Mr. Cutler Ferguson, judge-advocate; the Earl of Mulgrave went as lord-lieutenant to advance the popularity of ministers in Ireland, where Lord Plunkett was made chancellor, and Lord Morpeth chief secretary, with Mr. Sergeant Perrin and Mr. O'Loughlin as attorney and solicitor general. The lord-advocate of Scotland was Mr. J. A. Murray. Among other appointments were those of Sir Henry Parnell as paymaster of the forces and treasurer of the navy; the Marquis of Conyngham, postmaster-general; and Marquis Wellesley, lord-chamberlain. The great seal was not restored to Lord Brougham: for the present it was put in commission, the commissioners being Sir Charles Pepys, master of the rolls; Sir Lancelot Shadwell, vice-chancellor; and Mr. Justice Bosanquet.

In the interim, the new ministers who belonged to the House of Commons had to be re-elected; and, although they were in general successful, they encountered failures, some of which were extremely discouraging, and gave symptoms of the alarm which they had excited in the public mind. Mr. Littleton being raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Hatherton, a vacancy occurred

in the county of Stafford. A conservative candidate took the field, and was returned. Mr. Charles Grant was likewise called to the House of Lords as Baron Glenelg; and Inverness-shire, for which he had been chosen at the general election, immediately returned a conservative candidate. But the severest stroke of all occurred in the case of Lord John Russell himself. He again presented himself to the electors of the southern division of Devonshire: Mr. Parker took the field against him, and beat the secretary of state by a majority of 627 votes. These three elections disposed of six out of the seven votes which had carried the amendment on the address. Lord John Russell did not procure a seat till after parliament had re-assembled: Colonel Fox, member for Stroud, accepted the Chiltern Hundreds in his favour, and became secretary to the ordnance. By a similar negotiation, Mr. Kennedy, member for Tiverton, made room for Lord Palmerston. In Yorkshire, Lord Morpeth was opposed, but carried his election by a very great majority.

When the new ministers proceeded to explain what they intended to do, it was found that the only measures which they meant to bring forward, were a bill for the reform of municipal corporations, and a bill regarding tithes in Ireland, founded on the late resolutions of the commons. Nothing was to be done in relation to the dissenters. The bill brought in by Sir Robert Peel, and which the dissenters had received with so much satisfaction, was to be dropped: no other was to be proposed in its place; for Lord John Russell had not had time to consider the details of the measure, which he thought would require considerable alterations in order to effect its purpose, or to make up his mind as to the changes which he would be inclined to adopt. There was to be no measure of English ecclesiastical reform, nor any use made of the commission which the late ministry had appointed for that purpose. Commutation of tithes in England and the conversion or abolition of church-rates were not to be brought forward. Lord John Russell said, that if he had learned anything by the experience of the last three years, during which he had been a member of the government, it was that they frequently fell into difficulties by undertaking too great a multiplicity of matters, so that there were questions with which, at the end of the session, they could not proceed from want of sufficient time for due consideration. He was perfectly inclined to consider any question that had been brought before the house by the late ministry; but still he would not undertake, on the part of the government, to go further than municipal reform in England and Wales, and the regulation of tithes in Ireland. The new opposition admitted that it was much wiser to proceed with

caution than bring forward measures hastily, to abandon them as hastily. But, they asked, Did you not complain, in the amendment which you carried upon the address, that besides the questions of municipal corporations and Irish tithes, "the progress of other reforms had been interrupted and endangered by the unnecessary dissolution of a parliament earnestly intent upon their prosecution?" These other reforms undoubtedly meant commutation of tithes, abolition of church-rates, and the removal of some, at least, of the grievances of the dissenters. It now turned out, that, instead of these having been endangered or interrupted by the accession of the late ministry, that ministry was prepared to have brought them all forward; and they were to be laid aside, in the meantime, by the new administration, who had complained that their progress would be stopped.

Great changes in the mode of electing municipal authorities, and in the general government of borough affairs, had become inevitable from and after the passing of the reform bill. It was difficult to exclude from the election of their new town-councils the inhabitants of boroughs who were everywhere trusted with the election of the members of the legislature. The boroughs of Scotland had already undergone the system of purification, without even waiting for the report of a commission of inquiry. The election of the magistrates and the town-councillors had been vested in the ten-pound householders. England had been more leisurely dealt with. In accordance with a recommendation of a committee of the House of Commons in 1833, a commission had been appointed to inquire into the state of corporations in England and Wales. In the royal speech at the prorogation of parliament in that year, the object of the commission had been thus stated:—"The result of its inquiries will enable you to mature those measures which may seem best fitted to place the internal government of corporate cities and towns upon a solid foundation in respect to their finances, their judicature, and their police;" and in the speech at the opening of last session, his majesty had said, in reference to the expected reports, "they cannot fail to afford you much useful information, by which you will be enabled to judge of the nature and extent of any existing defects and abuses, and in what manner the necessary corrections may, in due season, be safely and beneficially applied." On the 5th of June, Lord John Russell detailed the plan of municipal government which ministers intended to provide for 183 corporations, including a population of more than 2,000,000. He maintained that, having extended considerably to the people the right of choosing the members of the legislature, the inferior right of choosing

their own local authorities could not consistently be withheld. Hitherto there had been a close monopoly of those local authorities. A few persons composing the corporation for their own benefit were connected with a portion of the lower classes of the people, whose votes they bought, whose habits they demoralized. The abuses resulting from this were enormous. In the distribution of the charity funds of such places, it would be found that two-thirds or three-fourths of the whole were distributed to those who belonged to the governing body. It would appear in the case of some of the corporations that funds intended to be used for the general benefit of the towns, were partly devoted to the private benefit of individuals, partly applied to defray the expense of feasts and entertainments provided for the mayors, corporations, and municipal officers.

Many difficulties presented themselves in settling the boundaries of the boroughs, and in deciding whether the right of such settling belonged to the legislature or to the crown. Sir Robert Peel complained of the too strong democratic spirit of the measure—complained that ministers did not undertake to alter the reform bill explicitly, but were proceeding to effect their purpose indirectly. He had always prophesied, when his friends expressed their willingness to accept the reform bill as our constitutional charter, and to abide by it, that any proposal for its modification was much more likely to come from the authors of the measure than from its opponents. The question was carried entirely by the majority of Scotch and Irish members. Among the English members there was, on one division, a majority of fifteen against ministers. On the 20th of July, the bill was read a third time and passed, without any further division. In the House of Lords, counsel were heard against the bill, and several very important alterations were made in it. The most important clause they inserted, was one preserving the rights of property and parliamentary franchise of the freemen. The commons debated long upon some of the alterations, but, on the 7th of September, they agreed to the bill as it had been returned to them from the lords; and in that shape it was finally passed.

Lord Morpeth introduced a bill for regulating the Irish church, by suppressing benefices to create a surplus, &c. The bill passed the commons; but the lords, though agreeing to some of the clauses, stickled at the appropriation of the funds; and ministers were compelled to abandon the bill.

The Church of Scotland, finding the means of spiritual instruction in many places very disproportionate to the amount of the population, had made application to former governments for

a grant in aid to a very limited extent, and their application had been favourably entertained. Mr. P. M. Stewart stated in the House of Commons, on the 20th of May, that he had been one of a deputation who had waited on Lord Brougham, when lord-chancellor, and Lord Melbourne, regarding this matter within the last two years; and the impression made on himself, as well as on all the other members of the deputation, had been, that these two noblemen were favourable to the grant. The request, indeed, was a very moderate one. All that was done, however, was to appoint a commission, composed of persons who were Whigs or more than Whigs; the Earl of Minto, Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, and the member for the county of Dumfries, being considered as merely the ornamental part of the commission. This gave great offence to the General Assembly, who passed an all but unanimous resolution—"That the commission of the General Assembly feel it incumbent on them, in the discharge of their duty to the Church of Scotland, to state to the government the sentiments they entertain of the constitution of the commission; that they do not consider it entirely friendly to the church, individual members having publicly professed opposition to the connection between church and state; and further, that, with few exceptions, it does not contain the names of individuals of experience, or men interested in the church, and that on those grounds the commission is not entitled to the confidence of the church." This resolution, however, produced no change in the composition of the commission. The great body of the church, though dissatisfied with the conduct of government, would not give their adversaries any advantage by appearing to be afraid of inquiry or of the commissioners. They held another meeting of the commission of the assembly on the 30th of September. It was attended by no fewer than 155 members, of whom eighty-five were clergymen, and seventy lay elders. They unanimously passed the following resolution: "The commission having maturely deliberated on the instructions to the royal commissioners for inquiring into the means of religious instruction and pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, express their deep regret that his majesty's ministers have not been pleased, in consequence of the judgment of the last meeting of the commission of the General Assembly, to make any change in the composition of the said royal commission. And whereas that commission, from its authorizing the commissioners to inquire generally into the opportunities of religious worship, the means of religious instruction, and the pastoral superintendence afforded to the people of Scotland, may be, and has been,

interpreted as at variance with the principles and policy of the Established church, and as calculated to weaken or to overthrow it, particularly in so far as it seems to involve in it a principle subversive of this and all other ecclesiastical establishments—viz., that whenever religious instruction and pastoral superintendence are found to a certain extent afforded by any sect or denomination whatever, there the services of an Established church are not required, and may be dispensed with; the commission of the General Assembly publicly and solemnly protest against whatever has such a tendency, and declare that they consider it to be the sacred duty of the legislature to support and to protect the national church, and to secure accommodation and religious instruction to the people of Scotland, so that they may attend regularly upon divine ordinances, and may profit by the pastoral exertions and superintendence of its ministers. With a view to these most important objects, and under the protestation herein contained, they approve of such members of the church as may be required to do so by the commissioners nominated by his majesty, furnishing accurate information as to all statistical matters; and also approve of all church courts allowing inspection of, or giving extracts from their records, of all entries relating to the same matters; it being clearly understood that the commission of the assembly hold, that it is not competent to the commissioners to put to individual members any questions relating to the doctrine, worship, government, or discipline of the church."

A select committee was appointed to inquire into the extent and tendency of the Orange societies.

On the 2d of June, Mr. Grote made his annual motion in favour of vote by ballot, by proposing a resolution—"That it is the opinion of this house that the votes at elections for members of parliament should be taken by way of secret ballot." The motion was supported on the same grounds which had been urged to the house on former occasions; but a new feature in the discussion consisted in the admission, made by some of the friends of the ballot, that a majority of the landed property, at least, of the country, was opposed to the ministry, and that the ballot was necessary and would be effectual to prevent the continued influence of that property from being exercised against them. Sir W. Molesworth, member for Cornwall (East), who seconded the motion, said, that ministers ought now to be aware of the fact, to them undoubtedly a most mortifying fact, that amongst the gentry of England their party was decidedly in the minority; they ought now to be aware that the great majority of the aristocracy, of the landed gentry, and all the clergy to

a man, were their determined and irreconcilable foes, who would spare no efforts, who would use every species of intimidation and undue influence to compass their destruction. They could not, with the same weapons, successfully contend against their too powerful antagonists; if they could not protect their friends—and they were too weak to do so without the aid of the ballot—if they left their supporters exposed to the tender mercies of the Tory party, they would by degrees be ejected, like Lord John Russell, from the representation of all the counties of England. Did they remember their fatal losses in the counties during the last general election? Did they remember that their friends were ejected and replaced by their antagonists in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Denbighshire, Derbyshire, Devonshire (South), Essex (South), Gloucestershire (West), Hampshire (South), Lancashire (South), Leicestershire (South), Lincolnshire, Norfolk (East), Suffolk (West), Surrey (East), Surrey (West), Warwickshire (South); that within the last few weeks they had been again dismissed from Devonshire, Invernesshire, and Staffordshire? Was this list not a sufficient proof to them of the absolute necessity of the ballot? Did they prefer to be utterly annihilated as a party in the house rather than have the ballot? If so, their fate was nigh at hand, and they would well merit it. In the same spirit, Mr. C. Buller, member for Liskeard, in arguing that an election conducted by ballot would be attended with less popular excitement than at present, said, that he objected to having that excitement carried to any degree beyond that which was absolutely necessary; but, under existing circumstances, feeling, as the liberal party did, that the majority of those enjoying wealth, property, and influence was against them, it was essential that they should endeavour to excite a fervid feeling in the breasts of the multitude; and therefore it was that they were obliged to resort to popular agitation, to counterbalance the force that was marshalled against them. The original motion was negatived; 317 voted against it and only 144 for it. Various notices of motions were given for leave to bring in bills for preventing bribery and corruption, for reducing expenses at elections, for protecting electors against intimidation, for indemnifying witnesses giving evidence in case of bribery, &c.; but the only legislative measure carried through was a bill altering the reform bill, in so far as it allowed two days for taking the votes at a contested election; and limited the poll to one day, unless it should be found necessary to adjourn it in consequence of riot.

An unsuccessful motion was made for the relief of the agricultural interests; debates took

place on that most perplexing subject, the currency, and a motion was made for a repeal of the window-tax. This last led to considerable discussion, in the course of which a general revision of our taxation was strongly and properly recommended.

Parliament was prorogued on the 10th of September, his majesty lamenting that the civil contest in the northern provinces of Spain had not yet been brought to a termination.

This year Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal, achieved something new in politics. She dismissed and recalled a ministry all in one day! Unable to form a new administration, she was compelled to accept the services of her former advisers, with Saldanha at their head. In a week after Saldanha was a second time dismissed, and Marquis Loulé appointed prime minister. The change was satisfactory to the mob and to the national guards, who now ruled the country. In Spain as well as in Portugal the ultra-liberals, the first of all bad politicians, seemed to be gaining the ascendancy; from their former intolerant Catholicism both these countries were fast falling into irreligion and materialism, and were ready to prove, as their exemplars the French Jacobins had done before them, that atheists can be as intolerant as bigoted Papists.

In France many attempts had been made to assassinate the king. If Louis Philippe had not worn a charmed life he must have perished long ago. The most terrible attempt against him was reserved for this year. On the 28th of July, during the festivities of the annual commemoration of the revolution of 1830, he narrowly escaped assassination. It was the second day of the rejoicings, and appointed for a military review. As Louis Philippe was riding along the line of the national guard, on the Boulevard du Temple, accompanied by his three sons and a splendid suite, an explosion like a discharge of musketry took place from the window of an adjoining house. The effect was terrific. Marshal Mortier, General de Virigny, several grenadiers, besides lookers-on, among whom was a child, were shot dead upon the spot, some of them having received two or three bullets. Upwards of forty were killed and wounded, of whom fourteen were killed; yet the object of this indiscriminate slaughter escaped—the king was unhurt. The police, guided by the smoke, rushed into the house whence the explosion proceeded. They seized the assassin covered with blood, in the act of letting himself down by a rope from the back window of the apartment. He was himself severely wounded by the bursting of some of the barrels of his "infernal machine," and his wounds had delayed his escape. The machine consisted of twenty-five barrels, arranged hori-

zontally side by side upon a frame, the back part of which could be raised or lowered according to the angle requisite to reach and sweep the space below. Each barrel was loaded with deadly missiles; the touch-holes communicated by means of a train of gunpowder, and the lighting of one simultaneously discharged them all. The window, at a little distance from which the machine was placed, stood open, but the machine itself had been screened from observation by Persian blinds which were not withdrawn till the instant of explosion. It was conjectured that the time required to open the blinds had not been calculated, which omission saved the king, for the discharge took place immediately behind him, one of the bullets wounding his horse. The assassin turned out to be a Corsican named Fieschi, who had gone through many disreputable vicissitudes—had been a soldier—stood in the pillory for forgery—suffered two years' imprisonment for theft—and had been a spy of the police. He made no attempt to deny his guilt; he acknowledged no motive except dislike of the king. His trial showed that two persons as obscure as himself had been privy to his enterprise, but not the slightest thread of connection could be traced between the desperado and any formidable conspiracy or political party. A momentary stupor followed the explosion; but as soon as it was known that neither the king nor the princes were hurt, it gave place to tumultuous expressions of joy, mingled with rage against the author of the crime. The forms of the review were gone through by the king, but the rejoicings of the revolutionary anniversary were suspended; the tri-coloured flag was veiled in crape; the victims of the massacre were buried with the honours of a public funeral, which the king and his family attended; and pensions were voted by the chambers to the poor persons who had been wounded, and the relatives of those who had been killed.

Parliament was opened by the king in person on the 4th of February, 1836. The speech expressed regret at the continuance of the civil war in Spain, and a hope that our mediation between France and the United States of America would be attended with success. The quarrel which had arisen between those two governments was entirely a money-quarrel. The Americans, who had submitted to be plundered by Bonaparte, had been clamouring for restitution and indemnity ever since the restoration of the Bourbons: the French had been very slow in recognizing the justice of their claims; and, after acknowledging them, had been still slower in paying. There had been a terrible blustering on the other side of the Atlantic, with threats of going to war for the recovery of the money. Our mediation

did in the end prove successful. The king's speech affirmed that the state of commerce and manufactures was highly satisfactory, but that difficulties continued to press on agriculture. Attention was directed to measures that would be submitted for increasing the efficiency of the church, for the commutation of tithes, and for alleviating the grievances of dissenters. The necessity of maintaining the maritime strength, and of giving adequate protection to commerce, had occasioned an increase in the naval estimates. Improvements in the administration of justice were recommended, especially in the Court of Chancery; a just settlement of tithes in Ireland; a remedy to defects in the municipal corporations of Ireland, founded on the same principles as the municipal acts passed for England and Scotland. Finally, the condition of the poor of Ireland was alluded to, and an intimation thrown out that the experience afforded of the "salutary effect" of the poor-law amendment act in England might guide them in their approaches to this difficult subject. In both houses amendments were moved to the ministerial address, by the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel, with a view of avoiding a specific pledge to reform the corporations of Ireland on the same principles as those of Britain. In the upper house, where opposition by ministers would have been unavailing, the amendment was agreed to without a division. In the commons the house divided, when the original address was carried by 284 against 243.

The paragraph relating to agricultural distress in the king's speech having been read, Lord John Russell moved for a select committee to inquire into the causes of the depression of that interest. His lordship, however, confessed that he did not anticipate any satisfactory result from the investigation. It appears that the principal problem to be solved was, why the price of wheat was at present so much lower than it used to be, in relation to the price of barley; but, if this be an evil, it was one that was likely to puzzle parliament to cure. The landed interest was left to solve the difficulty in their own way, for the proportion of country to town members in the committee was nearly four to one. The committee sat four months, but was unable to agree to a report, and merely laid before the house the evidence they had taken.

On the 9th of February, Lord John Russell brought forward the cabinet plan for the commutation of tithes in England. It was easily carried, and became an act. By this act, which extends to Wales, provision was made for the final extinction, within two years, of the right of exacting tithes in kind, and for commuting them into a corn rent-charge, payable in money according to the value of a fixed quantity of corn, as

yearly ascertained by the average of the preceding seven years. If the parties could not agree among themselves upon a permanent commutation before October 1st, 1838, commissioners were to proceed to make an award, which should be binding for ever after.

On the 12th of February, Lord John Russell submitted to the commons two measures of great importance: the first being a bill for a general registration of marriages, births, and deaths; the second a bill for the amendment of the marriage laws. They both became statutes. By the second of them dissenters were allowed to be married in their own chapels or meeting-houses, or wherever else they might think fit, instead of being forced, as heretofore, to comply with the rites of the Established church; or any person that chose might be lawfully married without any religious ceremony at all, or any other form except that of making a declaration of the act before a public officer. The dissenters, who had clamoured for this boon, seemed in very many cases to be averse to it when it was conceded.

On the 8th of July, Lord John Russell explained the ministerial plan for the reform of the English church. It was founded on four reports made by the ecclesiastical commissioners. In its full scope it went to a new arrangement of dioceses and their revenues; to the creation of two new bishoprics; to the appropriation of the redundant revenues of the deans and chapters; to the improvement of poor livings, and to the diminution of non-residence and pluralities. Only one of the four bills intended was brought forward, namely, that respecting the sees. The house seems to have been taken by surprise, and the bill was read a second time without opposition or special notice. At this stage the radicals evinced such a determined hostility to the ministers' scheme of church reform, that they were only able to carry the Established church bill during the short remainder of the session. By this bill the bishopric of Bristol was to be united to that of Gloucester; that of St Asaph to that of Bangor; and that of Sodor and Man to that of Chester; and two new bishoprics were to be erected, one at Manchester and the other at Ripon. The income of the Archbishop of Canterbury was to be reduced to £15,000; that of the Archbishop of York to £10,000; that of the Bishop of London to £10,000; that of the Bishop of Durham to £8000; that of the Bishop of Winchester to £7000; that of the Bishop of Ely to £5500; that of the Bishop of St. Asaph and Bangor to £5200; and that of the Bishop of Worcester to £5000. These reductions amount altogether to a sum of about £28,500 per annum. The other bishoprics were to have incomes ranging from £4000 to £5000. No ecclesiastical dignity

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or benefice was to be in future granted to any bishop to be held *in commendam*. These regulations, it was expected, would lessen translations, by leaving only three or four sees objects of temptation. Acts were also passed for separating the palatine jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely in certain districts, and for imposing restrictions on the renewal of ecclesiastical leases. Finally, on the abandonment of the other church bills relative to residence and pluralities, and a new appropriation of the revenues of cathedral and collegiate churches, a bill was introduced for suspending for one year appointments to dignities in those establishments, and to sinecure rectories.

For some time a war had been vigorously carried on against the newspaper-stamp tax. On the 15th of March, Mr. Spring Rice, as chancellor of the exchequer, stated that it was the intention of government to revise the whole of the law respecting stamp-duties; first, by consolidating into one statute the 150 acts of parliament over which the law was at present distributed; secondly, by the apportionment of the various rates on a new principle—namely, by the simple and uniform rule of making the price of the stamp in every case correspond to the pecuniary value involved in the transaction for which it is required. The effect of this change would be to reduce the stamp-duty upon indentures of apprenticeship, bills of lading, and many others of the more common instruments, and to increase it somewhat upon mortgages and conveyances of large amounts of property; but it was not expected that it would make much difference upon the entire produce of the duties. The consolidation act which was in preparation, it was intimated, would contain no fewer than 330 sections; but it was suggested by some members that it might probably be a more convenient plan to divide all this matter into a short series of acts, one for each class of stamp-duties. With regard to the stamp on newspapers, Mr. Rice stated that it was proposed to reduce it from its present amount of 4*d.* with the discount, to 1*d.* without discount. This would be a reduction of exactly 2½*d.* on all newspapers sold for 7*d.* or less, and of rather more than 2½*d.* on all sold for more than 7*d.* A portion varying between two-thirds and three-fourths of the whole tax would thus be remitted. To this remission parliament assented; by which the illicit circulation of unstamped newspapers, which had long been followed, was at once rendered so profitless as to be entirely abandoned. Some members were opposed to the retention of the penny stamp, considering it the duty of government to remove every obstacle to the diffusion of political information. But this would have made a postage

necessary, to which the newspaper-proprietors were opposed as practically inconvenient; and which, moreover, would have been virtually a tax on the country reader of a London newspaper, from which the town reader would have been exempt. The transmission of papers at the public expense, without either stamp or postage, appeared an inadmissible proposition. It would have evinced a desire to spread political intelligence to the exclusion of literature and science. Some were in favour of the repeal of the duties on paper in lieu of the stamp-duty on newspapers. The reduction of the newspaper-tax was the only proposition of Mr. Rice on the stamp-duties that was carried.

Shortly after this the chancellor of the exchequer, after stating that the income for the year would exceed the expenditure by £662,000, reduced the duty on first class paper from 3*d.* to 1½*d.* per pound, and altogether abolished the duty on stained paper; he remitted the South Sea duties, and proposed the reduction of the duties on insurances of farming-stock, taxed carts, &c.

The lords went into committee on the Irish municipal bill, when an amendment, moved by Lord Lyndhurst on the second clause, which went to raise the whole question between the plan of the reform of the corporations as proposed by ministers, and that simply of abolition brought forward by the opposition, was finally carried on a division by 107 against 15. All the rest of the clauses of the bill to the 21st inclusive were then struck out on the motion of the said noble lord, except the 3*d* and the 10*th*, which were agreed to.

On the first of June, on the second reading of the Irish tithe bill, Lord Stanley moved an amendment, the object of which was to get rid of the appropriation clause, and preserve to the church undiminished its revenues. The discussion lasted three nights, during which all the leading members on both sides addressed the house. Lord Stanley intimated that the adoption of his amendment would obtain for the ministerial bill the support of those whose co-operation never could nor would be otherwise obtained. Lord John Russell in reply contended that, in legislating for Ireland, it was necessary to consult the interest and feelings of the great body of the people. The real question in controversy, both in regard to the church and corporations, in the future government of Ireland, was, whether the old Protestant ascendancy or the national interests should be consulted. On the other hand, it was urged by a third class of reasoners, that the ministers' bill was weak, and remote from a final settlement. If, for example, according to their own position, the Church of Ireland were in future to be regulated according to the

prevailing taste of a majority of its inhabitants, the mere abstraction, as proposed, of £90,000 from its present revenues, would not obtain that object. The debate was very long; but on a division, Lord Stanley's amendment was rejected by 300 against 261. Lord John Russell's bill was then read a second time. In the lords great alterations were made in the bill; the commons refused to concur in their lordships' amendments, and in the end the bill was allowed to drop. Precisely the same fate befell the Irish corporations reform bill.

Loud complaints had already been raised against the new poor-law statutes, and still more against the harshness with which the government functionaries had administered those laws. On the 1st of August, Mr. Walter moved for a select committee to inquire into the operation of the new poor-law, particularly in regard to outdoor relief and the separation of husbands from wives, and children from their parents. Lord John Russell, recurring to arithmetical figures and not to the domestic affections, affirmed that the country was saving nearly £2,000,000 per annum by the present mode of treating the poor. This was considered so very satisfactory that the house rejected Mr. Walter's motion by a majority of nearly two to one.

For a considerable number of years the public had obtained admission to the Houses of Parliament only by written orders of peers of the upper house, and for the commons by the speaker's order to a seat below the gallery, and either by a member's order, or by the payment of 2*s.* 6*d.*, to the gallery. But it was now regulated that admission to the commons' gallery by paying the 2*s.* 6*d.* should be abolished, and that the written order of a member should be made the only passport. This was certainly not a change for the better. It has had the effect of restricting the number of those who frequented the commons' gallery, and it is constantly felt as an inconvenience.

On the 20th of August, while Mr. Hume was in the middle of a vituperative speech directed against the House of Lords, the usher of the black rod summoned the commons to the upper house to hear the prorogation speech. His majesty congratulated parliament and the country on the flourishing state of commerce and manufactures.

For some time a considerable body of British troops, called the Spanish Legion, in the pay of Spain, and under the command of Colonel Evans, had been fighting for the young Queen Isabella against the Carlists in the Basque provinces. It cannot be said that they or their gallant commander had much raised the military reputation of our country, or that they had done much

good for the cause which they were supporting. Colonel Evans either proved that he was no strategist, or that his men and the Spaniards co-operating with them were incapable of executing combined movements, or any difficult evolution or movement whatsoever. The minds of these Englishmen became familiarized with scenes of horror and Spanish cruelty. Lord John Hay, commander of the British naval squadron stationed off the Basque provinces on the northern coast of Spain, received orders from the British government to co-operate with Queen Isabella's army and the auxiliary forces of Evans. In the month of May his lordship rendered very important services, by sending in two armed steamers, which, by a well-directed fire, opened a passage through the Carlist fortified works near Hernani. Evans' legion carried those works, but not until they had lost in killed and wounded from seventy to eighty officers and nearly 800 men. The Carlist general was killed in the action. At other points Lord John Hay's squadron rendered efficient aid, discouraging the brave Basques far more than any other force or any other circumstance could have done. These men were perpetually declaring, that, if England would keep her ships of war neutral, and recall Evans and his legion, they could easily maintain their provinces, and the liberties which they had so long enjoyed in them, against their Spanish enemies. The Spanish constitutionalists were broken up into desperate factions, and there was an almost total want of morality and common honesty among the functionaries of their government. The most atrocious cruelties were being perpetrated all over the kingdom. At Barcelona the populace massacred all the Carlist prisoners, and then shouted for the constitution of 1812. At Tortosa, General Nogueras, who commanded the queen's troops, ordered the governor to seize the aged mother of the Carlist partizan Cabrera, and to put her to death in retaliation for the cruel deeds of her son. The governor refused to comply with this monstrous command, on which General Nogueras applied to General Mina, who, having entirely failed in the Basque provinces, was now captain-general of Catalonia. Mina directed that the orders should be immediately executed, and the very old and infirm woman was actually shot in one of the public places of Tortosa. Mina did not long survive this detestable act: he died in his bed, leaving a name which had once been honoured covered with everlasting infamy. Cabrera took vengeance into his own hands. He issued a sort of proclamation, ordering his troops to put to death every prisoner they made; and he began his reprisals by shooting the wives of four constitutional officers. Other victims were soon added to this list, Cab-

rera declaring that thirty at least must fall to expiate the murder of his mother.

The Spanish government was deplorably weak, and hurried on its destruction by an attempt to appear strong. Being left in a minority, ministers dissolved the cortes. At Malaga, Cadiz, Seville, and Cordova, the constitution of 1812 was proclaimed, and provincial juntas were established, wholly independent of the queen's authority. On the 3d, a movement commenced in Madrid; but it was put down, and the capital declared in a state of siege. But on the 12th the insurrection became more serious, and a regiment of provincial militia doing duty at St. Ildefonso demanded the constitution of 1812. They forced themselves into the apartment of the queen-regent in spite of the remonstrances of the French and English ambassadors, and obtained from her a promise of the acceptance of the constitution. This produced a revolution in the metropolis. Isturitz, the prime minister, made his escape, reached Lisbon, and from thence proceeded to England. General Quesada, the military governor of Madrid, was not so fortunate, being taken by the populace about three miles from the capital, and savagely put to death. Ultimately, the constitution was proclaimed by the queen-regent, subject to the revision of the cortes, and a new ministry of decided liberals was formed. The new government commenced with vigour. A forced loan to the amount of £2,000,000 was sought to be raised; a conscription of 50,000 soldiers was called for to send against the Carlists; the property of emigrant Carlists was confiscated; and the example of France and Portugal was proposed to be followed, by the extinction of the remaining moiety of tithe, leaving the clergy stipendiaries of the state, or dependent on voluntary contributions. Early in the ensuing year some modifications in the constitution of 1812 were proposed and adopted by the cortes. It was, however, impossible to make anything good out of a constitution so fundamentally and so thoroughly bad. The new ministry, who were indebted for their possession of office to an insurgent sergeant of the guards, soon tottered on their seats, and felt how much more easy it is to go along with a fierce democracy than to check or control it. It was made visible that no government could be made permanent in Spain. A fearful waste was made of the church and monastic property. In the remote country districts, where there were no inns, the reign of hospitality was over. It ended with the suppression of the monasteries, at whose gates the wayfarer, let his religion be what it might, had never applied in vain. A revolution in Spain was usually a prelude to a revolution in Portugal. At Lisbon serious disagreements had arisen between

the court and the assembled cortes, on account of the appointment of the young queen's husband to the command-in-chief of the army. The cortes were about voting an address against the army being under the command of a foreigner, when they were abruptly dissolved by the queen. Then came news of the revolution of Madrid. The political clubs put themselves in motion, and an insurrection was speedily organized. On the 9th of September, a motley band of troops of the line, caçadores, volunteers, and national guards, proclaimed the constitution adopted by John VI. Donna Maria would have resisted; but the non-commissioned officers of the regular troops, exercising the chief authority, as in Spain, refused to march, and joined the insurgents in calling for a change of government. The Duke of Terceira, Cavalho, and other individuals, took refuge from the popular fury on board the English squadron in the Tagus; and a new ministry was set up, to be speedily knocked down again. The Portuguese peers addressed a formal protest to the queen against this revolution. The Duke of Palmella, the first in influence as in ability, headed the protest. The provinces expressed by deputations their approval of the proceedings in the capital.

Switzerland, which had never been quiet since the Paris revolution of 1830, was now involved in a serious quarrel with France, and was jealously and anxiously watched by the troops of Baden, Würtemberg, Bavaria, Piedmont, and all the contiguous states. M. Thiers threatened the Swiss with an "hermetic blockade." The Swiss replied, that all the troubles of their country, and all the political conspiracies which France complained of, had been hatched by an agent of the French ambassador. This charge was founded on the confession of the spy himself, who had been arrested while going about Switzerland with a passport signed by the French ambassador's chief secretary. The British government offered its mediation, and the quarrel was made up before the end of the year.

In France another unsuccessful attempt was made upon the life of Louis Philippe, as he was passing to open the chambers.

Parliament was opened by commission on the 31st of January, 1837. The speech from the throne was not gloomy, although the aspect of affairs was far from being cheerful. A mania for speculation and over-trading had created great commercial embarrassments, and there had been one of those money-panics which periodically visit the country. His majesty's speech recommended a renewal of the inquiry into the operation of joint-stock banks, which had contributed to create the existing disorder.

On the 13th of February, Lord John Russell

detailed, in a committee of the whole house, the government plan for introducing poor laws into Ireland. It was favourably received by the house, though strenuously opposed by Mr. O'Connell. The progress of the bill was interrupted by the dissolution of parliament.

Mr. Walter again moved for a committee to inquire into the operation of the poor-law act. An amendment was proposed by Lord John Russell for a committee to inquire into the administration of the relief of the poor, under the orders and regulations of the poor law commissioners. This was carried, and a committee, having power for a full inquiry, short of calling in question the principle of the bill, was agreed to.

Ministers found themselves compelled to abandon their bill for the abolition of church-rates. They entertained the project of appointing a committee to inquire into the mode of leasing and managing the real estates of the church.

On the vote for the navy estimates, Lord Mahon called the attention of the house to the wretched state of Spain, and to the manner in which British forces had been employed in a civil war. Lord Palmerston defended the course of policy adopted by the present government. His lordship maintained that an interference would put an end to the civil war, and so carry into effect the quadripartite treaty of 1834. Sir Robert Peel in the commons and the Duke of Wellington in the lords censured the whole of this policy. The duke had never approved of the treaty. He thought that there should be no intervention in the internal affairs of Spain. Indeed the notion of forcing any system of government in Spain was impracticable: to do so we must take into pay, not only our own army, but the Spanish—a proposition which he suspected would not be very palatable to a House of Commons or a chamber of deputies. He deprecated, therefore, any such attempt as absurd and ruinous to ourselves, and still more so for the sake of Spain herself. He could say, to his certain knowledge, that three several parties had already been ruined in Spain by our intervention. Individuals had been induced to take a certain line of action by the assurances of our government: they had afterwards, of necessity, been abandoned by their own, and were so left with their families ruined, their properties sacrificed, and their prospects blighted for ever.

Prior to the Easter recess Lord John Russell obtained leave to introduce a series of bills for the further amendment of the criminal law. These were eventually passed into statutes. They were to a great extent a realization of the humane views which Sir Samuel Romilly had so ably and so earnestly advocated a quarter of a century before this period. They removed the

extreme penalty of the law from all offences except seven of the most heinous kind. Lord Morpeth brought forward a resolution for the settlement of the Irish tithe question; but the measure had no better success than in the preceding session. The conservative party had greatly gained in parliamentary strength, and the Whigs in a good many cases could not depend upon their radical allies, although to them they had owed the possession of office.

On Lord Melbourne moving that the house go into committee on the Irish municipal bill, the Duke of Wellington said that the bill had a direct tendency to injure the Protestant church establishment in Ireland, which, for 300 years, it had been the policy of England to uphold; and that, as there were several other measures pendent in the House of Commons which affected the interests of the church, their lordships ought to wait till they had all the bills together. His grace therefore moved to postpone the bill to the 9th of June; and this was carried by 192 against 115. On June the 9th, Lord Lyndhurst moved a further postponement to the 3d of July.

On the 20th of June his majesty William IV. expired in Windsor Castle. He had expressed a wish to survive the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo on the 18th, and so far he had been gratified. He was in the seventy-third year of his age, and in a few days would have completed

the seventh year of his reign. His character presented few distinguished traits to mark him out from the common class of sovereigns, and but for the passing of the reform bill his reign would have been one of the most uneventful in our history. In politics he had no system of government, or firmness to adhere to any system whatever; but this defect, which might have been fatal to the ruler of any other kingdom, was in his case so far fortunate, that it enabled him to drift quietly onward upon a tide of events where resistance could only have ended in civil strife and national calamity. He was thus popular as the "reforming king," a title he earned without the sacrifice and trouble which such a proud distinction has entailed upon other sovereigns; and this popularity, his frankness, warm-hearted affections, and domestic virtues were well fitted to retain. By his death, and consequent accession to the throne of his niece the Princess Victoria, the crowns of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of Hanover became dis-severed, as the operation of the salique law excluded females in Hanover. The throne of that country therefore devolved to the Duke of Cumberland, the next heir male. By parliamentary provision made in 1831, Adelaide, now queen-dowager, had £100,000 per annum for her natural life, with Marlborough House and Bushey Park for residences.

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1837—1838.

VICTORIA.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1837.

Accession of Victoria to the throne—Interest excited by the event—Her royal declaration—Conduct of the Whig ministers—Parliamentary elections unfavourable to their cause—Disloyalty of Lower Canada—Review of disturbances in that colony—Discontent of the Canadians with the government concessions—Lord John Russell's bill for the colony—The subject discussed in parliament—Sir Robert Peel's statement of the support of Canadian discontent by the radical members of parliament—The subject debated in the House of Lords—Statements of Lord Glenelg and Lord Brougham—The Canada bill passed—Its provisions—Violence of the Irish members of parliament—Turbulent discussion about a reprimand to O'Connell—Annual motion for vote by ballot—Ministerial discords—Bill passed for the protection of voters—Bill passed for the extension of right to a seat in parliament—Motion for a vote of censure on Lord Glenelg—Amendment of the act for the abolition of slavery—Bills of Irish poor law and Irish tithes commutation—Debate on the annual grant to Maynooth college—Our policy criticised in reference to Spain—The quadruple treaty discussed—Reduction of the volunteer yeomanry cavalry—Bill passed for the abolition of arrests for debts on meane process—Copy-right bill for authors carried—Bill for alteration in administering oaths in courts of justice rejected—Complaints of the lord-chancellor's nomination of magistrates—Motion for the reappointment of a committee on church lands—Other parliamentary motions—The queen's coronation—Wild and fanatical outbreak at Canterbury—Account of Thom, the pretended prophet—His violent proceedings and death—Events in Canada—Open rebellion of the disaffected—It is suppressed in Lower Canada—Rising in Upper Canada—The rebels invest Toronto—They are defeated—They are aided by the American "sympathizers"—Affair of Navy Island and the *Caroline* steamer—Inroads from the United States upon the Canadian frontiers—Lord Durham's arrival in Canada—Proceedings against the leaders of the rebellion—Proclamation of the Canadian government—Attack on Lord Durham in the House of Lords—Lord Durham leaves his government without an official recall.



HE accession of a female sovereign to the throne of our country was of itself a popular event. It was a change and a novelty for the unthinking multitude. It was an omen of national prosperity to the more cultivated, and all who had read our national history, called to mind how England had become great and glorious under the reigns of Elizabeth and Anne. The circumstance of an interesting youthful female, only eighteen years old, suddenly ushered into such a responsible station, awakened the chivalrous feelings of every class and party, by which political strife was composed, and loyalty invested with a more ardent feeling and nobler devotedness. All was enthusiastic gladness for the present and joyful anticipation for the future, when on the 20th of June, Victoria was proclaimed queen with the usual solemnities; and when the ceremony of signing the act of allegiance had been performed by the privy council at the palace of Kensington, the manner so gentle and yet so dignified, and the clear, unflinching tones with which her first royal declaration was delivered, were as the prelude of an universal harmony among her hitherto discordant people. "This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden, were I not sustained by the hope, that divine providence, which has called

me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources, which usually belong to a more mature age and to long experience.

"I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of parliament, and upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I esteem it also a peculiar advantage that I succeed to a sovereign, whose constant regards for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of the country, have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration.

"Educated in England, under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country.

"It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty. And I shall steadily promote, to the utmost of my power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."

Fortunately the money panic was over, and the country was tranquil. The popularity of the Whig ministers was declining, and there was a rumour that the young queen would dismiss them. But she retained all those she found in place. They ostentatiously proclaimed that the queen

entered warmly into their views, and had espoused their political creed without reservation. After the necessary dissolution of parliament, the ministerial candidates traversed the country placarded as it were with her majesty's name, and inviting the electors to show their loyalty by supporting her majesty's ministers. Lord John Russell, as well as the other ministers, took especial care to identify the queen with the cabinet, and to convince the country that the young sovereign was so thoroughly enamoured of Whig principles, and of the Whigs personally, that it would be impossible for her ever to tolerate Tories or conservatives. Yet it can scarcely be said that ministers gained ground at the elections. The demonstration of public opinion was still less in favour of the radicals. Bath, Liverpool, and Hull rejected their late radical members, and returned conservatives. In the city of London, Mr. Grote, once the favourite member, found himself in

a bare majority of six over the conservative candidate, Mr. Horsley Palmer. Mr. Hume was unseated in Middlesex, and driven to the necessity of appearing in the House of Commons as Daniel O'Connell's nominee for the city of Kilkenny. Generally the Whigs lost the county elections; yet Sir James Graham, the conservative candidate, was rejected by East Cumberland. Some new joints were added to the O'Connell tail.

The loyalty of England did not reach to Lower Canada. The French or French-descended portion of the inhabitants of that province had long been in a very turbulent state; and the beginning of the reign of a youthful female sovereign seemed to these people a very proper period for driving on to the extremities of democracy, agitation, insurrection, and civil war. The sub-

ject engaged the attention of parliament, and vexed and perplexed ministers. Mistakes were committed in the cabinet, and the hands of the resident governors of Canada were tied up.

A recapitulation of these annoying events is necessary for the better understanding of the parliamentary discussion they occasioned, and the rebellious outbreak in which they terminated. In 1828, when a committee appointed for the

purpose had given in a report of the state of Canada, and the measures that were necessary for its welfare, the assembly of Lower Canada had themselves characterized this report as "an imperishable monument of the justice and profound wisdom of the committee—an authentic testimonial of the reality of their grievances, and of the justice of their complaints, faithfully interpreting their wishes and their wants." It might have, therefore, justly been supposed, that after the people and the government of this country had proved themselves an-



QUEEN VICTORIA
From the portrait by Winterhalter

xious to perform all that was asked for, and that was indicated by the report of the committee, some satisfaction would have been produced in the minds of the Canadians, and some expression of cordiality towards the British government might have been elicited. But the reverse was the case. On the 6th of December, 1828, the house of assembly resolved, that on the permanent settlement before-mentioned being effected, it would be expedient to render the governor, lieutenant-governor, or person administering the government for the time being, the judges and executive councillors, independent of the annual vote of that house, to the extent of their present salaries. Also, that amongst the questions not particularly mentioned on that occasion, that house held, as most essential to the peace, welfare, and good government of the province, the

independence of the judges, and their removal from the political business of the colony; the responsibility and accountability of public officers; a greater independence of support from the public revenues, and more intimate connection with the interests of the colony in the composition of the legislative council; the application of the late property of the Jesuits to the purposes of general education; a removal of the inconvenience attendant upon the crown and clergy reserves; and a diligent inquiry into, and a ready redress of all grievances and abuses that may be found to exist, or which may have been petitioned against by the subjects in the province.

These were extensive and truly dangerous demands, especially when the state of the colony was taken into account; but still, much was done in order to remedy the particular grievances complained of. With respect to the independence of the judges, Lord Ripon (then colonial secretary) fully concurred in the reasonableness of the proposal, and himself suggested a method for carrying it into effect. But the house of assembly, instead of following out that suggestion, tacked to the law by which the independence of the judges was to be secured, certain provisions relating to the hereditary revenues of the crown, and to the establishment of a court of impeachment for the judges. And yet, the independence of the judges was simply and of itself a positive good, and the annexation of perplexing conditions was a pretty good proof that it was not their wish to rid themselves of the grievance complained of. With respect to the accountability of public officers, Lord Ripon also proposed a measure which the house of assembly would not allow to pass, though it was planned with a view to secure the most beneficial results.

As regarded the subject on which the widest difference between the assembly and the imperial government existed, no opposition had been offered. The judges were forthwith informed, that, with the exception of the chief justice, it was no longer desirable that they should sit in the legislative council; and a number of persons, for the most part of French extraction, were added to that body, totally independent of the crown, and giving a great majority in the council to those who were unconnected with the government. The assembly might indeed say, that they were none of them persons agreeable to their wishes, or acquainted with their wants, but the question was, whether they were not independent of office, and closely connected with the interests of the colony. Of the forty members of the council, not less than eighteen were French Canadians; many of the members of English origin had quitted the province, and but seven remained in official connection with the govern-

ment. As to the property of the Jesuits, it had actually been ordered to be applied to educational purposes, and the only grievance connected with that point now remaining was, that the estates had been leased to persons other than those whom the assembly desired to see in possession of them.

Another question related to the crown and clergy reserves. Lord Ripon had declared his readiness to put an end to the old system, and only differed from the assembly in wishing to prevent an undue facility from being afforded to poor and improvident purchasers of the waste lands.

The next grievance arose out of the much-contested question of the duties collected under the earlier acts, and which the crown had, according to law, the right of appropriating. The committee of 1828 had been of opinion, that these duties should be submitted to the appropriation of the assembly; but they recommended that this measure should be accompanied by a permanent settlement for the salaries of the judges and other functionaries. Government, however, had in 1831 carried a bill through the imperial parliament which entirely repealed the power of appropriation by this country, and left it to the assembly without condition, without stipulation, to dispose altogether of those duties.

The Canadians made but a poor return for these concessions. In the year 1833, the house of assembly tacked to a supply bill some very unusual conditions, providing that the persons holding certain offices should not be allowed salaries, unless they relinquished other offices. This strange bill was rejected by the governor. In 1834, the same house of assembly adopted a new course which had led directly to the present difficulties. It passed ninety-two resolutions, some of grievance, some of eulogy, some of vituperation, and amounting in the whole to a vehement remonstrance against government; and, after spending an entire session in framing this remonstrance, it separated without passing any supply bill whatever. At this period the more able and more respectable of the party in opposition detached themselves from their former associates, for they saw that their policy was violent and aggressive, and that they were aiming not at reform, but at convulsion and revolution. Yet were there some Englishmen who continued to adhere to the French Canadian radical faction, and went with that faction to such lengths as would, under a less lenient government, have been construed into treason. Since 1834, no supplies were voted. During the very short administration of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Amherst was sent out, not merely as governor, but also as commissioner, to investigate and redress griev-

ances. That appointment had been made null by the dissolution of Sir Robert's administration. Returning to office, the Whigs despatched Lord Gosford to fill the place of Lord Amherst. The new governor and commissioner could not alter the temper of the house of assembly. The supplies continued to be refused.

Such was the difficulty that encountered parliament at its reassembling on the 16th of January, 1838; and after these events were recapitulated by Lord John Russell, he proposed a bill to suspend for a certain time the existing constitution of Lower Canada. He also moved an address to the throne, pledging the house to assist her majesty in restoring tranquillity to her Canadian dominions. He proceeded to give an outline of the intended bill, and announced the person who was to be sent out to Canada to carry it into effect: this was the Earl of Durham, who, having accepted the office, would in due time proceed to the performance of its important duties. Lord John Russell concluded his long discourse by declaring that although, in his opinion, a time might arrive when he would not be indisposed to give the 1,400,000 of our present fellow-subjects living in Canada a participation in the perfect freedom enjoyed by the mother country, he thought that the day for separation was still at a distance.

Sir Robert Peel protested against the doctrine that the manifestation of a rebellious spirit on the part of a colony was reason sufficient for releasing it from its allegiance; and he promised his cordial consent to the address, because, in his opinion, this country had acted with justice and liberality towards Canada. But in supporting the address he begged that he might not be understood to place confidence in ministers, or to be satisfied with their past conduct. Measures of precaution had been neglected. The military force in the colony ought to have been increased last year. Mr. Hume, with Mr. Roebuck, had been one of the loudest performers on the trumpet of revolt and insurrection. Sir Robert Peel did not forget the fact. He agreed, he said, with the observation Mr. Hume had just made in the house, that the blame rested with those who had drawn an innocent and harmless people into a hopeless insurrection; and then he reminded the ex-member for Middlesex and present member for Kilkenny of an inflammatory letter which in the year 1834 he (Mr. Hume) had addressed to Mr. Mackenzie in Upper Canada, and which contained the following passage:—"Your triumphant election of the 16th, and your rejection from the assembly of the 17th, must hasten that crisis which is fast approaching in the affairs of the Canadas, and which will terminate in independence and freedom from the

baneful domination of the mother country, and the tyrannical conduct of a small and despicable faction. The proceedings between 1772 and 1782 in America ought never to be forgotten; and, to the honour of the Americans, and for the interest of the civilized world, let their conduct and the result be ever in view!" "Surely," continued Sir Robert, "Mr. Mackenzie, who has dragged the people into insurrection, may say, 'I acted on the authority of the honourable member for Kilkenny; visit not therefore this delusion and its consequences upon me!'"

An amendment to the address was rejected by 188 against 28. On the following day the new bill was presented to the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. The leading object of it, as stated by him, was to enable the governor-general and council (that council not to be limited in number, but of which five might be a quorum), on the motion of the governor, to pass any laws which might be considered necessary during the present suspension of the legislature of the province. In addition to these means for suppressing the insurrection, the governor-general would be authorized to grant a general amnesty. The powers conferred by the bill were to be vested in Sir John Colborne till the arrival of Lord Durham. With respect to the future government of the province, it was the intention of ministers that the governor-general should be invested with power to convene a certain number of persons—namely, three from the legislative councils of each of the two provinces, and ten "representatives" from each—to form a council to concert with the governor-general as to the measures which might be deemed advisable for the adjustment of the affairs of the two provinces. This was a power that might be given by the prerogative of the crown alone. The persons to be named from the legislative councils would be chosen by the governor-general; while those "who were to be convened having a representative character" might of course be taken from the legislative assembly; but as in Lower Canada it was almost impossible that the assembly could be brought to act beneficially, it would be competent to the governor-general, both in the upper and lower province, to hold elections for persons, amounting to twenty in the whole, to concert with him upon the general state of affairs.

In the House of Lords there had been some preliminary skirmishing about Canadian affairs. The Duke of Wellington, after expressing his hope that ministers would call upon parliament for the means of bringing the mad contest to a certain and speedy conclusion, let drop one of his concise and not-to-be-forgotten oracles—"A great country like England can have no such

thing as a little war." Lord Glenelg moved an appropriate address to the queen. His lordship considered that the main cause of the disturbances which prevailed in Lower Canada might be found in the division of the two races which inhabited the province—a division which circumstances had not mellowed, but embittered. Lord Brougham accused ministers of weakness and vacillation, and delivered a speech which, in many points of oratory, has never been surpassed. He called attention to the position of Lord Gosford, sent to the advanced posts of our empire, without instructions, unprovided with any but the ordinary force of the colony, to meet a crisis brought on by his employers! His lordship directed the most glowing invective against the ministerial policy which had provoked the Canadians, and yet adopted no step by way of precaution against the inevitable effect of the outrage offered. He exclaimed—"Tyranny and oppression have here appeared stripped of their instinctive apprehension, and habitual circumspection. Compared with the conduct which we are now called on to contemplate, the most vacillating and imbecile, the most inconsistent and impotent rulers rise into some station commanding respect—King John, and Richard Cromwell himself, become wise, politic, and vigorous princes."

The address was agreed to.

In the commons the Canada bill was subjected to some important amendments, and it was eventually carried through that house by immense majorities on the 29th of January. It was coercive and severe enough. After coquetting with insurrection, ministers now seemed determined to show no mercy to the insurgents. In the upper house the Duke of Wellington dwelt on the hardship to Upper Canada of bringing that tranquil and well-affected province within the operations of the bill. On the 8th of February the bill came on to be read for the third time. It was opposed by Lord Ellenborough, Lord Brougham, and Lord Fitzwilliam. Lord Ashburton animadverted on the rapid and seemingly capricious manner in which the governors succeeded each other in the Canadas. Sir John Colborne had been removed to make way for Sir Francis Head; Sir Francis Head for Sir George Arthur; and now Sir George Arthur must retire before the supreme authority of Lord Durham. The third reading was carried, and the royal assent was given to the bill. Its most important provisions were in substance the following:—The constitution of Lower Canada was suspended till November, 1840. Her majesty in council was empowered to constitute a special council, and to appoint or authorize the governor to appoint such and so many special councillors

as she might think proper. It was declared that until November, 1840, it should be lawful for the governor, with the consent and advice of the majority of the said councillors convened for the purpose, to make such laws or ordinances for the peace, welfare, and good government of Lower Canada, as the legislature of that province, at the time of passing the act, was empowered to make; and that all laws or ordinances so made, subject to the provisions thereafter contained for disallowance thereof by her majesty, should have the like force and effect as laws passed before the passing of the act by the legislative bodies. The governor was to have the initiative of all measures proposed to the council, five of whom were required for a quorum.

Then followed certain restrictive provisoes before noticed.

It was then directed that a copy of every such law or ordinance be transmitted to the home government, and her majesty was empowered by an order in council at any time within two years from the receipt thereof, to disallow the same.

Irish affairs, or rather Irish orations, again occupied a disproportionate time in parliament. The Hibernian violence infected other members. On the 6th of December the House of Commons was turned into a bear-garden. On the following evening Mr. Abercromby, the speaker, after commenting in a tone of temperate rebuke on the insubordination of the house, solemnly declared that he would resign if such disgraceful scenes were repeated.

Mr. O'Connell, after a fearful tirade of abuse, charged some Tory committees of the House with having been guilty of "foul perjury." Lord Maidstone moved that he should be reprimanded in his place by the speaker. A turbulent discussion ensued, and ended in the adjournment of the house. On the following day the debate was resumed. Upon a division the numbers were, for the reprimand 226, against it 197. As had been the case on more than one recent occasion, ministers were found voting with the minority. They pretended that a simple reprimand was not punishment enough—but they assuredly never thought of moving for any more severe penalty. On this occasion Lord John Russell was guilty of unusual heat and indiscretion. When Lord Maidstone first announced his intention of calling the great Irish agitator to account, he (Lord John) gave notice that, should that complaint be entertained by the house, he would bring forward on the same day an allegation of perjury made by the Bishop of Exeter, against certain members of the house.¹ This

¹ The obnoxious passage occurred in a charge to the clergy delivered by Dr. Philpot, the Bishop of Exeter, in 1836. He

strange and inconsiderate menace entangled his lordship in considerable difficulties. A "Free-men and Parliamentary Electors Bill," which had dropped in the preceding session, was re-introduced before the Christmas recess. It had two objects—the one to relieve householders entitled to the elective franchise, by extending the time fixed by the reform bill for payment of their rates and taxes from April to October; the other, to remove the stamp-duty payable by freemen on their admission. The former branch of the bill met with considerable opposition on the conservative side of the house. In committee, Mr. Thomas Duncombe moved an amendment which, in effect, would have altogether annulled the rate-paying clauses of the reform bill. He was supported by Mr. Warburton, Colonel Evans, and Mr. Hume, but his motion was negatived by 206 against 107. The bill itself, as originally framed, was carried through the commons by slender majorities, but was rejected by the lords on the second reading, on the 8th of March. The House of Commons, nevertheless, passed another bill, conceding the desired relief to freemen alone; but the session closed before the lords could take it into consideration.

Mr. Grote made his annual motion for vote by ballot, and was out-voted by 315 to 198. It was noticeable that, although four cabinet ministers voted with Lord John Russell against Mr. Grote, yet Mr. Powlett Thompson, president of the board of trade, the two attorneys-general, the lord-advocate, Sir George Grey, colonial under-secretary, Sir Henry Parnell, treasurer of the ordnance, Mr. J. Parker, a lord of the treasury, and Mr. E. J. Stanley, the very *whipper-in* of the Whigs, absented themselves from the division; while Mr. Bernal, chairman of committees, Mr. Robert Steuart, a lord of the treasury, and Sir Hussey Vivian, master-general of the ordnance, voted for Mr. Grote against ministers. In consequence of this, and of other indications, rumours of ministerial discords and resignations became very current.

Mr. Slaney moved for leave to introduce a bill for the protection of voters, by making it a misdemeanour, with a summary process before magistrates, for any landlord, customer, master, or other person to interfere with the independent exercise of the elective franchise. The motion was carried in a thin house by a majority of more than two to one: and there the matter rested.

A bill was introduced by Mr. Warburton, and passed before the session closed, which had for

its object to extend to personal property the privilege hitherto confined to real property, of conferring a qualification for parliament. By this enactment an estate for life, or a term of years, of which thirteen shall be unexpired at the time of election, or personal estate and effects of any kind, within the United Kingdom, or the interest of dividends of such, may constitute the whole or part of the annual sum required to qualify a member. In the amount (£300 per annum) no alteration was made. The members for universities, and the eldest sons of peers, and of persons qualified to be knights of the shire, were, as matter of course, excluded from the scope of this statute.

The events which had taken place in Canada had drawn down severe criticism upon Lord Glenelg (formerly Mr. C. Grant), the colonial secretary. Sir W. Molesworth moved for an address to the queen, declaring that her majesty's present secretary for the colonies did not enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons or of the country, &c. Lord Palmerston said this was an attack, not upon Lord Glenelg alone, but upon the whole government. Lord Sandon moved as an amendment that an address should be presented to the queen, expressing the regret of the house at the treasonable movements in Canada, and their determination to support her in the suppression of the revolt, and the establishment of a sound constitution for those colonies; but representing also the opinion of the house that the present evil state of things in Canada was mainly owing to the want of foresight and energy, and to the ambiguous, dilatory, and irresolute course of her majesty's ministers. The debate occupied two nights; and, on a division, Lord Sandon's motion was negatived, but by a majority for ministers of only twenty-nine, the numbers being 316 to 287.

The anti-slavery agitation had not been set at rest by the abolition bill. Complaints were raised against the negro-apprenticeship system, and a cry was made for the immediate admission of the emancipated slaves into all the rights of free labourers. Public meetings and petitions were put very actively in operation. Lord Brougham opened the parliamentary discussion on the 29th of June, and before the session closed there was passed "An act to amend the act for the abolition of slavery," containing various provisions giving further protection to the negro-apprentices, and enforcing such regulations of the former act as had been disregarded by the planters.

There were very long and very warm debates on the Irish poor-law bill. Mr. O'Connell violently opposed the measure. He declared that he was opposed to the introduction of any poor laws whatsoever into Ireland. After various

said, in reference to the Irish temporalities bill, "In the discussion of the measure in parliament, I felt it my duty to rest my resistance to it on this point—to denounce as treachery, aggravated by perjury, such an exercise of rights acquired under an oath not to weaken or disturb the Protestant religion."

amendments, the bill, however, was carried through both houses. The Irish municipal corporations bill, having struggled with difficulty through the commons, was so altered in the lords, particularly by an amendment of Lord Lyndhurst's, that it came to a dead stop. The amendments were altered in the commons; a useless conference was held between the two houses; and finally the commons rejected their lordships' amendments. The Irish tithes commutation bill was finally carried during the session, but without the appropriation clause, which ministers had abandoned. In the course of the debates on this subject, Sir Robert Peel frankly acknowledged that he was quite ready to support a moderate reform of the established Anglican church in Ireland. Lord Brougham censured ministers for abandoning the appropriation clause, which, if properly carried into effect, might have greatly increased the means of popular education in Ireland.

In the course of a debate on the customary annual grant of £8928 to the Irish Catholic college of Maynooth, Lord Morpeth made the first allusion in parliament to the new Oxford school of divinity which we now denominate Puseyism. He said that these doctrines, which of late had become very fashionable at Oxford, had a strong savour of Romanism; and he read some extracts from a book which proceeded from that university, entitled the *Remains of the Rev. R. H. Froude*, and which certainly contained much that was adverse to Protestantism.

The policy of the government with respect to Spain was once more severely criticised. Colonel Evans, who had been recently appointed a knight commander of the Bath, was present in the house to vindicate his own conduct, and the conduct of his legion. He extenuated much that had been set down in malice, or carelessness, or sheer ignorance; but he could not disguise the facts that the expedition had been a calamitous failure, and that great and cruel wrong had been done to the brave people of the Biscayan provinces. Sir Henry Hardinge contended that Sir De Lacy Evans had by no means made out his case; and he proceeded to quote passages from various books and documents published by officers who had served in the legion, all tending to corroborate the prevailing opinion on the subject, and to show that the dreadful sufferings of that corps were of the most revolting nature, and that both the insubordination of the legion, as well as the punishments it provoked, were excessive.

In the upper house the quadruple treaty, and the constructions put upon it by ministers, were censured by the Duke of Wellington, Lord Brougham, the Earl of Aberdeen, and others. It was contended that that treaty did not oblige

us to blockade the coast of Spain as we had been doing. "Ministers," said the duke, "ought to explain what they mean by the obligations of the treaty." The premier, Lord Melbourne, was obliged to confess that it was in no respects a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive with the Queen of Spain against the rest of the world—that any power had a right to assist Don Carlos. But, he added, whether the exercise of such right would lead to a war was another question.

Ministers had conceived a prejudice against our volunteer yeomanry cavalry. This force had been reorganized in 1831, and at that period it consisted of 18,330 men; it was this year reduced by government by the amount of 4709 men. This step excited a good deal of dissatisfaction, more especially in the rural districts. Sir Robert Peel censured the reduction of this truly national and inexpensive force. He denied that the yeomanry would be useless in time of war. It was true they could not garrison towns. But was there no danger of collision with the people at such a period? One of the most valuable points in this force was, that so long as it continued in existence, there was a dormant spirit in being, which might at any moment be called into activity for the protection of property. On the one hand, the loyal enjoyed a consciousness of strength and security; on the other, there was a dread of force, which awed the turbulent into peace. With respect to the inconvenience of summoning the vicinage in aid of the civil power, he had heard it alleged with great surprise; for it was one of the Saxon principles of the British constitution to impose on the vicinage the maintenance of the public peace.

Lord John Russell spoke of promoting a far more efficient and constitutional force—a good militia; but he did nothing in this direction, and when the Whigs left office, little more remained of our old militia than a scarcely visible staff.

A bill was carried through both houses for the abolition of arrests for debts on mesne process. Mr. Serjeant Talfourd introduced a bill for extending the duration of copyrights to authors; but it met with no success. An international copyright bill was, however, passed during the session. It empowers her majesty in council to direct that the authors of books published abroad shall have a copyright here, provided there be a reciprocal protection in favour of this country, in the state in which such publications first make their appearance.

A bill was brought in by Lord Denman, the lord chief-justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, which aimed at a considerable alteration in the practice of administering oaths in courts of justice. It was divided into two parts, the first being framed with a view to declare and restore

the common law of England, which allows any person who offers to speak the truth, according to the form binding on his conscience, to be admitted as a witness. Such an enactment was



LORD DENMAN — From a portrait by E. U. Eddis

rendered necessary by reason of certain difficulties which existed in Ireland, in the case of Presbyterians, who are sworn after a form of their own, and whose testimony could not on that account, according to the construction put upon a certain Irish statute passed in 1783, on some occasions be received in a court of justice. The noble and learned lord said, that the second and more important part of his bill, which provided that persons believing an oath to be unlawful, should be permitted to make affirmation in lieu thereof, was founded on a similar principle with the first. If it were not fit to impose on a witness an oath in a form which he thought unlawful, or which he did not consider to be binding, it was equally wrong and impolitic to impose any at all upon an individual whose conscience would not permit him to be sworn. The best principle was, in the learned lord's opinion, to elicit the truth in the form the most binding upon the consciences of the witnesses, and he appealed to the example of the Quakers and Moravians, whose affirmation was found by experience to answer all the purposes of the most solemn oath. He then presented a petition from certain inhabitants of London, who, though neither Quakers nor Moravians, thought oaths opposed to their duties as Christians, and in some cases had suffered severe hardships in consequence of their conscientious scruples.

The House of Lords, however, was not prepared to sanction so sweeping an innovation as would be

implied in the entire abolition of the sanction of the oath; and after an endeavour upon the part of Lord Denman to modify his measure, with a view to diminish the prevailing objections, the bill was lost by a majority of thirty-two to sixteen.

The first clause of the bill was afterwards embodied in a separate statute, and passed the legislature in the course of the session. And the principle of the second clause was, by another act, extended to persons who *had been* Quakers or Moravians, though they might have since seceded from those sects.

Several complaints were made in the House of Lords during the session respecting the mode pursued by the lord-chancellor in the nomination of magistrates in England and Scotland. It was more than insinuated that the noble and learned lord had no other than political motives for many of his appointments, and considerable dissatisfaction was the result amongst the conservative lords-lieutenants of counties. Being attacked on this point by Lords Harewood and Warwick, the chancellor, Lord Cottenham, defended himself with great spirit. He said he fully approved of the old-established custom of the lord-chancellors consulting the lords-lieutenants with respect to appointments to the magistracy, but that he could not consent to be told that he was not to exercise his own discretion, or that he was to put the great seal to any list that might be forwarded to him. But his lordship could not disprove the fact that he had almost invariably preferred Whig to Tory magistrates—even as the Tories when in power had preferred men of their own party to Whigs.

The new poor laws again came under discussion in the House of Commons; but ministers would allow of no mitigation to their severity.

Lord John Russell moved the re-appointment of a committee on church lands. He estimated the net revenue of the Church of England at £3,439,767, and calculated that this income would admit of a considerable increase. He denied that he had any intention of subtracting from this fund for education of the people, or for any other lay purpose. Mr. Liddell observed, "that government had been driven on to this mischievous question, which would unsettle men's minds and properties, by the clamour of persons strongly their supporters, but little distinguished as friends of the church;" and he moved two sweeping amendments, the latter of which was lost only by a majority of eleven, the numbers being, *ayes* 254, *noes* 265. And here, for the present, the matter rested.

Reprobating any *compulsory* system, Lord Brougham addressed himself to the subject of an improved national, universal education, and moved two bills, by the provisions of which he hoped to remove the jealousies and antipathies

of the dissenters. One of the bills (both were conceived in a fair, impartial, enlightened spirit) was read a first time, but did not again come under the consideration of parliament during this session.

The appointment of Lord Durham, and that nobleman's conduct in Canada, had been very far indeed from giving universal satisfaction. Complaints were raised in parliament against the enormous expenses of his mission, and, in defending his lordship, ministers were well-nigh left in a minority. But the most terrible castigation inflicted on ministers and their nominee was inflicted in a single speech by Lord Brougham.

The minor proceedings in parliament, and an infinitude of debates, unattended by any important result, must be passed over in total silence.

On the 28th of June, the coronation of the young queen took place, amidst universal rejoicing. London had never witnessed so gay a sight, or seen so many approving happy faces. The country had half emptied itself into the capital; the multitude assembled all along the line of procession, from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey, was countless; yet was there no disorder, no accidents; and, on that day, even the pickpockets seemed to have suspended their operations, for fewer offences than ordinary came within the cognizance of the police. Next to her majesty and the Duke of Wellington, the personage most cheered by the English people was the duke's old adversary, Marshal Soult, who had been sent over by Louis Philippe, as ambassador extraordinary, to attend the coronation.

About a month before the coronation, some astounding and almost incredible occurrences took place in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, where a madman had set himself up as a saint and prophet, and more. John Nicholls Thom, a respectable yeoman and maltster and corn-factor of Cornwall, had become deranged in his intellect. Some years ago he had abruptly left his home, and made his appearance in the county of Kent, under the style and title of Sir William Courtenay, Knight of Malta. He had a tall advantageous person, which he set off by a rich and unusual costume; his countenance was strikingly handsome; he had received a tolerable education, and his insanity and frenzy made him eloquent. He soon became famous among the men of Kent; the populace, attracted at first by his romantic appearance, flocked around him with enthusiasm, and even the superior classes of society furnished him occasionally with partizans. In the year 1833, he became a candidate for the representation of the city of Canterbury, and actually found plenty of people mad enough, or thoughtless enough to support him, for he polled 350 votes on the conservative interest. Shortly after this

he was convicted of perjury, and sentenced to six years' transportation. Thom re-appeared in Kent, in the spring of the present year (1838), where his conduct was far more extravagant than before; and the infatuation of the peasantry kept pace with it. To his political pretensions he now added others of a religious character; and his claims to a divine mission, and even to divine attributes, were implicitly recognized by some of the poor Kentish boors, so that he was acknowledged as another Messiah; and to the farm-labourers he made very inflammatory speeches, representing to them that they were oppressed by the laws in general, but more particularly by the new poor law. He told them that if they would place themselves under his command he would soon be king of Kent, and they should sit on his right hand on the day of his coronation. A farmer having had his men seduced from their employment, at this time made an application for their apprehension, and a constable of the name of Mears, assisted by two others, proceeded on Thursday morning (the 31st) to execute his mission. After a little parley, Courtenay inquired which was the constable, and on Mears replying that he was, he immediately produced a pistol, and shot him; after which he inflicted a wound upon him with a dagger, and then with the assistance of some of the excited labourers, he threw the body into a ditch. The two other constables rode hastily back to the magistrates, who deemed it expedient to send off to Canterbury for military aid. A party of soldiers soon arrived, accompanied by several magistrates. But by this time the whole body of rioters had retreated into the depths of Bossenden Wood, where the pseudo-prophet was shouting, and encouraging his followers to behave like men. On perceiving the soldiers coming up through the glades, he advanced to meet them, and deliberately shot the commanding officer, Lieutenant Bennett, of the 45th regiment, who was a few paces in advance of his party; whereupon the soldiers fired and killed his murderer. As Thom fell to the earth, he exclaimed—"I have Jesus in my heart!" In a few seconds ten lives were lost, and several of the rioters badly wounded. After the maniac had fallen, a woman was seen kneeling over him, washing his face, and endeavouring to pour water through his hard-closed lips. She said she had followed him with a pail of water, because he had told her, that if he fell, and she put water between his lips, he should arise again in a month. One of the prisoners told Major Armstrong, that they would have attacked 2000 soldiers, having been persuaded by the prophet that, while following him, they could not be shot. Some of his followers affirmed that they had seen the prophet shoot at a star in the heavens and hit it,

and that they had seen the star fall plump into the sea. He had told them that he had come to earth on a cloud, and that on a cloud he should some day be removed from them.

Dense must have been the cloud of ignorance which overhung these fair, rural districts, scarcely fifty miles from our capital, and barely four from Canterbury, the metropolis of the Anglican church! The delusion of those Kentish peasants was so great that for some time after the poor madman's death and burial, they expected to see him rise again and place himself at their head. Further tumults were apprehended, but none took place. The peasants retired quietly to their wonted labours, and soon began to wonder why they had quitted them. It is said, however, that even now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, a few enthusiasts make pilgrimage to the green sward in Herne-hill Churchyard which covers the mortal remains of their reputed saint.

A few years earlier the case might have been otherwise, but now judge and jury shrank from visiting the temporary insanity of the poor boors with condign punishment. Two were transported for life, one was transported for ten years, and six were sentenced to be imprisoned for one year with hard labour and one month's solitary confinement.

The great event of the year was the entire suppression of the unjustifiable, mad insurrection in Canada. The resolutions passed by the British parliament in reference to Canadian affairs during the preceding year brought matters to a crisis, and in Lower Canada the colonists broke out into open revolt. For the purpose of dispersing the insurgents and arresting their leaders, the government authorities sent Colonel Gore with a strong military force to the villages of St. Denis and St. Charles, both on the right bank of the Richelieu, where they were collected; but on arriving at St. Denis on the morning of the 23d of November, after a very fatiguing march of twelve hours, the colonel found the revolvers, to the number of 1500, advantageously posted in the village, with a large stone house strongly fortified at the entrance, and other formidable defences. He attacked them, but was met with such a stout resistance that he was compelled to retire, with a loss of sixteen men in killed and wounded, and a field-piece, the only cannon he had brought along with him. Two days after, Lieutenant-colonel Wetherell attacked St. Charles, only seven miles distant from St. Denis, and succeeded in burning the village, and putting its defenders to the rout; upon which, the successful rebels at St. Denis abandoned their position, and fled with their compatriots into the United States, leaving their bravest leader, Wolfred Nelson, a prisoner. These successes enabled Sir John Colborne, the

British commander-in-chief, to march his whole disposable force against the county of the Two Mountains, on the north of the Ottawa, where the disaffection had commenced, and was in greatest force and violence. On the 14th of December he reached the fortified village of St. Eustache, on the left bank of the Ottawa, upon which the greater part of the rebels fled; but 400 fortified themselves in the church and adjoining buildings, and defended them against the whole British force, until both church and village were set on fire, when they retreated, after losing more than half their number in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Awed by this defeat, the rebellious *habitans* of that district made an unconditional surrender, and were allowed to escape unpunished, notwithstanding the injuries they had inflicted upon the British residents. Of the chief leaders of this unfortunate outbreak, four were killed, eight were taken, and nine escaped, among whom were Mr. Papineau, the principal author of the mischief, who fled to New York as soon as hostilities commenced.

This rising in Lower Canada had been the signal of revolt in the upper province, where the discontented were summoned to action by a manifesto in which the wildest proclamations of the old Puritans of England were outdone. It told the Canadians that they had been hood winked by Baal's ministers, and tampered with by wolves in sheep's clothing; and it summoned them in the name of the Lord of hosts to buckle on their armour, and go forth to make the crooked paths straight, and the rough places plain. Instead of suppressing this rebellion at the outset, the dangerous plan of Sir Francis Head, the governor, was, to allow it to gather to a height and then crush it; and for this purpose, he had cleared the province both of soldiers and warlike munitions, thereby inviting the enemy's approach. They fell into the trap, and on the 4th of December (1837) Toronto was suddenly invested by a body of armed rebels, numbering, as was supposed, about 3000, commanded by M'Kenzie, the editor of a republican newspaper, Van Egmont, a Bonaparte officer, Gibson, a land-surveyor, Louut, a blacksmith, and others of a similar stamp. But the militia were speedily assembled, the townhall put in a state of defence, and the rebels attacked with such spirit, that they were effectually routed and dispersed.

By these vigorous proceedings the rebellion would have been conclusively extinguished both in Upper and Lower Canada, had not the embers been fanned and kept alive by the "sympathizers" of the United States. M'Kenzie, Papineau, and their associates, who had taken shelter in New York, could find recruits in abundance among the Americans; and on the 13th of De-

ember, several hundreds of their citizens, under the command of a certain Mr. Van Rensselaer, took possession of the small wooded island called Navy Island,¹ in the Niagara river, about three miles above the falls, and within the territory of Canada, where they proceeded to fortify themselves, and open their fire upon the Canadian shore, which was only 600 yards distant. As the communication of this hostile garrison with the mainland was kept up by a small steamer, called the *Caroline*, Colonel M'Nab, who was appointed to keep watch upon Navy Island, resolved to capture or destroy the vessel; and for this purpose sent a party of militia in boats, who boarded the *Caroline* after a desperate struggle, set it on fire, and sent it in flames down the river, to be extinguished in the mighty waterfall. Soon after, Navy Island itself was invested, and the garrison, instead of resisting, hastily and silently decamped on the 14th of January (1838). Thus dislodged from their stronghold, the American sympathizers and Canadian patriots attempted a border warfare, and made incursions across the boundary at various points; but wherever they tried to establish a footing they were dislodged, and as often as they attempted an open fight they were defeated. It was a petty, but most annoying warfare, commenced on the part of the Americans not only without cause, but without formal proclamation; and although their own government endeavoured to suppress these outrages, and sent troops to the frontier for the purpose, these free-born citizens laughed at the prohibitions of their rulers, and continued to carry on this war of brigandage by their own sovereign and irresponsible authority.

While matters were in this state in Canada the ministry at home were not satisfied with Sir Francis Head, who resigned, and was succeeded by Sir George Arthur till the arrival of Lord Durham. When Lord Durham arrived in Canada with his great powers, his object was not to punish but to conciliate these revolutionists. His lordship landed at Quebec on the 29th of May, and expressed himself highly gratified "with the more than friendly feeling which seemed to animate the assembled multitude." Like Sir Francis Head and other governors, Lord Durham received contradictory instructions from Lord Glenelg and the colonial office. On the 28th of June his lordship appointed a special Canadian council, which consisted of only five members—namely, Vice-admiral Sir Charles Paget, Major-general Sir James Macdonnell, Colonel Couper, the governor's military secretary and principal aide-de-camp; Colonel Grey, and Mr. Charles Buller. This council thought fit to take proceedings against a few of the most notorious of

the rebels. They issued an "ordinance" importing that Wolfred Nelson and seven others therein named, had acknowledged their participation in high treason, and submitted themselves



LORD DURHAM — From a portrait by Sir T. Lawrence

to her majesty's pleasure; and that Papineau, with fifteen others also named, had absconded; and that it was enacted, that it should be lawful for her majesty to transport Nelson and his seven associates to Bermuda during pleasure, there to be subjected to such restraints as should be deemed fit; and further, that if any persons of either of the above parties were found at large, or within the province without permission, they should be deemed guilty of high treason, and, on conviction of being so found at large, or coming within the province, should suffer death. The ordinance further empowered the governor for the time being, to grant, whenever he should think fit, permission to all or any of the above-named individuals to return to the province and reside therein. By a special clause, two other classes of persons, respectively implicated in the murders of Lieutenant Weir and of one Joseph Chartrand, were excluded from the operation of the ordinance, and also from the benefit of any amnesty which might hereafter be proclaimed.

The ordinance was accompanied by a proclamation of amnesty, which declared that, with the exception of the persons named therein, and whose cases were thereby provided for, all persons then in custody and charged with high treason, or other offences of a treasonable nature, or who had withdrawn themselves from justice beyond the limits of the province, should, on giving proper security, be at liberty to return to

¹ See plan, vol. III p. 332

their homes. It also announced that no further proceedings would be taken against any persons, with the above exceptions, on account of political offences theretofore committed.

The gazette which communicated these instruments to the public contained also the following notification:—"We are authorized to state that his excellency the governor-general is actively engaged in the preparation of measures, which will, as soon as it may be possible, be embodied in ordinances of the governor and special council, relative to a jury law, a bankrupt law, municipal institutions for the whole province, general education, the establishment of registry offices, and the equitable commutation of feudal tenures." The exception in point of law was immediately seized upon at home, and objections of a more popular and general nature were raised in parliament, in the country, and by the newspaper press. All this led to Lord Durham's entire overthrow.

Meanwhile the prisoners excepted from the amnesty were deported to Bermuda. Sir Stephen Chapman, the governor of the Bermudas, was at once struck with his own want of legal authority in the matter; and the law-officers of the crown in that colony assured him that he had no power to impose, nor legal means to enforce, any restrictions upon the said prisoners with a view to their detention or otherwise. With this opinion before him, Sir Stephen at first doubted whether it would be expedient to allow the prisoners to be even landed on the island. He, however, resolved to receive them, and was content to exact from them their parole of honour, that, during their residence in the Bermudas, they would confine themselves within such limits as might from time to time be prescribed by the authorities. But Sir Stephen wrote to implore Lord Durham to remove these troublesome *detenus* as soon as possible, and not to send him any more.

The main attack upon Lord Durham was opened in the House of Lords by Lord Brougham, on the 30th of July. His lordship showed how utterly the Canadian ordinance was at variance with the law. No power, he contended, to inflict pains and penalties upon individuals who had not been brought to trial was conferred upon Lord Durham. General laws for the good government of the colony he might make, but subject to an exception which restrained him from altering any act of the British parliament. Now the ordinance in question contravened the provisions of the Act 7 Wm. III., "For the trial of treasonable offences." If Lord Durham had the power of dispensing with that act, he might condemn, in every case, as traitors, men against whom no witness had been examined, and into whose alleged offences no inquiry had been made.

Lord Glenelg observed that Lord Durham had been placed in a situation of extreme difficulty. On one side were parties calling for extreme punishments—on the other there was a demand for a complete amnesty. Lord Durham adopted a middle course; and when his decision was announced it gave general satisfaction throughout the colony.

Lord Brougham replied, that whatever the noble earl was desirous of doing in this respect might have been accomplished without a breach of the law. If he had said to parties accused or suspected, "I won't bring you to trial if you conduct yourselves properly," he would have effected his object in a legal manner. But instead of doing this, he said, "I shall send you to Bermuda, and if you leave that island I declare you guilty of high treason."

Lord Melbourne, after adverting to the very extraordinary circumstances of the country which Lord Durham was called upon to govern, said it was not fair to the steps they had already taken, or just to the interests of this great empire, to dwell with such rigid criticism upon the first anomaly which might appear upon the face of these measures, or to lay stress upon every disparity which might exist between the practice in Canada and in this country. If the house considered that the powers intrusted to Lord Durham had been imprudently or unjustly exercised, it behoved them unquestionably to interfere. But if they did not see ground for such interference, then, said the noble lord, there is but one other course—to exercise some confidence, to place some reliance, instead of constantly interrupting proceedings by perpetual comments on them, and weakening your own authority by condemnations which it is not intended to follow up. All governments, continued Lord Melbourne, had their faults and their errors, their *ingenita vitia*; and, in consequence of party spite, of political attacks one upon another, of personal dislikes and animosities, the enemies of the country, whether foreign or domestic, have always found their greatest assistance and encouragement in the bosom of the legislative assemblies of this country. His lordship gave up all that part of the ordinance which related to Bermuda, as illegal; but he contended that the rest was perfectly legal and warranted by the powers which parliament had conferred on Lord Durham.

Lord Brougham brought in a bill "To make temporary provisions for the government of Lower Canada," and for indemnifying those who had acted under the ordinance. This bill in the end became in fact a bill of indemnity. The entire ordinance was annulled; and those who had been sent to the Bermudas were set at liberty, and allowed to return to Canada, without suffer-

ing any further penalty, without giving any further security for their good behaviour.

The pride of Lord Durham was wounded, was cut to the quick. Conceiving that ministers had not supported him as they ought to have done, his lordship—without having been recalled, without having obtained leave to return, without so much as giving notice that he would return—hurried down to Quebec, and there embarked for

England in the month of November. And for this precipitate conduct some there were who thought that Lord Durham was amenable to impeachment. The only way in which government resented his unprecedented step was to order that the usual salute with which the governors of colonies were welcomed at their return, should not be fired at his landing. He in consequence made his wife resign her place in the queen's household.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1838—1841.

VICTORIA.

Radicalism succeeded by chartism—Origin and causes of chartism—Chartist meetings—Meeting on Kersal Moor—Inflammatory harangue of the principal speaker—Weakness and unpopularity of the ministry—Opening of parliament—The queen's speech—Canada affairs—Duke of Wellington's opinion of them—Lord Melbourne's statement on the corn laws—Lord Brougham's declarations on the Afghan war—Assassination of the Earl of Norbury—Motions on Irish affairs—Discontent of the Jamaica planters—Mr. Labouchere's bill for Jamaica—It is opposed by Sir Robert Peel—Sir Robert's apology for the discontented of Jamaica—His dissuasion of violent measures—Parliamentary discussion of the Jamaica bill—It is lost by a small minority—The Melbourne cabinet resigns—Sir Robert Peel commissioned to form a new ministry—His failure—His explanation of the causes—Ministerial plan of national education proposed—Its unpopularity with churchmen and dissenters—Royal message on the affairs of Canada—A new Jamaica bill passed—Portuguese slave-trade—Statements in parliament regarding it—Bill for its suppression rejected—Lord Brougham's proposal for a new bill agreed to—It is produced and passed—Motion for vote by ballot rejected—Establishment of the uniform penny postage—Parliament prorogued—Changes in the cabinet—Chartist insurrection in Monmouth—Attack of the chartists on Newport—They are defeated—Troubles in Afghanistan and China—The queen's marriage—Provision for Prince Albert decreed by parliament—Motion for a vote of want of confidence in ministers—Statement of their injudicious policy—The motion defeated by a small majority—Other parliamentary proceedings—Parliament prorogued.



NEW political element, under the name of Chartism, was now to enter upon the scene. Great as were the concessions of the reform bill to the popular demands, they had not satisfied the general craving; and those who are, in modern phrase, termed the "masses," and who numerically constitute the bulk of the nation, felt as if their wants and their claims had been overlooked. They alleged that the suffrage had not been sufficiently extended, the durations of parliament shortened, the voters protected from the pressure of undue influence, and their representatives placed under proper control. The reform was not a radical one, and could not be such, unless there were annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and dutiful representatives, who should be paid a daily wage like themselves, and be the implicit mouth-pieces of their constituents; and without such parliaments, they declared it impossible that the will of the nation could be sufficiently expressed, or its collective interests promoted. These views, also, were not confined to one particular class, but comprised the disap-

pointed and discontented of all ranks and parties, who found at least some one point in the people's charter upon which to take their stand. Thus, besides comprising the old radical reformers, who felt that their progress had been arrested mid-way, there were Tory chartists in abundance who hated the new poor law, with its work-houses, its stinted diet, and separation of parents and children, and who were opposed to a repeal of the corn laws, which they regarded as the best check upon the despotism of the mill-owners, and the preponderance of the manufacturing over the agricultural interests. The same ranks comprised indifferently the men who thought that the reform had gone too far and that it had not gone far enough. To these might be added the destitute peasantry by the thousand, who felt that, be the government what it might, they were still in starvation, and still consigned to neglect; and factory operatives, and the miners of our collieries, who squandered their weekly wages by the week, and had nothing in reserve when an evil day arrived. Such was the spirit which had been gathering and growing among the people since the passing of the reform bill,

but which, not until the present year (1838), was publicly recognized under the name of Chartism.

It was in autumn that this spirit began to display itself among the working classes of the manufacturing districts. The great political evil which they felt was starvation, and they had been taught that this could only be removed by universal suffrage and the other four points of the "people's charter," which was now drawn up and put in circulation. Their favourite form of meeting was in the open air, and at night by torchlight, by which such an aspect of mystery was imparted to the occasion as allured the weak and daunted the apprehensive. The doctrines usually propounded at their meetings can be best understood from a specimen of those held forth at a monster meeting which took place at Kersal Moor, near Manchester, where the numbers assembled did not fall short of 200,000. Mr. Fielden, the member for Oldham, was called to the chair, while the principal speaker was Mr. Stephens, a dissenting clergyman. "The principle of the people's charter," said this reverend orator, "was the right of every man that breathed God's free air, or trod God's free earth, to have his home and his hearth, and to have happiness to himself, his wife, and his children, as securely guaranteed to him as they are to every other man whom the Almighty has created. The question of universal suffrage," he added, "was after all a *knife and fork* question. If any man asked him what he meant by universal suffrage, he would tell him, he meant to say that every working man in the land had a right to have a good coat and hat, a good roof over his head, a good dinner upon his table, no more work than would keep him in health, and as much wages as would keep him in plenty, and the enjoyment of those pleasures of life which a reasonable man could desire." Whatever might be thought of these principles in the abstract, there could be no doubt of the interpretation they would receive from a fierce, lawless, and hungry mob. And the hearers were not left in ignorance of the manner in which such doctrines should be enforced. "I am speaking," he continued, "to hundreds of thousands, three out of four of whom have, in all likelihood, left their arms at home to-day. And why have they left them at home? Because you were afraid to bring them. [Here the speaker was interrupted by cries of "No."] No! why then have you left them behind you? Why? because the borough-reeve and constables of Manchester have declared that they repose the fullest confidence in the peaceable and loyal character of the people. If they had not made that declaration, I should have come myself armed to this meeting; I should have brought 10,000 armed men with me;

I should have moved, had there been a necessity for it, an adjournment of this meeting for a month, and I should have exhorted every man in the country capable of bearing arms, to flock to his standard, and under it, to fight the battles of the constitution."

Such belligerent sentiments as these, when uttered by a minister of religion, were not likely to be modified by secular orators; and accordingly at the various meetings, which became more numerous during the following year, the people came to the rendezvous armed with muskets, stakes, and bludgeons, ready alike to resist the royal troops should they assail them, or to become themselves the assailants, and establish their doctrines by physical force, if such should be thought necessary by their leaders and advisers. Musters for military discipline were frequent, in which the workmen at night were divided into parties, each under the command of a captain, put through the regular evolutions, and informed that all this marching and counter-marching was designed for something very different from mere amusement and empty parade. Warlike tracts and broadsheets were also sent forth upon the art of street warfare in towns, in which it was shown how a mob armed with pikes, and standing shoulder to shoulder, would be an equal match for the regular infantry, and able to drive any amount of cavalry before them. The general impression among them was, that forbearance and petition were useless, that government had conceded its utmost and would grant nothing further, and that the "five points of the charter" must be established, not in a faithless House of Commons, but on the field of battle, and through the death-struggle of a civil war. And besides these demonstrations by which the insubordination and violence of the former radicalisms were outdone, a new mode of annoyance was devised by these chartists, either to show their contempt of religion or hostility to the Established church: this was, to march in large bodies, and with an air of military bravado, to the parish church, and take possession of the pews, to the exclusion of the regular congregation, while in several cases they previously announced their purpose to the clergyman, and intimated to him the text from which it was their will that he should preach to them.

While this formidable appearance of chartism at the beginning of the year 1839 was enough to perplex the ministry, another subject of trouble was the combination of the manufacturing interest against the corn laws, and the great struggle upon the subject which was evidently at hand. Having failed also to secure the confidence of the adverse party, and lost that of their own, the shifts to which the ministers had re-

course in their unpopularity only made their cause more unpopular, and their tenure of office more precarious. They endeavoured to identify the youthful sovereign with their cause; and it was noticed with general reprobation, that the premier was incessant in his attendance upon the queen, and had all but established himself as a regular inmate of the royal dwelling. Another unfortunate step by which the ministry endeavoured to strengthen themselves, was their close alliance with O'Connell; for although this union secured for them the support of the Irish representation, the agitator and his party were so unpopular both in England and Scotland, that the price for such uncertain support was too great for the sacrifice, as they thereby lost the confidence of the Protestant community. It was by these Irish members that the ministerial majorities had for some time been effected, and such a circumstance could not fail to wound alike the national and religious spirit of England and Scotland. Chartist insurrections, corn-law agitations, and Protestant jealousies, were now the predominant subjects of popular feeling, as well as parliamentary debate, and they continued to pervade the course of public events until time, conciliation, and new interests had produced their usual effects. For the present, however, the Whig government was weak and tottering, and the public tranquillity interrupted.

Such was the state of government and the nation at large when the parliament met on the 6th of February, 1839, and was opened by the queen in person. After announcing our relationships with foreign countries, and the prospect of peace which continued uninterrupted, our troubles in North America were thus alluded to: "I have to acquaint you, with deep concern, that the province of Lower Canada has again been disturbed by insurrection, and that hostile incursions have been made into Upper Canada by certain lawless inhabitants of the United States of North America.

"These violations of the public peace have been promptly suppressed by the valour of my troops, and the loyalty of my Canadian subjects.

"The president of the United States has called upon the citizens of the Union, to abstain from proceedings so incompatible with the friendly relations which subsist between Great Britain and the United States."

In advertising to the more imminent but more delicate subject of our internal troubles, the speech thus touched upon them: "I have observed with pain the persevering efforts which have been made in some parts of the country, to excite my subjects to disobedience and resistance to the law, and to recommend dangerous and illegal practices. For the counteraction of all

such designs, I depend upon the efficacy of the law, which it will be my duty to enforce upon the good sense and right disposition of my people, upon their attachment to the principles of justice, and their abhorrence of violence and disorder."

Before the commencement of the debate upon the address in the House of Lords, and even before the speech had been read, Lord Durham asked the premier when he intended to lay upon the table that information respecting the affairs of Canada which was referred to in her majesty's speech. Lord Melbourne replied that it would be produced as soon as ministers had an opportunity of examining its contents. This intimation of delay, however short, gave great dissatisfaction to Lord Durham; and means were presently found for printing and publishing his famous "report," which was given in its original state, unmutated by official caution.

In the debate on the address, the Duke of Wellington said that, although hundreds after hundreds of the persons who assailed the loyal portion of the Canadian population had been captured, so ineffectual seemed the laws, that there had been no punishment, and no abatement put to the outrages. "Unless vigorous steps are speedily taken," said his grace, "you will find your province of Upper Canada treated much as Texas has been!" He entreated government to consider this as a great national war; to remember that it involved the highest national interests; to remember that it behoved them to proceed on a large scale of action if they desired to bring it to a safe and satisfactory conclusion. Without entertaining any doubt of the intentions of the president of the United States, his grace could not but feel regret when he saw American citizens coming armed into our territories, armed, too, with cannon belonging to the United States; nor could he avoid feeling astonishment when he was assured that it was out of the power of the American government to prevent such transactions.

The corn laws were prematurely forced into debate. Lord Melbourne stated that these laws had been, ever since the formation of the present government, an entirely open question, a question on which the members of the administration had formed distinct opinions. "Unquestionably," said he, "the majority of these gentlemen are favourable to a change in the present system; but I am not willing to go into any debate on the corn laws now; I strongly wish to avoid it; but I have no reluctance to state my individual opinion on the subject: that opinion is, that though I am not prepared to pledge or bind myself to the maintenance of the present system as the best possible, I am not, at the same time,

prepared, either as a member of parliament or as a member of the government, to pledge myself, from any information which I have, to an alteration of the law as it stands."

In the preceding year, which had witnessed insurrection and civil war in Canada, an Anglo-Indian army had been marched into the country of the Afghans, and a struggle had been commenced with the Chinese. Lord Brougham, having some anticipations of the manner in which the Afghanistan war would terminate, called the attention of parliament to the extensive operations of this war. His lordship said that because the King of Persia had done something that our East India statesmen did not like, they must, forsooth, march an army to dethrone the King of Cabool. "Of these Afghan kings he would say nothing. It would not be possible to say much good of any of them. But what kind of man were we now about to set up? A pretender—a mendicant pensioner on our charity—a man twice dethroned because he was hateful to his people in Cabool! The only reason for preferring him to Dost Mohammed, now on the throne, was, that the one was the legitimate and the other only the popular sovereign, whom the people preferred. Very different was our policy on this side of the Cape of Good Hope, where men recognized particular sovereigns because they happened to be the choice of the people, while they countenanced the rejection of others, who, possessing a legitimate character, were expelled by their subjects. Our empire in India was founded on opinion. He hoped sincerely that this opinion would not now be weakened by its being found that we had marched six hundred miles to the north-west of India on a speculation of dethroning one king and putting another in his room."

In the month of February a great number of petitions began to appear, in either house, against the continuance of the corn laws. Lord Brougham moved that they should "be referred to a committee of the whole house, and that evidence be heard at the bar." The motion was opposed by Lord Melbourne and the Duke of Wellington, and was negatived without a division. A similar motion was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Villiers, but this was rejected by a large majority. Several members of the government voted with Mr. Villiers on this question.

An event had occurred on the first day of this year, which compelled the attention of parliament to the troubled condition of Ireland. The Earl of Norbury, while walking with his steward in the shrubbery near his own house at Kilbeggan, in the county of Meath, suddenly fell down, mortally wounded by a shot that was fired by some assassin from behind a hedge. This ami-

able nobleman had not only kept aloof from the political questions of the day, but was distinguished by his acts of kindness and charity to persons of every creed and party; and notwithstanding the most active search, and large rewards offered by government for the apprehension of the murderer, the culprit and the cause of the crime remained equally undetected. A deed so foul and so audacious could not be passed over in silence in parliament. Lord Roden moved for a committee on the state of Ireland. He was supported by the Duke of Wellington and by Lord Brougham, and opposed by Lord Melbourne and Lord Plunkett. Upon a division there appeared for Lord Roden's motion sixty-three, and against it fifty-eight; ministers were thus outvoted by five. This proceeding in the House of Lords gave them singular dissatisfaction. On the very next day Lord John Russell rose in the commons and announced his intention of taking the opinion of that house on the government of Ireland in late years. This subject, together with the Irish municipal corporations bill, &c., occupied the house for a very long time. In the course of the debates Mr. O'Connell, and most of his tail, disclaimed the duty of obedience to ministers, and were exceedingly personal and intemperate.

The interference of the legislature on the subject of West Indian slavery had irritated the minds of the legislative assemblies in several of our West Indian colonies. In Jamaica the planters had become almost as mutinous as the Lower Canadians. The governor, Sir Lionel Smith, had been compelled to prorogue that assembly, who had declared that the parliament of Great Britain had violated their inherent rights, &c. A ministerial bill to suspend the existing constitution of Jamaica for five years was intrusted to the hands of Mr. Labouchere, and was now brought into the House of Commons as a specific for the cure of Jamaica insubordination. This brought matters to a crisis. The increase of unpopularity to the Whig ministry was incalculably great. Sir Robert Peel could put his foot upon this tyrannical bill, and stand out as the champion of liberty against Whiggish despotism. Sir Robert admitted that the conduct of the Jamaica assembly was open to censure, but, in his opinion, a far greater amount of blame was attaching to the course which had been taken by the ministry. It was impossible not to be aware of the serious consequences involved in the mode of proceeding now projected by ministers. It was proposed to suspend in a free colony the popular form of government which had existed for 200 years, and after a short interval of abeyance to revive it again. But was this so very easy of accomplishment? In a country, moreover, which

had always been accustomed to impose its own taxation, it was in contemplation to vest in a governor and council, with three commissioners appointed by the crown, the authority of levying taxes to the amount of £500,000 of money; and this at the same time that Lord Durham, in his report on Canada, recommended them to make the executive officers responsible to the control, not of the crown or home government, but of the popular colonial assembly. Another matter for grave consideration was, whether by exhibiting the emancipation of the negro as incompatible with a representative form of government, those who were desirous of the complete abolition of slavery were not deterring the slave-holding portion of the United States from the adoption of their experiment. This was, moreover, a measure calculated, in no slight degree, to alarm other colonies that were in the enjoyment of a similar form of government. Many important considerations, said the right honourable baronet, called upon them to consider most maturely whether no other alternative could be adopted than the abolition of the constitution. The insolent language used by the assembly had been pleaded in justification of those proceedings; but could there be a more dangerous ground for legislation than the intemperate demeanour of a popular assembly? No popular government could be maintained for an hour if that ground were held to be justifiable. The assembly of Jamaica had possibly no inconsiderable grounds for provocation. When it was proposed last year to abolish the remaining term of negro apprenticeship, ministers very justly met the demand with a refusal, alleging that the national faith was pledged to the maintenance of the bill, or rather it was pledged to the full term of service, and that, independently of this consideration, it was better for it to continue till its proper expiration. This was right. But what did the house think of the governor of Jamaica holding language to the assembly, to the effect that though parliament had refused to curtail the apprenticeship, they ought, nevertheless to terminate it of themselves? When they found the executive authority combining with, perhaps he ought not to say physical force, but with the influence of numbers, no option was left them but to do that which the government at home refused to sanction, and abolish the apprenticeship. The colonial assembly was then entitled to some little indulgence.

On the 23d of April, Sir Robert Peel stated that he would allow Mr. Labouchere's bill to be read *pro forma*. Counsel could then be heard at the bar against the measure. Counsel were then heard, as, indeed, was the case on almost every stage of this bill, and the one which was after-

wards substituted for it. On the 3d of May, in opening the debate upon the question that the speaker do now leave the chair, Sir Robert Peel could not help expressing his disappointment that it had not been found practicable to come to some arrangement with regard to the government of Jamaica, without any party conflict, or even any serious division of opinion on the course to be pursued. He had looked in vain for any message delivered to the house lamenting the necessity, while it recommended the measure of suspending the functions of the representative assembly of Jamaica. The temporary abrogation of a popular form of government in Canada in the preceding year was by no means a precedent to be followed, lest it might seem to be a practice of the parliament to suspend a popular constitution every session. Up to this very hour, said the right honourable baronet, the colonists were entirely unaware of the heavy penalty about to be inflicted on them; they were without any intimation of these heavy accusations, and a most careful examination of all the papers bearing on the subject, enabled him to declare his most sincere opinion that there was no vindication in justice or in equity for the method upon which they were on the point of entering. "There are," said Mr. Canning in 1824, "three possible modes in which parliament might deal with the people of Jamaica. By the application of direct force we might crush them with a finger; we might harass them with fiscal regulations, restraining their navigation; or we might pursue the slow and steady course of authoritative admonition. Now, I am for trying first that which I have last mentioned. I trust we shall never be driven to the second; and, with respect to the first, I will only now say, that no feeling of wounded pride, no motive of questionable expediency, nothing short of real and demonstrable necessity, shall induce me to moot the awful question of the transcendental power of parliament over every dependency of the British crown. That transcendental power is an arcanum of the empire which ought to be kept back within the penetralia of the constitution. It exists, but it should be veiled. It should not be produced in cases of petty refractoriness or temporary misconduct, nor, indeed, on any occasion short of the utmost extremity of the state." Adopting the sentiments of that great statesman, he was not prepared to admit that the necessity had arrived for bringing the transcendental power from the penetralia of the temple; and only wished the house would be made to perceive the probable consequences of the double precedent now about to be set up, and the general uneasiness that would be caused in other colonies, with half the force of his own deep conviction.

Sir Robert severely criticised every part of the bill. The adjournment of the debate was moved by Mr. M'Lean, who opened the discussion on the Monday following, maintaining that in this measure, as in Mr. Fox's India bill under Geo. III., the real object of the Whigs was to lay hands on the colonial power and patronage. Mr. Grote declared he was unable to discern in this bill any prospect of benefit to the blacks, while it betrayed many tokens of severity towards the white population. Mr. Goulburn observed that none of its supporters had defended the bill upon the grounds on which it had been introduced. They all maintained that it was not possible for a body who had been accustomed to rule over slaves to make the laws necessary for those persons who had been emancipated. Gentlemen in that house were called upon to support this bill on the grounds that it favoured the interests of humanity—a delusive expectation; for it is well known that in the United States emancipation had been combated with redoubled acrimony since this country had given freedom to the slaves in her colonial possessions. Was it, indeed, to be hoped, continued Mr. Goulburn, that Virginia, Carolina, or Maryland, could ever be brought to liberate their blacks, when the people of those countries were given to understand by the British parliament that emancipation was not possible without the abolition of existing free institutions—that emancipation and constitutional government could not go together? Lord Stanley called this one of the most arbitrary measures that had ever been presented to a British House of Commons. Lord John Russell closed the debate with a declamation against some former adherents who were about to desert him. The house then divided, when there appeared, against the bill 289, and for it only 294. Upon this majority of five, the Melbourne cabinet sent in their resignation.

A week was allowed for the formation of a new cabinet. On the 13th of May, after the lapse of those seven days, Sir Robert Peel proceeded to detail all the facts necessary for the explanation of his failure in forming it. At the queen's desire, he had waited upon her so soon as Lord Melbourne had resigned. Her majesty had already invited the Duke of Wellington to assist her in the formation of a government, and the duke had advised her majesty to send for him (Sir Robert) as the person best qualified to undertake the duties of prime minister. He had accordingly waited upon her majesty; and it was not until the following day that any difficulty or misconception arose to lead to his relinquishing his attempt to form a new administration. That difficulty related exclusively to the portion of the royal household which is filled by the ladies in

her majesty's service. With reference to all the subordinate appointments below the rank of a lady of the bed-chamber, he should propose no change to her majesty; and, with respect to the superior class, he took it for granted they would relieve him from any difficulty by at once relinquishing their offices. At the same time he thought it of great importance, as an indication of her majesty's confidence, that certain offices in the household of the higher rank, if not voluntarily relinquished by the ladies holding them, should be subject to some change, although in several instances the absence of all political feeling might render any such change unnecessary. But to this proposal he had received by letter her majesty's reply in the negative.

Upon receipt of this letter, he (Sir Robert) had written a long letter to the queen, explaining why he considered it indispensably necessary that he should have that public proof of her majesty's entire support and confidence, which would be afforded by the permission to make some changes in that part of the household which her majesty had resolved on maintaining entirely without change. "Could I," continued Sir Robert, "look around me at this stormy time, and not see that it was my absolute duty to this country, and above all to her majesty, to require that every aid that could be given me should be given? What were the questions which would immediately press for my decision? The state of India—the state of Jamaica—the state of Canada—would all require my immediate consideration. I also considered the internal state of this country; I looked at the chartists—I saw insurrection in our provinces—I saw the letter of the noble lord opposite (Lord John Russell), inviting the respectable part of the population to form themselves into armed societies for resisting outrage. Surely in addition to the ordinary difficulties besetting the course of a prime minister, there are circumstances that render that position at the present moment peculiarly onerous and arduous. I should have had to begin the government in a minority. Who can conceal from himself that my difficulties were not Canada; that my difficulties were not Jamaica; *but my difficulties were Ireland*—(ironical cheers). I admit it fully, and thank you for the confirmation of my argument, which those cheers afford. And what is the fact? I, undertaking to be a minister of the crown, and wishing to carry on public affairs through the intervention of the present House of Commons, in order that I might exempt the country from the agitation and possibly the peril of a dissolution—I, upon that very question of Ireland, should have begun in a minority of upwards of twenty members. A majority of twenty-two had decided in favour of the policy

of the Irish government. The chief members of the Irish government, whose policy was so approved of, were the Marquis of Normanby and the noble lord opposite, the member for Yorkshire (Lord Morpeth). By whom are the two chief offices in the household at this moment held? By the sister of Lord Morpeth and the wife of Lord Normanby.

"But the question is, Would it be considered by the public that a minister had the confidence of the crown, when the relatives of his immediate political opponents held the highest offices about the person of the sovereign? My impression decidedly was that I should not appear to the country to be in possession of that confidence, and that impression I could not overcome; and upon that impression I resolved to act. Who were my political opponents? Why, of the two I have named, one, the Marquis of Normanby, was publicly stated to be a candidate for the very same office which it was proposed I should fill, namely, the office of prime minister. The other noble lord (Lord Morpeth) has been designated as the leader of this house; and I know not why his talents might not justify his appointment in case of the retirement of his predecessor. Is it possible—I ask you to go back to other times; take Pitt or Fox, or any other minister of this proud country, and answer for yourselves this question—is it fitting that one man shall be the minister, responsible for the most arduous charge that can fall to the lot of man; and that the wife of the other—that other his most formidable political enemy—shall, with his express consent, hold office in immediate attendance on the sovereign? Oh, no! I felt it was impossible—I could not consent to this."

Lord Melbourne's cabinet was, therefore, restored; but it was weakened and without prestige. On the 27th of May, as soon as the ministry had been reconstructed, the house met for the election of a new speaker in the room of Mr. Abercromby, who had three weeks previously declared his intention of resigning, having no longer sufficient strength to perform the arduous duties imposed on him by the office. He had on that occasion received through Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell the highest testimonies as to the esteem in which he was held by the two great parties, not only for his conduct in the chair, but also for his strenuous exertions to improve the mode of conducting the private business of the house. This worthy son of the brave, good, and morally great General Sir Ralph Abercromby, had since been called to the House of Peers by the title of Lord Dunfermline.

Mr. Shaw Lefevre, member for North Hants, was proposed for the vacant chair by the ministerialists, and Mr. Goulburn, member for the

university of Cambridge, by the opposition. The former gentleman was chosen by a majority of eighteen, the numbers being 317 against 299.

Since the year 1833, the sum of £20,000 had been annually granted by parliament in aid of the great work of national education. It was now felt that much more ought to be done for this important object. Lord John Russell presented a ministerial plan. He proposed that the president of the council and other privy councillors, not exceeding five, should form a board, to consider in what manner the grants made by parliament should be distributed. He also stated that, in his opinion, the first object of such a board should be, the establishment of a good normal school, and that in order to make such a school as perfect as possible, attention should be mainly directed to four objects: 1st, religious instruction; 2d, general education; 3d, moral training; 4th, habits of industry applied in learning some trade or profession. The project was opposed by the high-church party, who considered that sufficient security would not be given to the church; and it was opposed still more vehemently by the dissenters, who conceived that in a state education, in a country where church and state were linked together, sufficient consideration would not be paid to their several tenets. After some very interesting debates in both houses, the matter was left to rest nearly as it was before. Lord Brougham brought forward a plan of his own, but the consideration of it was adjourned until the next session.

The affairs of Canada long engaged the attention of parliament. On the 3d of May, Lord Melbourne presented the following message from the queen:—

"Her majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Lords, that it appears to her majesty that the future welfare of her majesty's subjects in Upper and Lower Canada would be promoted by the union of the said provinces into one province for the purpose of legislation, from and after the period to be fixed by parliament.

"Her majesty therefore recommends it to the house to consider such measures as may be submitted to them for that purpose.

"Her majesty is persuaded that the House of Lords will be careful to combine a due regard for the peace and security of these important provinces with such provisions as may be conducive to the welfare of England, and the permanent freedom and prosperity of her North American provinces."

The act for the union of the provinces was not, however, passed until the 23d of July, 1840, ministers in the meanwhile having recourse to temporary measures, which were most severely criticised by Lord Lyndhurst.

A second Jamaica bill was passed, after it had undergone important amendments in the upper house, by which it was restored to the form originally proposed by Sir Robert Peel. It allowed time to the assembly to re-enact the annual laws, without which the affairs of the island could not proceed; and invested the governor in council with power to renew those laws, if, after the expiration of two months, the assembly should have separated without re-enacting them. This measure, which was declared by the ministers to be only better than none, was finally passed on the 9th of July.

The question of the Portuguese slave-trade—a trade still actively pursued—was brought under discussion in the commons by Sir Robert Inglis. Lord Palmerston, secretary for foreign affairs, confessed that, after four years spent in negotiation, a note had just been received from Lord Howard de Walden, our ambassador at Lisbon, in which it was stated that he no longer entertained any hopes of procuring the assent of the Portuguese cabinet to a treaty for the suppression of the traffic. It was therefore the intention of the government, after having laid on the table the whole of the papers relating to their intercourse with Portugal, to introduce a bill, which should give to her majesty's cruisers and commissioners the same right of search, with regard to slave-trading vessels met with below the line, which they already possessed in the case of those which were found north of the equator. A bill was accordingly introduced on the 10th of July, and passed throughout all its stages *sub silentio*, until it arrived at the second reading in the House of Lords. On this occasion the Earl of Minto thought it necessary to make a short statement of the present condition of the law relating to the slave-trade, and the existing treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, before he entered into any explanation of the objects of the present bill. The most important treaty was that of 1815. The slave-trade was declared illegal, and Portugal undertook to bring about eventually its entire abolition, consenting in the meantime not to suffer her flag to be employed in that traffic for any other purpose than to furnish slaves for her own transatlantic dominions. In consideration of this concession, Great Britain agreed to remit the balance of a debt, amounting to £800,000, due by Portugal to this country; which was thus paid down to Portugal as the price of her compliance. Lord Minto went on to say that notwithstanding this and other solemn engagements, the traffic had been almost entirely carried on under the flags of Portugal and Spain. With the latter country, however, we had concluded a very efficient treaty, which gave us the power of seizing vessels equipped for the slave-

trade, without waiting till they had taken on board their miserable cargo, and there were hopes that this would have the effect of thoroughly extinguishing it. It was therefore extremely desirable that we should obtain similar conditions from Portugal.

The Duke of Wellington admitted that the object of all the treaties of 1810, 1815, and 1817, was to arrive at the total suppression of the infamous traffic in question, nor could there be any doubt but that this country had a full right to call upon Portugal to carry the obligation she had contracted effectually into execution; he contended, however, that the right of enforcing the due observance of such provisions did not lie within the province of parliament.

When the house divided, the bill was rejected by thirty-eight against thirty-two.

On the following evening Lord Brougham moved, "That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying her majesty, by all the means within her majesty's power, to negotiate with the governments of foreign nations, as well in America as in Europe, for their concurrence in effectually putting down the traffic in slaves; and also that her majesty will be graciously pleased to give such orders to her majesty's cruisers, as may be most efficacious in stopping the said traffic, more especially that carried on under the Portuguese and Brazilian flags, or by Brazilian and Portuguese ships; assuring her majesty that this house will cheerfully concur with the other House of Parliament in whatever measure might be rendered necessary, if her majesty shall be graciously pleased to comply with this prayer." Lord Brougham assured the Duke of Wellington that in voting for this address he could not possibly stand committed to anything beyond a general declaration of readiness to countenance the government in any legitimate attempt to abolish the slave-trade. The resolution was agreed to, and ordered to be communicated to the other House of Parliament. In the commons Lord Palmerston brought in another bill, in the place of that which the lords had rejected; and this was eventually carried through both houses, after an amendment introduced by Lord Lyndhurst. The Duke of Wellington protested against the bill, as a breach of the law of nations, as a violation of national treaties, and as tending rather to encourage than to prevent the traffic against which its enactments were directed. And, in fact, the slave-trade has scarcely been diminished since the passing of the act, while new horrors have been added to it, in order that, at whatsoever risk, it might still be rendered profitable to those engaged in it.

Mr. Grote made another unsuccessful motion for the ballot. Mr. Attwood moved for a committee

of the whole house to take into consideration what was called the "national petition." The honourable agitator explained that this enormous instrument was signed by no fewer than 1,200,000 persons, the *élite* of the working classes, who put forward five demands—1. Universal suffrage. 2. Vote by ballot. 3. Annual parliaments. 4. Remuneration of members for their attendance in parliament. 5. The abolition of the property qualification. The proposal was rejected by 235 against 189. There followed very alarming riots, attended with extensive destruction of property at Birmingham; and ministers found themselves obliged to advance £10,000 out of the consolidated fund, for establishing an efficient police force at Birmingham, and to call for an addition of 5000 men to the army. Bills were also passed to improve the police in Manchester and Bolton, and to give more power to the justices of the peace for appointing constables, &c.

The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, took a cheerful view of the commercial prospects of the country. Our exports had considerably increased. The amount of deposits in the savings' banks had also very much risen, notwithstanding the insubordination of the chartists, and the attempts which had been made to create a run upon those banks. After these explanations Mr. Spring Rice introduced the scheme for a uniform penny postage. This plan had been formed and matured by Mr. Rowland Hill, the brother of the late member for Hull, who had so excited the fury of the Irish members: after many objections, and a long and stern opposition, the measure was carried. It has proved an inestimable blessing to the community.

Many other projected reforms were postponed by ministers, who felt that they had not parliamentary strength enough to carry them. At the close of the session, Lord Brougham affirmed that the country would be glad to see the conservatives restored to office; for they would, as a matter of course, be compelled to grant reforms, and they would possess the power of passing measures of administrative improvement, which the present cabinet had neither the will to introduce nor the means of carrying.

The queen prorogued parliament on the 27th of August. Her majesty's speech announced that, at last, a definitive treaty between Holland and Belgium had settled the differences between those two countries, and had secured the peace of Europe from dangers to which it had been so long exposed.

Shortly after the close of the session very considerable alterations were made in the cabinet, in the hope of gaining strength. The Marquis of Normanby changed places with Lord John Russell; Mr. Francis Baring was made chancel-

lor of the exchequer in lieu of Mr. Spring Rice, who was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Montague, and soon after succeeded Sir John Newport, who was induced to retire upon a pension, in the post of comptroller of the exchequer, with a salary of £2000 per annum; Mr. Poulett Thompson was appointed to supersede Sir John Colborne in the government of Canada; the Earl of Clarendon took the privy seal; Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay was made secretary at war, with a seat in the cabinet. Lord Howick, who had retired from the office into which Mr. Macaulay was placed, and who, while in it, had given great satisfaction to the army, now offered very satisfactory explanations of the reasons which had induced him to quit this enfeebled government. Mr. Charles Wood, secretary of the admiralty, and brother-in-law to Lord Howick, resigned shortly after, and was succeeded by Mr. More O'Ferrall. Two other Irish members were brought in, Mr. Wyse filling the vacated seat among the lords of the treasury, and Mr. Shiel being created vice-president of the board of trade. Sir George Grey was taken into the cabinet; Mr. Labouchere became president of the board of trade in the room of Mr. Poulett Thompson; and Mr. Vernon Smith became under-secretary for the colonies.

On the 23d of November, her majesty announced to the members of the privy council assembled at Buckingham Palace, her intention of contracting a matrimonial alliance with the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

The chartists had created more or less confusion in all our manufacturing districts. Towards the close of the year, Frost, a bankrupt linen-draper, of Newport, in Monmouthshire (who some years before had been created a magistrate by Lord John Russell, in spite of a strong remonstrance), stirred up a miserable commotion in Monmouthshire. He persuaded a most uneducated rabble that they would all be made wealthy and happy by and through the charter, with its vote by ballot, annual parliaments, salaried members, division of property, &c.; that the charter was not to be obtained except by revolution beginning in civil war; and that he, John Frost, the broken linen-draper, was the man to conduct this revolution. He had correspondents; he had friends and allies among the chartists and unionists of Birmingham, Manchester, Bolton, Sheffield; he had "sympathizers" all through the north, and surely these hardy men would not be inactive when he had struck his first good blow. The stoppage of the mail-coaches would be the signal—as agreed upon—for these heavy-handed heroes of Lancashire and Yorkshire to rise and be doing. One company of regular troops, commanded by a young lieutenant, and a few con-

stables under the orders of Sir Thomas Philips, the mayor of Newport, knocked Frost and his grand scheme on the head. On the evening of Sunday, the 4th of November, the insurgents, to the number of 4000 or 5000, moved down, through Tredegar Park, upon Newport. They marched in something like martial order, five abreast, armed some with guns, others with bludgeons, others with pikes or pick-axes. The troops were stationed in the Westgate Inn, on the market-place, the door of which was guarded by special constables. The insurgents called upon them to surrender, and, receiving a refusal, the word was given by Frost, or one of his superior officers, to fire; and a volley was forthwith discharged against the bow-window of the room wherein the military were stationed. At nearly the same moment, the rioters broke open a door of the inn, and poured through the hall into the house. Now was it time for the soldiers to look to themselves; a moment's delay might have ended in a massacre. The word was given in the room to fire, and the soldiers fired down the passage through which the Frostites were advancing. At the same moment Lieutenant Grey, with the worshipful mayor, who behaved with much more than common civic gallantry, and Sergeant Daley, opened each one of the shutters of the window that looked upon the street. A shower of slugs was immediately poured in by the insurgents, and the mayor and several other persons were wounded; but the oblique sides of the windows enabled the soldiers to open a severe raking discharge upon the mob, who, after standing a few rounds, broke away and fled in all directions, leaving behind them a good many killed or severely wounded. Frost was captured in the course of the evening in Newport. Zephaniah Williams, and one Jones, who were bringing up other columns of attack, but who arrived too late to take part in the action, and had no heart to begin a new one when the first was over, disbanded their men and fled. They were both captured shortly after, and were indicted with Frost and several others for high treason. A special commission, presided over by Sir Nicholas Tindal, the admirable chief-justice of the common pleas, was sent down to Monmouth to try the rioters. Sentence of death was recorded against Frost, Williams, and Jones: but the punishment was ultimately commuted to transportation for life.

The coming events in Afghanistan were casting very black shadows before them. The sanguine and uninformed were looking only to the easy advance our armies had made to Cabool; the wary and well-informed—the Duke of Wellington and the few men like him—were thinking how that army would ever get back to the banks

of the Indus. The troubles in China went on increasing.

The parliament was opened by her majesty in person on the 16th of January, 1840. The first paragraph of the speech announced her approaching marriage. Her majesty congratulated



PRINCE ALBERT

From a portrait by Sir W. C. Ross R.A.

the parliament on the satisfactory termination of the civil war which had so long desolated the northern provinces of Spain; and mentioned as a subject of great satisfaction the *success* of the European and native troops in India, in the expedition against Afghanistan.

Both houses congratulated her majesty on her happy choice of a consort. With very little loss of time Lord John Russell moved "That her majesty be enabled to grant an annual sum, not exceeding £50,000, out of the consolidated fund, for a provision to Prince Albert, to commence on the day of his marriage with her majesty, and to continue during his life." Mr. Hume said that £21,000 per annum would be quite enough; and he moved an amendment to that effect, which was negatived by 305 against 38. Colonel Sibthorp then moved that the grant should be for £30,000; and he was supported by Sir Robert Peel, and by all the conservative members, except Sir Robert Inglis; and upon a division this amendment was carried by 262 against 158. This was considered as a remarkable triumph over ministers, and as a plain proof of the uncertain tenure by which they held office. This auspicious marriage, a union of affection and mutual spontaneous choice, instead of a mere political and state alliance, was solemnized on the 10th of February, and gave that satisfaction to all parties, which has continued to the present hour.

The government was very severely censured for the riots at Newport, and for the disorders in Yorkshire and elsewhere. Sir John Yarde Bul-ler moved a vote of want of confidence in ministers, assigning, as the chief ground for such vote, the disturbed and unsatisfactory state of the country—a state which he mainly ascribed to the system of popular agitation which ministers had themselves nurtured and encouraged in preceding years. He said that in Ireland a similar system had been pursued, and had been carried much farther than in England; that, instead of checking or discouraging the chief author of these most unconstitutional proceedings, government had placed some of his family and connections in situations of trust and emolument, and he had himself been received as a guest at the lord-lieutenant's table. Another ground which rendered her majesty's ministers, in Sir John Y. Buller's opinion, undeserving of the confidence of the country, was the apparent coalition with those who were uniformly hostile to the Established church of this realm. On first taking office these ministers had declared that they would put an end to all sinecures and unfair pensions, and they had endeavoured to bring all former governments into disrepute by denouncing their corruption and extravagance in these matters. "And yet," said Sir John, "in spite of all their professions, they had really made a more corrupt use of the patronage of the crown than any of the governments which preceded them. Only the other day they granted £1000 a year as a pension to a gentleman who retired from his sinecure office, in order that he might be succeeded by the retiring chancellor of the exchequer." Another ground of complaint was the uncertainty attending all their measures. Lord John Russell voted last session against the introduction of the vote by ballot, and regretted that the honourable member for Edinburgh should not have more maturely considered his opinions on this subject. And now, what was the case? The honourable member for Edinburgh (Mr. T. B. Macaulay) *was secretary at war, and a member of the cabinet.* The honourable baronet alluded to another point as being important. Lord Melbourne had recently presented at court to the young and virtuous queen, just about to enter the holy state of matrimony, the notorious Robert Owen, who was opposed to marriage, who was opposed to every branch or portion of Christianity—who entertained, and who had long been publicly lecturing upon, projects and views identical with those entertained by the chartists and John Frost! The honourable baronet was seconded by Alderman Thompson. The motion was defeated, but

only by a majority of twenty one, the numbers dividing being 287 against 308.

By this time dreadful news began to arrive from India—news of events which had scarcely a parallel in British history. Hence fresh discredit fell upon the existing government. At the same time ministers were warmly attacked for the conflicting instructions they had sent out to our officers and authorities in China. Sir Robert Peel most convincingly demonstrated that government had not furnished our chief superintendent there with proper powers. Upon this China question the ministerial majority sank to nine.

The affairs of Ireland were still more embarrassing. They carried through both houses the Irish municipal corporations bill; but they were obliged to let drop their English and Irish registration bills, and their scheme for settling the poor law in Ireland.

The finances of the country now presented such an aspect that the commons were obliged to look the affairs of the nation fairly in the face. An alarming deficiency was apprehended. There had been already, in the course of three years, an actual deficiency of six millions; and the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Baring) seemed not ready with any measure by which to make this up.

Mr. Ewart made an unsuccessful motion for the total abolition of capital punishments. Mr. Serjeant Talfourd brought in a bill for securing to authors and their families a longer enjoyment of the profits of copyrights. He was opposed by Mr. Warburton, by Mr. Joseph Hume, and others, and found himself under the necessity of dropping the measure. The bill was not the wisest which might have been framed; but it certainly contained more generous principles than Lord Mahon's bill which Mr. Macaulay helped in carrying through parliament in 1842.

In consequence of a message from the crown, a bill was passed appointing his royal highness Prince Albert regent, in the possible event of her majesty's decease, during the minority of her children. On the 11th of August the queen went down to the lords and prorogued parliament. The speech stated that she was engaged, in concert with the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the sultan, in measures intended to affect the permanent pacification of the Levant, and to maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire—that the violent injuries inflicted upon some of her subjects by the officers of the Emperor of China had compelled her to send to the coast of China a naval and military force.

But the absorbing subject now was the terrible disasters in Afghanistan.

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1840—1842.

VICTORIA.

Dread of a Russian invasion upon our Indian possessions—Lord Auckland appointed Governor-general of India—His participation of the popular apprehension—Improbability of a Russian invasion of India—Former wars of the Afghans—Successes of the "Lion of Lahore"—The Persians brought into the country by the Indian wars—Dread of the influence of Russia upon India through her predominance in Persia—The Persians besiege Herat—The governor-general's plan to defend India against the Persians and Russians—The Simla proclamation—British expedition to Karrack—The siege of Herat raised—Preparations for a campaign in Afghanistan—Imprudence of the measure—It is disapproved of by Sir Henry Fane—Unpropitious opening of the campaign—Faithlessness of the Ameers of Scinde—Military errors in the advance of our army beyond the Indus—Deceitful tokens of success at the commencement of the war—Sir John Keane, the British commander, raised to the peerage—Forebodings of a reverse—Continued errors and mismanagement of the campaign—Afghanistan apparently subdued—Proceedings in the British parliament at the opening of 1841—Decline of the Whig administration—The Jewish disabilities bill rejected—Motion for the appointment of a minister of public education—The motion withdrawn—Statement of finance—Its unpropitious aspect—The question of the corn laws introduced—The ministry out-voted—It continues in office—New parliament assembled—Continued unpopularity of the ministers—They resign—Members of the new cabinet—Sir Robert Peel appointed premier—His first proceedings—Birth of an heir to the British throne—Events in India—Conspiracy and outbreak against the British in Cabool—Assassination of the British officials—Disasters to our army in Cabool—Its fatal retreat—Its ignominious surrender—Treaty with the Afghans for a safe retreat—Disgraces and miseries with which the campaign closes—Affairs of Turkey—Mediation of the allied powers between the sultan and Mehemet Ali—A treaty signed—Aid given to Turkey—Mehemet's army driven out of Syria.



T was in the East that the chief interest of British history was now contained, and it was to the disasters of our arms in Afghanistan that the attention of our statesmen was principally confined.

At this period our Indian empire was bounded by the great sandy desert which extends from the jungles on the Ghara, in the hill territories of Gurwal, to the sea. To the north-west, beyond this desert, lay the Punjab, of which Runjeet Sing was the sovereign. Beyond the Punjab, and south of Independent Tartary, was the region called Cabool or Afghanistan, lying directly between the Punjab and Persia. It was to this remote and ominous spot in the map of India that the attention of our Anglo-Indian rulers was now directed, and apparently not without reason; for it was through the plains and mountain passes of Cabool, that the tide of conquest from the Caspian, the Black Sea, or the Mediterranean had hitherto overflowed the fertile regions of India; and the histories of Alexander the Great, Tamerlane, Baber, and Mahmoud, the conquerors of Hindoostan, who had all entered by this route, had confirmed the ancient proverb, that no one can be king of India without first being lord of Cabool. Here, then, was the question at issue: Might not Russia, which had now obtained a predominant influence in the government of Persia, be tempted to use that influence for the invasion of our Indian possessions? Her armies being once introduced into the friendly

territory of Persia, nothing interposed between them and our Indian empire but Cabool and the Punjab.

When this epidemic dread was at the strongest, a civilian was Governor-general of India. Hitherto, the natural practice had been adopted of ruling our eastern empire by a soldier, and thus maintaining by the sword the conquest which the sword had won. Had this principle been adopted on the present occasion, a military viceroy's experience would have taught him to treat this fear of Russian invasion as a bugbear. He would have calculated from the difficulties of the march the improbability of such an attempt being made, or the impossibility of its success even if it should be hazarded. But the present governor-general, Lord Auckland, a very amiable nobleman, who, since the accession of the Whigs to power, had passed through the various offices of president of the board of trade, master of the mint, and first lord of the admiralty, had seen no military service. It was supposed on this account that he would be sure to prefer the pacific and non-interfering system to every other. But he had not been long in India when he was infected with the prevalent dread, and driven by his inexperience into an unnecessary war—a war attended not with conquest and aggrandizement, not with an increase of security to ourselves and to our allies and dependants, but with defeat, frightful disasters, and such an amount of disgrace as never fell upon our arms in any part of the world.

His lordship admitted into his entire confidence

Captain Alexander Burnes, and other stirring over-confident officers of the Company, who were impatient for opportunities of distinguishing themselves as soldiers or diplomatists, or as both, and whose groundless alarm had been worked upon by Russian emissaries, who confidently predicted the speedy invasion of India by their countrymen, and the reduction of the whole country within the dominion of the czar. As a boast, the threat should have been despised; as a political device and snare, it should have been carefully investigated and exposed, instead of being adopted as a ground of the most hazardous expedition to which the British arms in India had ever been summoned. It had been pointed out by a foreign writer¹ that if all the powers of the Russian empire were exerted in equipping an army for the invasion of India, and if that mighty army, overcoming obstacles that were scarcely to be overcome by an army of any size, reached the western borders of Beloochistan in safety, with its complete appointments, a descent by the British on Bushire would put us in possession of all the communications of that army, compel Persia at her peril to act against it, and place the rear of that army and the line of its advance and relief completely at our mercy. Moreover, it had been shown pretty clearly, that for Russia to send an army as far as the eastern border of Persia was impossible; and our own experience has now convinced the most sceptical, that were the Russians *there*, the mountain tribes, without our intervention, would cut off their supplies, destroy their cattle, and seize their baggage. We could, any day, cut an expedition from the westward to pieces, by landing a force at Bushire, where the coast country, with our commanding fleets and uninterrupted supplies, would furnish a base of operations from which Europe and Asia united together could not drive us. It had further been shown that a Russian army would take twice the time to march from their farthest to our nearest Indian frontier, that the armies of England would occupy in being wafted from the banks of the Thames to the banks of the Indus: and that during the interval, our fleets might annihilate the navy of the czar, or blockade it, and render it utterly useless in the Baltic and in the Black Sea.² But these simple considerations were despised or overlooked by Lord Auckland and the incompetent diplomatists whom he had taken into his counsels, and it was the Russian bugbear that was the primary cause of all our woe, and of all our shame. As the Mahrattas had been thoroughly conquered, the Pindarees extirpated, the Nepaulese and Bur-

messe checked, driven back, and reduced to order, and as even the Jauts and Bhurtpoor had been disposed of, there seemed absolutely nothing to fear from any of our neighbours or old foes; but still our Indian statesmen looked for possible foes 600 or 1200 or more miles beyond our frontier—to the mountains of Afghanistan, the plains of Bokhara, the deserts, the frontiers of Persia, and the shores of the Caspian Sea.

Although in former years, the Afghans had frequently spread devastation through the upper provinces of India, they had ceased to be an object of alarm ever since the mission to Cabool of the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone in 1809. They had never been enabled to cross the Indus. Instead of descending in that direction, they had been driven back considerably to the north by the Ameers of Scinde and Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore. The same state of constant war and anarchy which Mr. Elphinstone saw in Afghanistan, had continued ever since, or rather, it had become much worse. In fact, the Afghan monarchy had been dismembered.

In 1809 Shah Sujah had been vanquished in battle, and had been compelled to flee for refuge into the territories of Runjeet Sing. The authority of the usurper, Shah Mahmood, was acknowledged in part of Afghanistan, the rest of the country submitting to the misrule of divers chiefs or princes, who were frequently at war with each other. Shah Mahmood's brothers revolted against him, and his authority was soon confined to Herat and its dependencies. Cabool, Kandahar, and Peshawer, were held by different brothers of Mahmood, who soon fell out amongst themselves. During this decay of the monarchy, Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, was rapidly improving the discipline of his army by means of European officers. The final downfall of Bonaparte, in 1815, broke up the trade of war in Europe, and drove a considerable number of adventurers, Frenchmen and Italians, to the East, to Persia, and even into India. Some of these men found their way to Lahore, and under their care the troops of Runjeet Sing were trained. The Lion³ became irresistible: he took Cashmere, Mooltan, Leia, Upper Scinde, and the nearest part of Damaun, and reduced all the Afghan tribes south of Cashmere. After this, taking advantage of a quarrel and war between the Dooraunee prince of Cabool and his brother at Peshawer, and of an expedition which he enabled the expelled Shah Sujah, who had long been his guest, to make against Kandahar, Runjeet Sing succeeded in conquering Peshawer for himself, with all the level country which the Afghans had occupied between the mountains and the river Indus. The Ameers of Scinde seized upon other terri-

¹ *The British Empire in the East*, by Count Bjornsterna, translated by H. Evans Lloyd. London, 1840

² George Bulst, *Spectator* newspaper

³ Runjeet Sing.

tories which had belonged to the Dooraunee monarchy. Balkh threw off its nominal dependence, and in other territories of vast extent and thin population which lie between India and Persia, and which had all obeyed Zemaun Shah, various chiefs and princes asserted their independence. Dost Mahomed, however, maintained himself at Cabool, and his brother, or half-brother, after a sharp contest with the Shah Sujah, remained master of Kandahar.

Their brother Mahmood died, or was secretly murdered, at Herat, and was succeeded by his son Khamran or Camraum, who appears to have made some fruitless attempts to recover from his uncle, Dost Mahomed, the dominion of Cabool. The unfortunate Shah Sujah, having failed in other expeditions and enterprises undertaken in concert with Runjeet Sing, was at one time perfidiously seized and barbarously treated by the ungenerous Lion of Lahore, whose main object was to extort from him the famous Afghan diamond called the Kooli Noor: he was delivered from his cruel captivity by the spirit and ability of his queen. After all these adventures, Shah Sujah again found a safe asylum beyond the river Sutlej, in the British cantonment of Loodiana, where a liberal pension was allowed him.

War followed between Dost Mahomed Khan and Runjeet Sing. A victory, gained by the Afghans in 1836, was thrown away through the feuds and jealousies of the chieftains; and the Lion of Lahore, instead of losing territory, soon began to make new conquests. Dost Mahomed had been constantly seeking for the friendship of the British government; but by the treaty made between Lord William Bentinck and Runjeet Sing in 1831, Runjeet was allowed to do what he pleased in the country beyond the Sutlej; and all notion of our succouring the distracted Afghan monarchy was given up. Dost Mahomed had then applied not only to the Persians and to the Tartars, but also to the *Russians*, for aid and assistance. The young Shah of Persia, who had succeeded his grandfather in 1834, had lost no time in responding to Dost Mahomed's desired alliance. The court of Teheran hoped that whilst Runjeet Sing and the Sikhs were pressing upon Afghanistan on one side, a Persian army, favoured still further by the dissensions of the Afghan rulers and chiefs, might easily make conquests on the other, recover Herat, and establish the dominion of the young shah at least over the whole of Khorassan and Kandahar. Khamran, the Afghan ruler of Herat, on the death of the old Shah of Persia in 1834, had made a predatory incursion into the Persian territories, in concert with Turcomans, Hazarees, and other robbers, and had captured some thousands of Persian subjects for the purpose of sell-

ing them as slaves in Central Asia. Although this wholesale kidnapping was a very ancient practice, it certainly seemed, of itself, to justify the young shah in marching an army against



RUNJEET SING — From an oriental painting on glass, in the Museum of the East India House

Herat and the Afghan ruler Khamran. At the same time, he was invited and pressed to the enterprise by most of the Afghan sirdars of Kandahar, who had long been engaged in a blood feud with Khamran, and who, for the gratification of their vengeance, were willing to bring their old enemies, the Persians, even into the heart of Afghanistan Proper. But when it was found, or rather suspected, by our mission at Teheran, that the young Shah of Persia had been encouraged and promised pecuniary assistance by the Russians, who, it was reasoned, must know that the conquest of Herat and Kandahar by the Persians would be, in fact, an advance gained for the Russians towards India, if not for the purpose of actual invasion, certainly for that of intrigue and disorganization, great alarm was felt by our mission, and was by them communicated from Teheran to Downing Street. In short, our ministers at home, and our diplomats in Persia, were suddenly excited by all that jealousy and dread of Russia which had been diffused through the greater part of our Indian government by Burnes and others. The cabinet of St. Petersburg must have laughed at this groundless panic. It was quite in keeping with the crooked policy of that cabinet to resort to sundry paltry and secret measures in order to keep up the panic, while they were publicly assuring Lord Palmerston that they

entertained no designs of aggrandisement on the side of India. In spite of all the remonstrances of our ambassador, the young shah, in July, 1837, put himself and an army of 40,000 men, with seventy pieces of artillery, on their march from Teheran to Herat. Owing to their empty treasury, defective commissariat, and want of discipline, this Persian army frequently threatened to melt away before they had seen an enemy; and when they approached Herat, they were but a miserable and half-starved rabble. Nothing could be more unlike the vanguard of a mighty force competent to overthrow our empire in the East. At this moment, Captain Burnes was at Cabool, and there, came in contact with a certain Captain Vicovich, who gave himself out, among the Afghans, as an envoy from the court of St. Petersburg. This drove the previous alarm of our Indian statesmen into downright consternation. Cost what it might, Dost Mahomed must be driven out of Cabool, or we should soon see a Russian army there! Yet, after this, the Dost offered to ally himself with us if we would only protect him against the Persians. Lord Auckland declared, in a minute, that he would not oppose the hostile advance of Persia either by arms or by money. His lordship must have known by this time, that the Persians had no chance of making such advance, and that the operations contemplated by his government in the Persian Gulf would make the young shah at once retreat towards Teheran, even though he should have reduced Herat previously.

On returning to the governor-general, Captain Burnes, whose opinions seem to have varied according to times and circumstances and the opinions of other men higher in office than himself, declared that Dost Mahomed was an irreconcilable enemy; that our guest, the dethroned Shah Sujah, had many friends in the country; and that with a little aid of men and money, he might advance to Cabool in triumph, and without bloodshed. Yet, not long before this, Burnes had represented Shah Sujah as an imbecile prince, without a party in his own country, and Dost Mahomed as the best ally the governor-general could find. Had there been wisdom in these Indian councils, it would have been felt that we ought to have nothing to do either with the dethroning or enthroning of these rulers. But in a most fatal hour, it was decided to carry Shah Sujah back to Cabool, as the best means of barring the approaches to the Indus against both Persians and Russians!

Our warlike preparations went on the while, but it was not until the 1st of October that his lordship issued his famous Simla proclamation. At this moment, if the governor-general did not know that the siege of Herat, the first alleged

great cause of our inquietude, had been raised, and the reduced Persian army forced into a disgraceful and ruinous retreat, he might at least have known that the young shah had no chance of success, and that the British expedition sent to the Persian Gulf could not fail in its proposed object. Persia had derived nothing but disaster and shame from the rashly undertaken expedition, and ill-conducted siege. Lieutenant Eldred Pottinger, who threw himself into the place, directed the defence. The ignorant besiegers could scarcely maintain so much as a blockade; they knew nothing about regular approaches, and in all their attempts to storm they were beaten back. In one assault, the shah lost 1800 men in killed and wounded, and altogether his casualties exceeded 3000. He was as remote from his object in September, 1838, as in November, 1837, when he first came in sight of Herat. His army was short of provisions, and without clothing and pay; and, rather than have continued through another winter before a fortress which had so repeatedly defeated them, the Persians would, in all likelihood, have dispersed themselves, in spite of all their shah could do to retain them.¹

Our expedition from Bombay landed at Karrack in the Persian Gulf, in the middle of June, when Macnaghten and Burnes were preparing for the Afghanistan war by negotiating with Runjeet Sing at Lahore. The possession of Karrack, an island belonging to Persia, and in the centre of the shah's dominions, showed him how completely those dominions were within our grasp; showed him that we could disembark any force we pleased at Bushire within a fortnight of its quitting Bombay, and possess ourselves of some of the chief towns of Persia, before the people at large could be made aware that hostilities were intended.

From the moment that our troops landed on his island of Karrack, the eyes of the Persian shah were turned more anxiously in that direction than upon the siege of Herat; and at the end of September, when he gave up that siege altogether, and put his diminished and rabble army in motion for a retreat into the heart of his own country, he declared that he did so in consequence of the presence of our armament, and that if Karrack had not been seized by us, Herat would have been taken by him. It is true that the possession of Karrack, and the descent we might so easily have effected on Bushire, were calculated to induce a rapid retreat, even if the Persians had been on the eve of victory and conquest: but it is not true that our menacing attitude at Karrack was the sole cause of the shah's

¹ Buist, *Outline of the Operations of the British Troops in Scinde and Afghanistan*.

hasty retreat; his army was not on the eve of victory, but on the very brink of dissolution. After many defeats, it was half famished and wholly disheartened, and it could not by any possibility have continued its stupid operations round Herat through another winter, or so much as through another month.¹

Well! Herat was safe; that key to the British dominions in India could not be given by Persia to Russia, for Persia could not get it. All the dispositions for a grand campaign beyond the Indus and in the heart of Afghanistan were made (badly enough, no doubt!), and marching orders were given, but it appears that not a single regiment had yet begun to march, when Lord Auckland received official intelligence of the retreat of the Persians from Herat. But this intelligence had no apparent effect on the counsels and conduct of men who had made up their minds for war, and who could not rest until the British flag should be carried over the snowy mountains and through the deep defiles of Afghanistan. These men did not see, or would not feel, what a bulwark nature and fortune had opposed to a successful invasion of British India from the westward, and that they were going to weaken by their aggression, the most formidable portion of this bulwark. Long before the fearful catastrophe in which all this blindness, or rashness and obstinacy, ended, and while unthinking people were shouting for the victories our arms were obtaining, a sensible writer at home said: "We are making the false movement of a general who, finding a broad marsh between himself and his opponent, wantonly crosses it with great loss and inconvenience, posts himself on the opposite margin, and, cutting himself off from his supplies, affords his opponent, at the first favourable moment, an opportunity of driving him into the swamp, or starving him to death, or compelling him to surrender at discretion. Such is a fair view of our present adventure, nor can we see any termination, utter discomfiture excepted, to the course into which it leads, until it brings us to the very thing we deprecate—contiguity and collision with the power of Russia in Persia."²

In the month of October, 1838, when Lord Auckland issued his warlike proclamations at Simla, the army of India was raised to 203,000 men. Sir Henry Fane was at this time commander-in-chief of all India. He disapproved both of the principles of policy and of the arrangement of the details of the expedition; and viewed with alarm the prospect of having our armies so far removed from our own frontier. Sir Henry was, besides, in indifferent health when the first campaign was announced. Colonel

Fane, the son of Sir Henry Fane, said, after his father's death, "I am prepared to prove that the military head in India, and second member of council of that country, did oppose, or perhaps rather point out to the governor-general, the extreme danger of this wild and unmeasured expedition. . . . He insured Lord Auckland of the success which did at first appear to attend us, but warned him, that to maintain large bodies of troops in countries so distant, and which scarce produced food sufficient for the scanty population, was next to impossible."³

As a foretaste of what might be expected from him, Runjeet Sing, in despite of a treaty which had been drawn up at Lahore by Macnaghten and Burnes, refused to allow our troops to cross his territories in the Punjab. Our principal rendezvous was therefore appointed to be Shikarpoor in Scinde. The Ameers of Scinde had faithfully promised to provide supplies and the means of conveyance for our armies; but our commanders found that they had provided nothing but jealousy, hatred, and enmity, and that the mass of the Scinde population were eager to attack our troops. Sir Henry Fane, whose health was growing worse, resigned the command. Lord Auckland nominated Sir John Keane, a brave and experienced officer, but said to be headstrong, passionate, and domineering, to the direction of the whole force, and instructed him to send his own orders to Sir Willoughby Cotton, who, as senior officer, had succeeded to the command of the Bengal column as a temporary measure until its junction with the Bombay troops. This also gave the temporary command of a division to Major-general Nott, and of a brigade to Colonel Dennie. We can trace, even at this moment, some of the jealousies and heart-burnings which helped to destroy the discipline of the whole army.

Sir Alexander Burnes (he had been made knight-commander of the Bath and lieutenant-colonel for his previous services on the Indus, in Afghanistan, &c., and, perhaps, in part for his ample contribution to the unlucky scheme now in process of execution) had been employed to collect at Shikarpoor camels for the use of the whole army. The governor-general had calculated that 45,000 camels might be obtained; but Burnes could never collect 20,000. Everywhere the forebodings of calamity thickened, and warned men—who would not be warned—to stop their advance and retrace their steps. There was no dependence to be placed either on the Ameers of Scinde or upon the Lion of Lahore; there was little security for our communications and supplies; and such means as were adopted for the obtaining of some such security were in-

¹ C. Macfarlane, *Our Indian Empire*.

² *Spectator*, July 27, 1839.

³ Letter published in the *Times* of 5th June, 1842.

adequate to the end, were slovenly, unsystematic, unworthy of British officers at this time of day.

Numerous and unpardonable military errors were committed on the advance. The several divisions of the army were accompanied by an amazing number of camp-followers, who could not shift for themselves in the countries beyond the Indus: thus provisions were made to run short even before our troops entered the mountain country. The camels died rapidly, the horses of our artillery were shot to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The com-



AFGHANS OF THE DOORANKE TRIBE
From Elphinstone's Cabool.

munications between the front and rear division—left one hundred miles apart—were completely cut off by the fierce tribes in the mountain pass. The robbers in the pass were incessantly harassing our soldiers, and pouncing down from their rocks and hills upon the baggage. Savage and unwise orders were carried into execution by our harassed and exasperated troops: whenever these Afghans were captured they were shot or hanged, *no quarter being on any occasion given to them.* Shah Sujah, the dethroned sovereign, whom we were to substitute for Dost Mahomed, was allowed to put to death thirty-six out of thirty-eight captives he had made, and that, too, in the presence of at least one British field-officer, Major Macsherry. If the Afghans had concentrated their forces, and had acted under the command of any officer endowed with common sense, the progress of Sir John Keane must have been stopped before he got to Ghuznee. That last-named place was, however, stormed and taken, and the fall of Ghuznee opened the way to

Cabool. As Sir John Keane drew nigh, Dost Mahomed quitted his throne and his capital, and fled with only 600 horsemen to seek a refuge in the wide, wild country beyond the Oxus. On the 7th August, 1839, Shah Sujah, Sir John Keane, the general officers of the army, Burnes, Macnaghten, and other officers of the mission, or of the staff, made a pompous and triumphant entrance into Cabool. Considering the work as done, Sir John Keane hurried back to India, and from India to England, to be raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Keane of Ghuznee and Cappaquin (with a pension of £2000 a year), and to receive the thanks of parliament and of the court of directors. The shouts of triumph and applause were, however, mingled with the expression of many doubts and some severe criticism. In the lords the Duke of Wellington said that he had never doubted but that the valour and discipline of our troops would secure victory to our arms in Afghanistan; but that it was when we had completed our first conquests that our difficulties would begin. Lord Ellenborough declared the war to have been a folly, and said it remained to be seen whether it might not prove a crime. Lord Auckland, as governor-general, received his meed: he was raised in the peerage to the rank of an earl: and the court of directors and the court of proprietors honoured him with their vote of thanks "for the sagacity and promptitude with which he had planned the expedition, and the zeal and vigour he had displayed in preparing the troops to take the field"¹

Part of the army—the Bombay column—quitted Cabool on the 18th of September, and the Bengal troops were recalled in October. Independently of the shah's contingent, paid and officered by the English, about 8000 men, British troops and sepoys, were left in that cold and inhospitable country. Enormous errors were committed by Macnaghten and Burnes, who were left at Cabool, as envoy, and assistant to the envoy. Shah Sujah made bad worse by selecting a low-born, rapacious old scoundrel to be his prime minister. On the return of spring, the Ghilzies and other powerful tribes began to unite their cavalry and to attack our outposts. At the same time the people dwelling on the hills and in the glens not only refused to pay any taxes or tribute to Shah Sujah, but also refused to sell provisions to our commissariat. As the ice and snow melted, and left the roads and mountain tracks passable, a fierce war of posts commenced. Insurrections broke out among the tribes that inhabit the country to the east of the Bolan Pass. At the same time some of the Ameers of Scinde called their followers to the field, united their bands, and threatened all our communications

¹ C. Macartine, *Our Indian Empire*.

between Afghanistan and the Punjab. Several most serious disasters were sustained by our troops; and the brilliant capture of Khelat, and other achievements, could not disguise the fact that we had embarked in a ruinous contest.

Our army up the country was repeatedly reinforced. At the end of the year 1840, we had more than 16,000 men in Afghanistan; and at the first outbreak of the great insurrection in November, 1841, we had upwards of 14,000 men, besides the shah's contingent. The number of our political agents, scattered all about the country, as if it were conquered and submissive, and to be organized, like annexed provinces in Hindoostan, by means of the pen, exceeded thirty. All these men (and not a few of them appear to have been young and inexperienced) were paid large salaries by the Company. Sir William Macnaghten, as envoy and minister, had £11,220 per annum; his assistant, Lieutenant-colonel Sir Alexander Burnes, £3000. Among them they received more money than could be realized by taxes and duties in any one province of the Afghan empire. Everything was on a prodigious scale of expense. It was costing us more than £3,000,000 a year to occupy a country for Shah Sujah which never could render him £300,000 a year. The Russo-mania had abated; we had obtained substantial proofs of the difficulty of any army traversing Afghanistan, even if it could get so far; and we ought by this time to have learned that the Afghan tribes were neither to be depended upon in their own country, nor to be feared by us behind the Indus: but there our army was left, without any adequate arrangement either for its victualling or for its safe return; and there our money continued to be lavished without any security for its repayment.¹

A.D. 1841. On the 26th of January parliament was opened by her majesty. The speech dwelt upon the affairs of the Levant (of which we shall presently give a continuous though necessarily brief narrative), on the gallantry and skill displayed by our naval forces on the coast of Syria, and on the struggle still going on in China. On the subject of the Afghan war not a word was said—an omission which was afterwards noticed by Sir Robert Peel. The address was agreed to without a division.

On the 4th of February a vote of thanks was given in the House of Lords to Admiral Stopford, Commodore Napier, and the captains and officers of the fleet under their command during the operations conducted on the coast of Syria, and particularly for the decisive attack on St. Jean d'Acre. The Duke of Wellington declared that he considered this achievement one of the greatest

of modern times. On the following day a similar vote of thanks passed the House of Commons. The ministry, however, seemed to be weaker than before, and unable to carry any important legislative measure. After very long and angry debates on a bill for the registration of voters in Ireland, they were outvoted by a majority of eleven; and then Lord John Russell threw up the bill. This was taken as a striking illustration of the decline and approaching downfall of the Whig administration.

Mr. Divett, one the members for Exeter, brought in a bill for removing the Jews' civil disabilities. It was opposed on the second reading by Sir R. Inglis, who protested against surrendering that principle of the constitution by which magistrates had hitherto been confined to persons professing Christianity. He was answered by Lord John Russell, who supported the bill, and declared his readiness to go further, and admit Jews to seats in parliament. The bill was carried through the commons, but rejected by the lords.

After wearying debates on the claims of the Church of Scotland, on the Catholic college of Maynooth, and on church-rates, Mr. Ewart moved for the appointment of a minister of public education. The honourable member wished that such minister should be a member of the House of Commons, and should annually lay before it a statement of the condition and prospects of the education of the people. A minister of public instruction was to be found in almost every foreign kingdom, who regularly made such reports to the crown. Such a minister ought to mix and associate with the educational institutions of the country, but by no means to control them. He regretted the niggardliness of the grant now made by the state for education, amounting to only £30,000 a year; and called on the house to be more liberal. Ministers opposed the whole motion, not, they said, because they objected to its principle, but on account of the difficulties attendant on its execution. They promised, however, soon to lay before the house, for the education committee of the privy council, information which they thought would go far to fulfil, for this year, the object of the motion. Mr. Ewart acceded, and the motion was withdrawn.

A further mitigation of the criminal code was carried in the course of the session.

The state of the finances was still very unsatisfactory; and the chancellor of the exchequer, who had erred in his calculations the preceding year, was compelled to acknowledge a deficiency of nearly two millions. The expenditure had amounted to £49,285,000; the income had only reached the sum of £47,443,000. To make up

¹ Buist; and MS. journal of a young officer on the Bombay establishment.

this deficiency Mr. Baring proposed extensive alterations in our timber and sugar duties, not in the way of augmentation, but in that of reduction on timber and sugar imported from other countries or from colonies not our own. He calculated on a vast increase of consumption, on the benefits derivable from making England the one great mart and dépôt for sugars, &c., and on the chance of the countries on the Baltic taking more of our manufactures if we took more of their timber, and reduced the amount of protection we gave to Canadian timber. The chancellor of the exchequer also suggested the expediency of altering the corn laws, as another sure means of increasing the revenue.

It was not until they were at the last extremity that ministers fairly took up the corn-law question. It was not long since Lord Melbourne, the premier, had solemnly declared that he would not agitate it—that he did not think that the advantages to be gained by the change were worth the evils of the struggle—that the corn laws could not be altered without a most violent struggle; without causing much ill blood and a deep sense of grievance. But the country was now nearly as much agitated for the repeal of the corn laws as it had been a few years ago for the passing of the reform bill; and the cabinet saw no other chance of recovering their popularity and making up the deficient revenue than in altering the corn laws together with the timber and sugar duties. But they found themselves unable to carry any of their proposed measures. On the sugar duties they were outvoted by a majority of 36, there being for the motion 281, and against it 317. Hereupon it was fully expected that ministers would resign. Great, therefore, was the surprise when, on the following day, the chancellor of the exchequer rose in his place, as if nothing had occurred, and gave notice that, on the Monday following, he would move *the usual annual sugar duties*. Lord Darlington said that “it was plain that ministers meant to stay in office with a tenacity—he must be allowed to say—unparalleled in the history of governments, and with the deliberate decision of the House of Commons unequivocally declared against them.”

A few days after this, Sir Robert Peel moved a resolution of want of confidence in the government, and carried it by 312 against 311. But still these most tenacious of Whigs would not resign. They would first try the effects of a dissolution of parliament, hoping to gain an augmentation of force through the anti-corn-law agitators. On the 22d of June, parliament was prorogued by the queen in person; and on the following day it was dissolved by proclamation.

The new parliament was opened by commission on the 19th of August. Many objections

were taken to the royal speech, which was read on the 24th. The Earl of Ripon moved a vote of want of confidence, proposing to represent to her majesty that the public expenditure had for several successive years exceeded the annual income, and that the House of Lords were convinced of the necessity of adopting measures for the remedy of so great an evil, &c. He was warmly supported by the Duke of Wellington, who delivered a short speech condemnatory of the conduct of ministers as well abroad as at home. Ministers were here left with a majority of seventy-two against them. It was not better for them in the commons, where, after four nights of stormy debate, Lord John Russell found that he was out-voted by ninety-one. At last, on the 30th of August, Lord Melbourne announced that his cabinet was no more.

Sir Robert Peel as premier, and the Duke of Wellington, speedily formed a new cabinet. Lord Lyndhurst became lord-chancellor, Mr. Goulburn chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Wharcliffe president of the council, the Duke of Buckingham privy seal, Sir James Graham home secretary, the Earl of Aberdeen foreign secretary, Lord Stanley colonial secretary, the Earl of Haddington first lord of the admiralty, Lord Ellenborough president of the board of control, the Earl of Ripon president of the board of trade, Sir Henry Hardinge secretary at war, and Sir Edward Knatchbull treasurer of the navy and paymaster of the forces. These formed the cabinet. Among the appointments, without seats in the cabinet, were those of Lord Lowther, postmaster-general; Sir George Murray, master-general of the ordnance; Lord Canning, under foreign secretary; Sir F. Pollock, attorney-general; Sir W. Follett, solicitor-general; and Sir Charles Bagot, Governor-general of Canada. A change, as extensive as any that had been usual, was made in the queen's household. Earl de Grey became Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The re-elections of the members of the new government by their respective constituencies having taken place without the loss of a single seat, the House of Commons re-assembled on the 16th of September. The Whigs, who were now sitting on the opposition benches, attempted to bewilder Sir Robert Peel by a multiplicity of questions, and to force from him a premature disclosure of his intentions respecting the revenue, the corn laws, &c. The premier kept his own counsel until his own proper moment arrived. He had distinctly stated, at the close of the last session, that if called to power, he would not bring forward any premature declarations as to the intentions of her majesty's government. This declaration he had made repeatedly, and the sense of the country had been taken at the

general election under the distinct announcement that such was his intention. Moreover, the season was far advanced, and the house was thinning. Meeting the difficulty boldly in the face, and finding that the deficiency was even greater than had been believed, he demanded and obtained an addition to the ways and means of £2,467,432. So soon as the business of immediate urgency was despatched, the parliament was prorogued by commission. This was on the 7th of October. On the 9th of the following

month an event occurred which served to unite our beloved sovereign still more closely if possible to the hearts of her devoted subjects. This was the birth of an heir to the British throne, at Buckingham Palace; and as it was on lord-mayor's day, the pleasure-loving citizens of London were enabled to double the congratulations of their time-honoured festival on account of such an auspicious national occurrence. May Albert Edward realize the best hopes which so often have been formed in favour of those who



BUCKINGHAM PALACE, as at the time, from the Inclosure St James's Park—Drawn and engraved by J. L. Williams

have borne the title of "Prince of Wales," and when the crown devolves to him—though late be that event—may he rule as his predecessor has ruled, and be honoured as she has been!

While the Whigs were sustaining the discomfitures which drove them from office, the sad effects of their policy beyond the Indus were becoming more and more apparent; and before the close of this year the Afghan tragedy was completed.

As early as the month of May, 1841, Major Pottinger prognosticated the coming storm, representing to Macnaghten the envoy the insufficiency of our military force in some places, and the badness of their cantonments in nearly all places. The major was looked upon as an alarmist. Sir A. Burnes was quite confident there was no danger. At the end of October, Cabool was surrounded by predatory bands, and our communication with Hindoostan was cut off. In October, General Sale cleared the pass of Khoord Cabool, but not without hard fighting and considerable loss. Yet all through that month our officers were insulted in their cantonments at Cabool, and many attempts were made

to assassinate them. On the 2d of November, an attack was made on the house of Sir A. Burnes in the city; and he was massacred, together with his brother, Lieutenant Burnes, Lieutenant W. Broadfoot, and every man, woman, and child found on the premises. Sir William Macnaghten, who was in the cantonments, thought and said the storm would soon blow over of itself. Instead of blowing over, it increased in violence, while every minute that was lost in inaction raised the numbers and the audacity of the insurgents. The chief command of our astounded and bewildered army (bewildered much more by the inactivity and stupor of their leaders than by the proceedings of the Afghans) was at this time held by Major-general Elphinstone, a most amiable and at one time a gallant officer, but who had been suffering a long and painful illness, which had affected his nerves, and worn out his mind as much as his body. He was utterly incapable of acting in this sudden emergency with the promptitude and vigour necessary for the preservation of his troops, and the officers next in command under him seem to have been—without the same physical

and unavoidable causes—as incapable as himself, and to have shrunk from all responsibility. The cantonment occupied by the army for so many months was as bad as it could be, and the magazine of provisions was placed in the most exposed and least defensible part of it, detached from our works of strength. All the calamities which befell our ill-starred force might be traced more or less to the defects of our position; and whether we look to its situation or to its construction, this cantonment at Cabool must ever be spoken of as a disgrace to our military skill and judgment.¹

On the 3d of November, the day after the outbreak in Cabool, 3000 savage Ghilzies rushed towards our cantonments, and other numerous bands began to collect on the surrounding hills. We turn with shame from the details of the fearful humiliating story. Our commanding officers continued in their imbecility until our troops were infected with downright cowardice. On the 4th of November our people ran away from the commissariat fort, abandoning to the enemy all our stores, clothing, and provisions, except two days' supply of provisions in cantonments. On the 9th, General Elphinstone's weak state of health induced him to give up the command to Brigadier Shelton. A quarrel or wide difference of opinion immediately arose between Shelton and Macnaghten. How provisions had been obtained we know not; but our army was still motionless in its cantonments on the 22d of November, when the terrible Akbar Khan arrived at Cabool with some hundreds of well-mounted warriors. Shelton made a sally, committed no fewer than six capital military errors, and was beaten back with loss. On the 26th it was proposed by the enemy that the British should quietly evacuate the country, and leave the Afghans to themselves. On the 8th of December, Macnaghten requested General Elphinstone to state whether the only alternative left was not to negotiate for our safe retreat. The despondent dying Elphinstone gave a fatal response in the affirmative. On the 11th of December, Macnaghten went out to meet Akbar Khan and certain great khans and heads of tribes, who had intimated that they were desirous of concluding a treaty. A treaty or an agreement was concluded—our troops were to be allowed to retire without molestation; the Afghans were to furnish them with provisions and the means of transport for the conveyance of our baggage, stores, &c. Instead of sending provisions, the savages murdered all our sick

and wounded men that they could lay their hands upon.

On the 14th of December was commenced the most disastrous and appalling retreat that has ever been recorded in authentic history. Making allowance for the difference of numbers, the retreat of the French from Moscow was less dreadful than this. In both cases, the ice and snow, and nakedness and famine, slew more than the sword. On the 20th of December, Sir William Macnaghten had an interview with the chiefs, who now demanded that a portion of our guns and ammunition should be given up, and that Brigadier Shelton should be put into their hands as an hostage. Lieutenant Sturt, in whom the English spirit had not become extinct, proposed to the general to break off the treaty and march forthwith to Jellalabad, where Sale was stoutly maintaining himself. But the general called a council of war—and a council of war never fights. On the 22d of December, as our troops were preparing to follow the van-division, Akbar Khan sent to propose a new and much more favourable treaty than the one which he had already broken, and to invite our envoy to another conference. On the following day Macnaghten went to the place appointed, presented Akbar with a beautiful Arab horse, and was barbarously murdered under the eyes of that khan and of other chiefs. It is even said that Akbar himself did the foul deed, shooting his victim through the body with a richly-mounted pistol which Macnaghten had sent him only a few hours before. The body was hacked to pieces by the armed fanatics, who carried the head into the city and triumphantly exhibited it to Captain Conolly, one of the prisoners who had been taken. Not an arm was raised to avenge Macnaghten's fate—nothing could re-animate our troops, or the wretched men who commanded them. All went on as if with one accord to complete their disgrace and seal their doom—all, except a few English hearts who murmured and remonstrated, but who had not moral courage sufficient to incur the heavy and awful responsibility of putting their commanding officers under arrest, appealing to the troops, and assuming the command themselves. There were more councils of war called, to end in more baseness and madness: it was agreed to leave behind all our guns, except six; to surrender all our treasure; to give up married men, with their wives and families, as hostages; to pay Osman Khan, and some other treacherous villains, five lacs of rupees in bills drawn upon India, but negotiated on the spot by a merchant of Cashmere and some Hindoo bankers, the said Osman Khan engaging to escort the whole army in safety to Peshawar. In vain did Major Pottinger raise his manly voice against this useless

¹ Lieutenant Vincent Eyre. The cantonment had a low rampart and a narrow ditch; its form was a parallelogram; it had round flanking bastions at each corner, but every one of these bastions was commanded by some fort or hill.

debasement (and never were English soldiers so debased before as to buy a way out of an enemy's country!)—the rest of the officers composing the council declared, one and all, that the bargain must be struck. And, accordingly, the bills were given, and English ladies were delivered over as hostages, if not at this moment, a little later.

On the 6th of January, 1842, our headquarters and the rest of our army cleared out of the cantonments at Cabool, to march, in the depth of

those who planned it, and who nearly all perished in it¹

The upholding of the Ottoman empire and the settlement of the Levant, effected during this year, and while the Melbourne administration was yet in power, seems to us worthy of all praise and commendation. The war which was waged for these great objects cost but little bloodshed, and it gave back to the sultan the strength of which his rebel vassal, the Pacha of Egypt, ought never to have been allowed to deprive him.

In the month of May, 1829, Sultan Mahmoud sent Hafiz Pacha across the Euphrates, with an army to recover Syria. In the month of June of that year, Hafiz Pacha was thoroughly defeated by Ibrahim Pacha, who drove the Osmanlis to the other side of the Euphrates. On the 27th of June, Sultan Mahmoud died, and was succeeded by his son, Abdul Medjid, who was only in his sixteenth year. The new sultan offered the too-powerful pacha a full pardon for the past, and the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt; Mehemet Ali replied, that he must have Syria as well. At



CABOOL.—From Atkinson's Sketches in Afghanistan

winter, through a country of perhaps unparalleled difficulty. The strength of our whole force was at this time estimated at about 4500 fighting men; the camp-followers at a moderate computation, amounted to about 12,000 men, besides women and children. At the moment the rear-guard cleared out of the cantonments, the Afghans began to plunder the baggage, and to follow and fire upon our soldiers; and these operations can scarcely be said to have ceased until there was nothing left to plunder—or to kill. We will not follow this demoralized and degraded army through the horrors of the passes of Khoord Cabool, Tezeen, and Gundamuck. General Elphinstone, almost at the point of death, gave himself up to one of the khans. The ladies and wounded were given up; Dr. Brydon, who escaped by a miracle, was the only officer that reached the garrison of Jellalabad, and a mere handful of sepoys and camp-followers entered the fortress, which Sale had held in spite of General Elphinstone's insane orders to him to evacuate. Counting camp-followers, women, and children, more than 26,000 human beings had perished in the retreat, through cold, famine, and the incessant attacks of the enemy. A few hundreds—mostly native Indians, had been carried away captives, to be turned into slaves, or to be kept for the sake of ransoms. Woe to this Afghan war! and mercy to the souls of

first, France would have put herself forward as sole mediatrix in the quarrel; but this was a position which the other powers of Europe could not allow her to occupy. After pretending, for a time, to go along with Lord Palmerston, the French minister suddenly alleged that he could not coincide with us and the other powers; that he could have no part in the settlement of the Levant, as we pretended to settle it; and Lord Palmerston then said, the Levant should be settled without France. Upon this announcement, there was much blustering among the journalists on the other side of the Channel, but what could France now do against the allied powers of Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia? All that she did was to give false hopes to the Pacha of Egypt and Ibrahim Pacha, and to encourage them into a resistance which was utterly unavailing, and which cost them great sacrifices.

A few weeks after the death of Sultan Mahmoud, the Turkish fleet, under the command of a traitorous capitan-pacha, or lord high-admiral, sailed through the Dardanelles, went down to Alexandria, and there placed itself at the disposal of Mehemet Ali. The young sultan had therefore no available naval force at the time when he most wanted it. It was resolved that the British navy should make up this deficiency. Nearly at the same time insurrections broke out among the

¹ *Our Indian Empire.*

mountaineers in Syria, against the oppressive government of the Pacha of Egypt. They complained of the conscription, which dragged them away in chains to fight for Mahemet Ali; they complained of *corvées*, and all manner of forced labour; they complained of the enormous taxes imposed upon property on the death of the owner, and the succession of his heir or heirs; and they could not brook the law which commanded every man among them who was not a soldier in the pacha's service to deliver up his arms.

The treaty between Britain, Austria, Russia, and Turkey, for the settlement of the eastern question, was signed at London, on the 15th of July, 1840, and was ratified on the 15th of September. By the beginning of October, our fleet, very effectually aided by a naval and land force of the Emperor of Austria, reduced the important city of Beyrout, on the Syrian coast, and drove off Ibrahim Pacha, with a loss of 7000 men, and nearly all his artillery and stores. Encouragement and substantial assistance were sent to the Syrian mountaineers; and the Egyptian army was compelled to retreat on Acre. Sidon was captured by the allies. The insurrection against Mehemet Ali spread over all Syria; and

Emir Beschir, chief of the Druses of Mount Lebanon, placed himself in the hands of the allies. On the 3d of November, the decisive blow was struck; Acre, or St. Jean d'Acre, was bombarded by the British fleet, and in less than four hours was knocked to pieces—the Egyptians losing more than 2000 men in killed and wounded, and 300 as prisoners; whilst the British counted only twelve killed, and forty-two wounded. The remnant of the army of Mehemet Ali then evacuated Syria. On the 27th of November, 1840, Mehemet Ali, yielding to hard necessity, accepted the terms offered by Commodore Sir Charles Napier, and agreed to restore the Turkish fleet to the sultan, to renounce for ever all claims upon Syria, and to rest satisfied with the possession of Egypt as an hereditary fief of the Sublime Porte. Thus speedily was settled one of the most important questions of modern times; and thus was given strength and solidity to the shattered Ottoman empire, together with another chance of occupying the position among the first-rate powers which, for the sake of the peace of all Europe, she ought to hold. And, since that period the internal improvements of this empire have gone on at an accelerated pace.

CHAPTER IX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1842—1844.

VICTORIA.

Changes in the cabinet—Opening of parliament—Advances towards free trade—Motions for modifications in the corn laws—Presentation of the "People's Petition"—Its rejection—Parliament prorogued—Affairs of India—Resolution to continue the Afghan war—Sale's successful defence of Jellalabad—The siege raised—Disensions among the Afghan chiefs—Defeat of the Afghans at Kandahar—Advance of the British army into Afghanistan—Treatment of the English prisoners by Akbar Khan—They are hurried into the interior—Their deliverance and return—The Afghans quelled—Close of the war—War of the British in China—Its origin in the opium trade—Unsuccessful attempts to negotiate with the Chinese—Conflicts between the British and Chinese in the Canton river—Defeats of the Chinese—Canton invested—Captures made by the British in China—Treaty of peace with China—Terms of the treaty—Opening of parliament in 1843—Falling off in the revenue—Proposed remedy—The government scheme of education announced—Its unpopularity among all classes of Protestants—The scheme reduced into the factory bill—Colonization proposed for the relief of the industrial classes—Monster meetings in Ireland—O'Connell arrested—Disruption in the Church of Scotland—Rebekah riots in Wales—Their suppression—Trial of O'Connell—His conviction and sentence—He appeals against the sentence—His appeal sustained—His last appearances and death—Improvement in the revenue of 1844—Demand for the repeal of certain taxes—Discussion on the sugar duties bill—It is passed—Passing of the bill for the reduction of the three-and-a-half per cents—Sir Robert Peel's bill for the regulation of the Bank of England—His statement of its nature and specifications—The bill passed—Its mercantile importance—Passing of the regulation of railways bill—Regulation of joint stock-companies—Concessions made in the Irish charitable trusts bill—Abolition of old penal statutes against Roman Catholics.



WHEN the parliamentary business of 1842 commenced, there had been some slight changes in the cabinet. Lord Ellenborough, fortunately for the service, and for the tarnished honour of our arms, had been sent out to India

as governor-general, and he had been succeeded at the board of control by Lord Fitzgerald and Vesci. The Duke of Buckingham, who, as Marquis of Chandos, had so long headed what was called the farming interest, had resigned the privy seal, being alienated from Sir Robert Peel by the intimations now given, that the corn laws

must and would be changed. His office had been taken by the Duke of Buccleuch.

The session of parliament was opened on the 3d of February. The addresses were carried without a division, and when divisions became necessary, it was seen that the ministry was strong enough to carry any such measure of reform as it might propose. The machine of government was no longer at a dead-lock. Sir Robert boldly brought forward and carried his property and income tax, reducing at the same time various other taxes and duties. There was no other certain mode of raising revenue sufficient to make up for past deficiencies and defray our annual expenditure. Upon more than 750 articles there was an abatement of duty. Immense strides were made towards the system of free trade. For the total abolition of the corn laws, Sir Robert was not yet prepared: he still clung to the sliding scale; but his grasp was evidently less tenacious than formerly, and instead of a sudden alteration which took place on the existing scale from 10s. to 6s. 8d., 2s. 8d., and 1s., he proposed two stationary points, after which the duty would only fall by 1s. at each increase of 1s. in the average price. He believed that agricultural industry would stand on a firmer basis with prices between 54s. and 58s. the quarter, than when it was disturbed by violent fluctuations. He, however, disclaimed the idea that the legislature could guarantee any price for corn whatever. Another material part of the modification was the addition of 156 towns to the list of 150, in which the average prices of corn had been previously taken. Mr. Cobden denounced the plan of the government as an insult to a suffering people. This honourable member could consistently be violent, for he had been for years an enthusiast, a lecturer, and propagandist for a free trade in corn; and for some time he had devoted his entire life to this one object. But when the late ministers, who had only taken up the corn-law question when it was considerably past the eleventh hour, raised a clamour against Sir Robert Peel as loud as that of Mr. Cobden, it did seem inconsistent, unfair, and indelicate. And even now the Whig party were far from recognizing the principle of a free trade in corn. Lord John Russell moved a fixed duty of 8s. the quarter: Sir Robert Peel said that this was too high; and Lord John was outvoted by 349 against 226. Mr. Villiers, whose views on the corn laws had long differed from those entertained by the Melbourne cabinet, did indeed vote for the abolition of all duties payable on the importation of foreign corn. He was outvoted by 303 to ninety; and nearly all the Whigs were found in the majority. Sir Robert Peel's scale was carried by 306 against 104. On the 11th March, the premier developed

his financial plans in a long and most able speech which gave satisfaction to practical commercial men, and to all those whose habits and pursuits gave them the best means of judging of such matters.

On the 2d of May, Mr Thomas Duncombe presented to the commons what was facetiously called "The People's Petition;" which was said to have been signed by nearly three millions and a half of people. We had had monster meetings and monster balloons; here was a monster petition! When tacked together, it required sixteen men to carry it! It was escorted to Palace-yard by a long procession of working men, who marched in good order and with peaceable demeanour to the Houses of Parliament. It was so big that the door of the House of Commons was not wide enough to admit it. It was therefore divided into sections, and in that manner carried by the petitioners into the body of the house, where it was left to lie on the floor, for no table could have held it. There was much laughter, and those laughed most who best knew how the signatures had been obtained or manufactured. It demanded the enactment of the six points constituting "The People's Charter." Mr. Duncombe, though he laughed with those who laughed, moved that the petitioners by their agents or counsel, should be heard at the bar. He found 49 members to vote with him; but there were 287 against him. The best of the reformers, as Mr. Benjamin Hawes, said they could never think of conceding power to masses of men, blindly led, who had signed this trashy petition.

Sir Robert Peel announced that a supplementary grant of £10,000 would be proposed in addition to the usual education grant of £30,000. On the 9th of August, Sir Robert Peel moved an address for the erection of monuments to Sir Sidney Smith, Lord de Saumarez, and Lord Exmouth, three of our greatest naval heroes; and Mr. Hawes withdrew a motion for adding the names of Herschel, Watt, and Davy, hoping that Sir Robert himself would undertake that duty. The parliament was prorogued on the 12th of August, when her majesty deeply lamented the military reverses to the westward of the Indus, but turned with satisfaction to the gallant defence of Jellalabad, and a decisive victory in the field, which had evidently proved the courage and discipline of the European and native troops, and the skill and fortitude of their distinguished commander.

Lord Ellenborough arrived in India on the 28th of February, 1842. His earliest attention was claimed by the state of affairs on the Indus, where the Ameers of Scinde continued in a doubtful attitude, and by the state of affairs in Afghan-

istan, where our troops were remaining in a state of uncertainty as to their future operations, and where our captives were putting up earnest, but at times almost hopeless prayers for their liberation; a liberation which even the women of the party seem to have thought was not to be obtained by negotiation and ransom, but by hard fighting. At first his lordship adopted the notion of his predecessor; and it is said that positive orders were more than once drawn up for recalling all our troops, and commencing a treaty with men whom no treaty could bind. But the clear head and high heart of the Duke of Wellington revolted at this line of policy; and the English people, and assuredly the majority of the cabinet, felt with the duke. The indignation of the country would have broken up the new ministry if Lord Ellenborough had followed the plan which he had been induced to entertain, momentarily and reluctantly, by the advice of others, whose seat of sensibility was mostly in the purse. In a happy moment, his lordship in council pronounced the word "Forward," and from that moment our prestige began to brighten, our disgrace to be remedied. We speak not of vengeance for the past; this was not, and never ought to have been, a war of retaliation and revenge; it was a war of retrieval, a war of liberation. It was a war for retrieving all that was most valuable to us—our national character, the honour of our arms, and the spell of our prestige, wanting which we should have had not one, but

circumstances, had continued to hold out manfully behind the shattered walls of Jellalabad. His sorties had continued to be frequent and successful. Through these sorties many of Akbar Khan's people were killed and wounded, while many were so disheartened that they quitted the camp, and turned their faces towards their own homes. On the morning of the 7th of April, Sale defeated Akbar Khan in the open field, with only a part of the troops that chief boasted he had been blockading. The defeat was signal: two Afghan standards, four guns which had been lost by our Cabool army, and nearly all Akbar Khan's ordnance, stores, tents, &c., were taken. Next to Sale himself, the heroes of this day were Lieutenant-colonel Dennie, Colonel Monteith, Captains Broadfoot, Fenwick, Pattison, Oldfield, and Havelock, and Lieutenant Mayne. Unhappily the gallant Dennie was killed. But notwithstanding this victory, the situation of the brigade was still very precarious, for the provisions were almost all consumed. At last, on Friday the 15th of April, Sale received the joyful intelligence that Pollock's camp was at Ali Boghan, only eight miles from Jellalabad, and that he would certainly be at Jellalabad in the course of the next morning. And accordingly, on Saturday morning, at about eight o'clock, General Pollock and his force arrived, under a salute of seventeen guns. On Sunday, the day after this opportune arrival, there were three distinct shocks of earth-

quake; but they did no harm, and passed almost unnoticed by our rejoicing soldiers. Pollock had soundly beaten the Afghans in the Khyber Pass and above it; and before he reached Jellalabad, the beleaguered army had dissolved, or was in rapid flight, although only a few days before, the Afghans, to deceive and distress some of their English captives, had been waving their hands and shouting, "Shabash (Bravo)! All is over. The Feringee army has been cut up in the Khyber Pass, and all their guns taken, by Sultan Jan."

As soon as it was known that General Pollock intended



JELLALABAD.—From Masson's *Narrative of Journeys in Beloochistan, &c*

many wars to undertake in the East; it was a war for releasing in the only becoming manner the sons and daughters of Britain from a foul Afghan imprisonment.

In the meanwhile, General Sale, in spite of doubt and uncertainty as to the orders he might receive, and in spite of many other discouraging

to advance and not to retreat, the people of Cabool began to desert the city in great numbers, from dread of our army; and all efforts to induce the people to meet and oppose Pollock on his march were found to be fruitless. Many of the khans either struck away for their own mountains, or agreed that some one or two

of the English prisoners should be released, in order to open friendly negotiations with the victorious general. Just at this crisis Major-general Elphinstone breathed his last. By this time several of the Afghan chiefs were waging war upon one another in the neighbourhood of Cabool. It was difficult, even with the best management, to occupy the country, but happily there was no longer any intention of so doing; it was easy to regain possession of Cabool and to scatter the divided, distracted army of such an anarchic people. The sirdar now offered to release the English ladies and children unconditionally; but his despatch was intercepted and destroyed by one of the khans. One security for the lives at least of these interesting prisoners was in the circumstance that the women

and children of Akbar's own family and some other chiefs were in our hands; and the barbarians thought that if they murdered their captives, we should retaliate by murdering ours. The Shah Sujah was treacherously assassinated by one Sujah Dowlah, "a handsome, quiet-looking man," who now tried hard to persuade the English prisoners that the shah had played us false, and that he had committed a praiseworthy act in getting rid of him. The assassin's real motive was to avenge an attempt which had been made upon the life of Akbar by an agent of Shah Sujah; but many of these Afghan chiefs had become wonderfully anxious to prove that they had always been the friends of the English, and that it was the late shah who made the insurrection, and called upon all the mountain tribes to destroy our army on its retreat through the passes. Shah Sujah's youngest son, Futty Jung, was proclaimed king by one party, while the Barukzies formed another party and opposed him. From the close neighbourhood of Cabool, the civil or clan warfare was carried into the very heart of that city; and Futty Jung, who hoped to retain the treasure, if not the throne, of his father, the murdered shah, was closely besieged in the Balla Hissar. On the 6th of June, a mine was sprung under one of the towers of the Balla Hissar; but the storming party was driven back with loss. On the following day, however, Futty Jung, finding his people disinclined to support him any longer, made terms with Akbar and the other chiefs, giving up a tower in the Balla Hissar to each of them, and retaining for himself possession of the royal residence. By this strange bargain, the citadel was

now divided between four rival tribes, the Dooranees, the Barukzies, the Ghilzies, and the Kuzzilbashes, each being represented by its chief



FORT OF ALI MUSJID, in the Khyber Pass¹

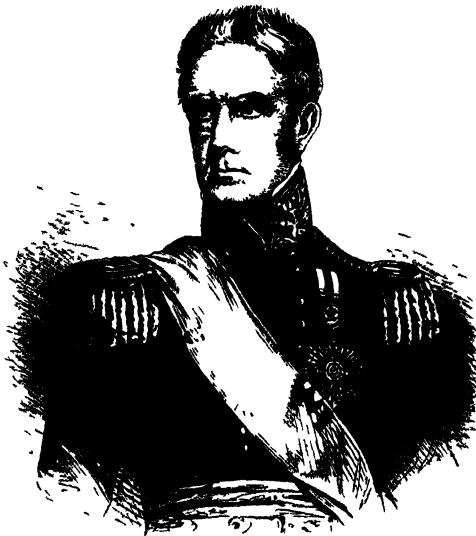
On the 2d of June news was brought to Cabool that General Nott had gained a great victory under the walls of Kandahar, and had killed 2000 of the Afghans. Nott also succeeded in seizing the person of Sufter Jung, a rebel son of Shah Sujah, who had fought against his own father, and had now been fighting against the English. The sirdar, Akbar Khan, now told the English prisoners at Cabool that he intended shortly to march to Jellalabad, in order to pay his respects to General Pollock¹. But from other quarters the Englishmen heard that he meditated carrying them all off to the banks of the Oxus. This was the man who, after concluding the treaty with Macnaghten, girded on his weapons on the morning of the departure of our army from Cabool, and told the assembled chiefs he was going to slay all the Feringee dogs; and this was the man who, on the passage of our troops through the Khoord Cabool Pass, followed with some chiefs in the rear, and in the same breath called to the Afghans in Persian (a language which many of our officers and people understood) to desist from firing, and in *Pushtoo* (a dialect of the country which none of our people understood) to continue firing at the infidel dogs. On the 29th of June there was a shock of an earthquake at Cabool, and Futty Jung, the Dooranee chief, and youngest son of Shah Sujah, was proclaimed king by Akbar, who contented himself for the present with the title of vizier. But it would appear that our Indian government had begun once more to lose heart and confidence, and to doubt whether the

¹ From Lieutenant W. Barr's "Journal of a March from Delhi to Peshawer, and thence to Cabool."

united forces should retire at once to the country below the Khyber Pass, or take a forward position near Jellalabad, or advance upon Cabool. After his junction with Sale, Pollock halted more than four months at Jellalabad. During this long time the troops at Jellalabad were much afflicted with dysentery and other sicknesses, arising chiefly from bad food, improper or inadequate clothing, and the want of tents. A great many died, and all the surviving soldiers were impatient to quit the place, and march forward for the Afghan capital. If this long delay was partly owing to the difficulty of procuring cattle and forwarding supplies and reinforcements, it is pretty clear that it was also partly owing to the indecision of government, and to the want of proper energy and ability in the commissariat, and (*perhaps*) in some other branches of the service. At length, about the middle of July, General Pollock received instructions to advance on Cabool as quick as possible. Pollock, however, could not, or at least did not, move until the 20th of August. Akbar Khan declared, with an expression of savage determina-

equally successful; and both armies were satisfactorily proving that our soldiers, both native and European, only required proper commanders to be invincible. It was now expected that General Nott would reach Cabool early in September, and that Pollock would be only a few days after him.

On the 25th of August, Akbar kept his threat by hurrying off his prisoners towards Toorkistan. On the 3d of September, the unhappy party reached Bameean, every indignity having been heaped upon them by the way. There they were halted under a fort until fresh orders should be received from the terrible Akbar. On the 11th, the khan who had charge of them, and who was "a man that would do anything for money," signed an agreement with five English officers, who promised to give him 20,000 rupees and to insure him 1000 rupees per month. After this the khan hoisted the flag of defiance on the walls of the fort, telling the prisoners that they had no longer anything to fear—that they should not be carried into Toorkistan—that they should remain where they were until General Pollock should send a detachment to convey them back to Cabool in honour and safety. He had told the prisoners that he had received Akbar's orders to hurry them on their journey, and to butcher all the sick, and all those for whom there was no conveyance. Several neighbouring chiefs, knowing how matters were going at Cabool, and hoping to obtain some English money, came over to the fort and tendered their allegiance to Major Pottinger. Some two or three of them with much form and ceremony swore on the Koran to be faithful to Major Pottinger and his companions, who appointed a commissariat officer, and resolved, in case Akbar should send troops against them, to hold out till they should receive assistance, even though they should be reduced to eat the rats and mice, of which they had a grand stock in the old fort. On the 15th a letter was received at the fort, stating that all Cabool had risen against Akbar the new vizier; that Nott's and Pollock's forces were coming up rapidly; that Akbar had fled to the Zoba Mountains, and that other chiefs who dreaded alike the vengeance of the English soldiers and the vengeance of the people of Cabool had fled in various directions, and with only a few followers. It was also reported that a light English force had been sent to their aid, and was making forced marches towards the fort. Upon this Major Pottinger, no longer a prisoner, but acting as a viceroy and making grants of land and assigning revenues to the hill chiefs, to keep them in good humour, determined to quit the old fort, and return with the whole party along the road leading to Cabool.



GENERAL POLLOCK.—From a portrait by G. H. Ford.

tion in his countenance, that so surely as Pollock advanced, he would take all his English prisoners into Toorkistan, and make presents of them to the different chiefs of that wild country. On the 15th of August, General Nott, at the head of about 7000 men, had left Kandahar for Ghuznee and Cabool, a distance of about 300 miles. Sultan Jan started to meet Nott before he should reach Ghuznee; he fancied he was going to a certain victory, but he sustained a complete defeat; and, Ghuznee being retaken, Nott continued his advance. General Pollock was

The party, attended by a number of chiefs, set out from the fort on the 16th, hoping to meet their English friends on the road, and at the same time fearing that they might encounter some of Akbar's desperate and vindictive people.



1, KHAN SHEREEN KHAN, Chief of the Juwansheer Kuzzilbashies.
2 GHOLAM MAHOMED, a Barukzye.—From Hart's Character and Costume of Afghanistan.

As they encamped for the first evening they received a letter stating that Pollock's force, after fighting from midday to midnight, had eventually forced the Khoord Cabool Pass, and had charged the enemy as far as the hills on the north side of the city of Cabool; that Nott had attacked and pursued them in another direction; that the late Kuzzilbashies and adherents of the late Shah Sujah had made themselves complete masters of the city, and that Akbar Khan, Sultan Jan Achmed Khan, and other hostile khans, who had all been defeated, were nowhere to be heard of. This was pleasant news; but at the same time our returning prisoners were alarmed by the report that 2000 horse were following them up to recapture them and to carry them into the deserts beyond the Oxus. But their last fears were soon removed: at two o'clock in the morning of the 17th they were roused from their slumber by the arrival of a horseman with a letter from Sir Richmond Shakespear, who was coming with 600 mounted Kuzzilbashies to meet them. The party set off early, and at mid-day reached some deserted forts at the foot of a mountain-pass. They were sitting under the walls of one of three forts, sheltering themselves from the sun, when, at three o'clock, Sir Richmond arrived, and was received with heartfelt pleasure. "That we should have escaped unhurt, with so many delicate women, young chil-

dren, and tender infants, through such numerous perils, fatigues, and privations, and, above all, from the hands of such merciless enemies as Akbar Khan and his Ghilzie confederates, seemed at first too much for the senses to realize, nor could even the most thoughtless among us fail to recognize and acknowledge in all that had befallen us the distinguishing grace and protecting providence of a forbearing and merciful God. We now for the first time learned that General Pollock had reached Cabool on the 15th, where one of his first acts had been to hasten the departure of the Kuzzilbashies to our aid by a donation of 10,000 rupees." But the party had still a long march and a difficult country between them and Cabool, and were not without their apprehensions that Akbar might make some desperate effort to recover his lost prey. Sir R. Shakespear forwarded an earnest request to General Pollock that more troops might instantly be sent out to their support, as the pass of Suffed Khak, through which they must march, was reported to be occupied by a band of marauders. At the same time it was determined that the party should move forward by forced marches, for which every facility was afforded by the Kuzzilbash chiefs in supplying them with fresh horses. On the dawn of the 18th the march was resumed. On the 20th they met an English officer, who gave them the welcome intelligence that General Sale's brigade was only a few miles distant on the road to meet them. A little farther on they saw a body of her majesty's 3d dragoons with a squadron of Bengal cavalry quietly picketed in some fields.

"All doubt was now at an end; we were once more under the safeguard of the British troops. General Sale was there in person; and his happiness at regaining his long-lost wife and daughter may be imagined. The gallant veteran's countenance was an index of his feelings; and apathetic indeed must have been the heart that failed to sympathize with his holy joy. The camp was still a few miles further on; and we performed a procession of glad spirits, as we moved along towards the pass of Suffed Khak, whose heights we could discern crowned with British bayonets. This we found to be a part of the brave 13th light infantry (Sale's own regiment), who, as the ladies successively ascended the hill, raised three hearty cheers to each of them; sounds never to be forgotten, producing a thrill of ecstasy through the whole frame. The mountain guns, under Captain Backhouse, would cap the scene with a royal salute."¹ It was a glorious rescue—it was a scene worthy of an epic; but alas! that the number of the rescued should be so small. On

¹ Lady Sale's Journal.

the 21st, the happy party marched out with Sale's brigade to Killa Kazee, a village close to Cabool. At two P.M. on the same day they started for General Pollock's camp on the plain east of Cabool. Near the tomb of the Emperor Baber they passed



MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ROBERT SALE, G.C.B.

From a portrait by H. Moseley.

General Nott's camp. Thence their road lay through the city. The streets were almost empty, and unnatural silence prevailed—a striking contrast to the noise and bustle of former days! They passed the spot where Burnes's house had stood. That house was now a heap of rubbish, and its pretty garden a desolate waste. It was here that the unfortunate man used to look forward with enthusiasm to the rapid melioration of the country through the agency of British enterprise and skill—an unreal, fatal vision, and awfully dissipated! The party entered General Pollock's camp at sunset. Again the artillery uttered its boisterous notes of welcome, and old friends crowded around with their hearty congratulations. For the present their cup of joy was full. But when the first rapture was over, rest and reflection, and the scenes which surrounded them, must have brought to their recollection the thousands that had perished, and the many friends whose bones lay bleaching on the mountain-tops or in the dreadful passes.

Victory was now perched upon the British standard wherever it was raised. One of the most confident predictions of those who had pleaded for the continuance of the Company's commercial charter and monopoly of the China trade had been verified: from the moment that that trade had been thrown open, there had been nothing but dissension and confusion at Canton,

and the quarrel had led to war, and to the invasion of the Celestial empire by a British fleet and army. The victories obtained in the rivers and on the plains of China were rapidly rumoured throughout India, and produced a salutary impression among the mountains of Afghanistan, as well as in other neighbouring countries. They warned all our enemies that our enterprise, our strength, and resources were undiminished. On 21st of September Lord Ellenborough, being then at Simla, in the Himalaya Mountains, issued an encouraging proclamation, in which he stated that he had that very day received the reports of three victories: one obtained on the 30th of August, by Major-general Nott over 12,000 Afghans, thirty-eight miles to the southward of Ghuznee; one, on the 8th of September, by Major-general Pollock, over the troops of Mahomed Akbar Khan and the Ghilzie chiefs at Jugdulluk; and one on the 16th of June, by the expedition on the coast of China, within the mouth of the river Yang-tse-Kiang. Before the news of these victories reached them, our old foes in Nepal and some of the Rajpoot tribes in Central India were in a state of violent excitement, and even the Burmese looked anxiously towards China, and seemed more than half determined to try again the fortune of war by invading Arracan and the Tenasserim provinces. But as soon as it was known that the Chinese were fleeing before our troops, that the Afghans had been beaten in every encounter, and that Cabool had been recaptured, both Burmese and Nepaulese, together with every independent state in Hindoostan, gave up their warlike projects, and hastened to make the most amicable professions to our Indian government.

We had, however, had quite enough of Afghan connections and interferences; there was no longer a man that could be deluded by a vision like that of Burnes; we had released our captives, retrieved the honour of our arms, and by a series of well-ordered and gloriously-fought battles reduced the Afghan pride; and therefore it was felt that we had little else to do than to vacate a country which we ought never to have entered, and leave the khans to their own anarchy. On the 1st of October, Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation from Simla, the spot where Lord Auckland had declared the war, stating that the disasters in Afghanistan having been avenged upon every scene of past misfortune, the British troops would be withdrawn to the Sutlej. And on the 12th of October, after destroying the fortifications, the grand bazaar, two mosques, and other buildings, the British troops evacuated Cabool, and marched off in three divisions for Jellalabad, where they arrived in the course of the 22d and the two following days. On Saturday

the 17th of December, they reached the right bank of the Sutlej opposite Ferozepoor, and crossed that river on a bridge of boats decorated with flags. Reviews, dinners, and balls ensued. In proposing the health of General Sale and the brave garrison of Jellalabad, Lord Ellenborough said that it was they who had saved the name and fame of the British empire in India. At a grand review on the 31st of December, 24,000 troops and 102 guns were mustered on this one spot.

Of the war in China we can say but little. The Chinese displayed on some occasions a wonderful

degree of fortitude and power of endurance, but of a brilliant or active courage they gave very few proofs; and their military science was altogether contemptible. A very small British army might have marched through and through the empire. Most of our troops that were actually engaged were ashamed of their easy conquest. There seemed hardly anything for them to do but to move forward and kill or scatter.

The quarrel had commenced almost immediately after the alteration of the East India Company's charter which threw open the trade of China as well as that of India. The Chinese



PORTS AND BATTERIES OF THE BOCCA TIGRIS or First Pass of the Canton River — From a view by Lieutenant Martin, 42d Madras Native Infantry

were enormous consumers of opium, and their supplies were almost wholly derived from Hindoostan. The moral government of the Celestial empire, shocked at the prevalence of this worst kind of drunkenness, had long been fulminating terrible prohibitory decrees; but the Chinamen could not do without their opium; the ministers of the law themselves had a very general love for the drug, and the mandarins and other officers employed to stop the importation went shares with those who carried on the contraband trade. The experienced sea-captains, factors, and servants of the East India Company had carried on this trade with great quietness and decorum, and with the order and regularity of an organized body. But the case was different when the free trade began, and when unpractised and impatient skippers and supercargoes repaired to Canton. The court of Peking was roused into a fury by the proceedings of these men; the opium on shore was seized, together with a large amount of British property; and the tea trade and all other trade with us was declared to be suspended. In 1834 Lord Grey's government sent out Lord Napier to Canton to act as chief superintendent, and to endeavour to make up the quarrel. The

viceroi of Canton refused to receive Lord Napier's letter, and peremptorily ordered his lordship to quit the factory, which is situated outside of Canton. His lordship refused either to communicate with the viceroi as a petitioner, or to leave the factory. On the 7th of September, 1834, as his majesty's ships the *Andromache* and *Imogene* were approaching the Bogue or Bocca Tigris passage, they were surrounded by a crowd of war-junks, and assailed by a fire from the Chinese forts. The English reserved their fire until they were in the narrowest part of the passage, and close to the paltry mud-forts, when a broadside or two did their business, silencing them and scattering the panic-stricken Chinese. Unfortunately Lord Napier was seized by a dangerous illness, which, with a difference of opinion that arose among the members of the British chambers of commerce, induced him to return to Macao, where he died on the 11th of October, 1834.

As soon as his lordship's decease was known, the chamber of commerce at Canton named Mr. John Francis Davis, formerly of the East India Company's factory at Canton, to succeed him as chief superintendent. But all the experience of

Mr. Davis was of no avail; and our relations remained in a most unsatisfactory state, the tea trade being at times allowed and at times suspended, and a rancorous feeling being displayed by the Chinese government on all occasions. Conflicts took place in the Canton river between some of our boats and the Chinese junks; and the authorities issued an order to interdict the supply of food of any kind to the British in China. On the 5th of January, 1840, an imperial edict directed all trade with England to cease for ever. On the 9th of June an attempt was made to burn all the English ships by means of fire-junks. A few days after this attempt Sir Gordon Bremer, who had arrived with fifteen men-of-war, four steamers, and 4000 soldiers, published a notice of the blockade of Canton. Something like a regular war now commenced. Part of our fleet proceeded northward on the east coast of China. On the 5th of July, 1840, the city of Shanghai, in Chusan, surrendered to our squadron. A blockade was now established from Ningpo to the mouth of the Keang River. In the month of November of that same year the court of Peking condescended to despatch plenipotentiaries to treat with us for a peace; but in the beginning of January, 1841, while we were in the midst of the negotiations, an edict was issued that all Englishmen and all English ships should be destroyed wherever they should be met with near China. In consequence of this violation of the existing truce, our soldiers and sailors attacked and carried several forts. As they were on the point of attacking the forts at the Bocca Tigris, Admiral Kwan solicited another armistice, which was granted by Captain Elliott. On the 23d of February, after other instances of bad faith, hostilities were resumed against China. Formal possession was now taken of Hong-Kong. The Bogue forts were reduced by Sir Gordon Bremer; Admiral Kwan was killed, 459 guns were captured, and the British squadron proceeded up the river to Canton. At the beginning of March, 1841, Sir Hugh Gough arrived with some slight reinforcements, and took the command of our land forces. On the 18th of March the Chinese having fired upon a flag of truce, our forces destroyed a flotilla of boats, captured 461 guns, threatened the city of Canton, and took possession of the foreign factories. After another hollow truce the Chinese attacked the British ships with great guns and fire-works. Our forces then began operations in earnest; and by the 25th of May all the heights behind Canton were occupied by British troops, and ninety more guns were taken. On the 27th of May the authorities of Canton agreed to pay six millions of dollars for the ransom of the city, in consequence of which another cessation of hostilities was granted. The

Chinese paid five millions and gave security for the remainder on the 31st of May. Our forces were then withdrawn from Canton, and the British trade was re-opened.

In the month of August of the same year (1841), Sir Henry Pottinger arrived in the Macao Roads, as sole plenipotentiary of her Britannic majesty. As the Chinese would not agree to terms, and as their government still urged the extermination of the English, war was renewed with vigour. On the 27th of August the town of Amoy was captured by the British, who there destroyed 296 guns. In October Shanghai was taken after some resistance, and Ningpo without any resistance at all. The total number of Chinese guns taken or destroyed during these operations was immense. In December Yu-Yaon, Tszেকে, and Foong-hua were carried by the British. On the 10th of March, 1842, from 10,000 to 12,000 Chinese troops, in attempting to recover Ningpo and Shanghai, were repulsed with great slaughter; and five days after this, 8000 of them were routed with great loss in an entrenched camp. After a few other operations the British squadron entered the great river Keang, capturing Wooshung and Shanghai, and taking more than 230 guns. On the 21st of July the city of Chin-Keang was stormed and taken. Here something like a bold stand was made; and when the victory of the British was decided, the Tartar general and many of the garrison committed suicide. By the 9th of August, our whole fleet being arrived at Nankin, a most populous city, and second in consequence only to Peking, the disembarkation of our troops was begun. Here the proud court of Peking fairly gave up the struggle. On the 20th of August, Chinese plenipotentiaries waited with a rare and becoming humility on Sir Henry Pottinger on board the *Cornwallis*; and in that ship, and in front of the walls of Nankin, a treaty of peace was signed on the 29th of August, 1842. The most important provisions of the treaty were the following:—

1. Lasting peace and friendship between the two empires.
2. China to pay 21,000,000 dollars in the course of the present and three succeeding years.
3. The ports of Canton, Amoy, Foo-choo-Foo, Ningpo, and Shanghai to be thrown open to British merchants; consular officers to be appointed to reside at them; and regular and just tariffs of import and export, as well as inland transit duties, to be established and published.
4. The island of Hong-Kong to be ceded in perpetuity to her Britannic majesty, her heirs and successors.
5. All subjects of her Britannic majesty, whether natives of Europe or India, who may be confined in any part of the Chinese empire, to be unconditionally released.
6. An act of full and entire amnesty to be published by the emperor,

under his imperial sign-manual and seal, to all Chinese subjects, on account of their having held service under the British government or its officers. 7. Correspondence to be conducted on terms of perfect equality between the officers of both governments.

A part of the money being paid on the 8th of August, her Britannic majesty's forces began to retire from Nankin and the Grand Canal.

At home the commencement of 1843 presented no trivial amount or complication of difficulties to parliament, which was opened by commission on the 2d of February. While the depression was going on under which our manufactures had for some time been suffering to a large extent, the reduced price of agricultural produce, and the alarm occasioned by the late tariff, were pressing heavily upon the agricultural population. All this had produced such a diminution in the revenue, that the decrease of the first quarter ending on the 5th of January (1843), amounted to £1,379,057, threatening a formidable falling off of £5,500,000 before the close of the year, unless this downward progress could be arrested. The remedy, too, must be immediate, as the resources to be derived from the income-tax were as yet a remote contingency. These considerations were fully announced in the royal speech with which parliament was opened, and the several cures that were proposed and deliberated in both houses continued to occupy the greater part of the session.

The first of these proposals was that of Lord Howick, on the 18th of February; and tracing the whole evil to the restrictions on importation that still remained unrepealed, he desired their complete abrogation, even though the fixed duty of eight shillings on the importation of corn should still be suffered to remain. As it was evident, however, that his proposal was meant to elicit from ministers their final resolution upon the corn laws, this premature inquiry was met by Sir Robert Peel with the declaration, that no proposition regarding the corn laws would be brought forward during this session.

The next remedy was that proposed by the philanthropic Lord Ashley, whose exertions had hitherto been directed to the sufferings of our manufacturing population. Tracing these sufferings to the want of proper instruction, by which the ignorance of our youth in the manufacturing districts was ripened into a manhood of crime, he moved on the 28th of February that "an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that her majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the benefits and blessings of a moral and religious education among the working classes of

her people." The statements of his lordship elicited from Sir James Graham an account of the government scheme of education which was to be engrafted on the factory bill. The experiment was intended to be commenced, in the first instance, only upon those who would be brought within the control of what some might call compulsory education—pauper and factory children. For these, district schools throughout the country were to be erected and endowed, under the superintendence of the clergy of the Established church, while provision was to be made for the children of dissenters and Roman Catholics under ministers of their own persuasion. But these educational clauses excited universal alarm: the Established church thought that too much was conceded to dissenters; while the dissenters, whose influence was strongest in the manufacturing towns, repudiated everything like a compulsory education, in favour of their own cherished voluntary principle. And all this was mingled with the common dread of these two great parties against Popery, which was thus to be introduced as an educational element, and whose seductions they feared, notwithstanding the precautions against attempts at proselytizing with which the bill was guarded. Petitions accordingly from every quarter were poured into the house, expressed in language so decided against this government system of education, and so numerous signed, that Sir James Graham was compelled to give up the educational clauses. Shorn of these the factory bill was introduced at the beginning of the next session, and passed with little opposition.

Another plan for the relief of the industrious classes was that proposed by Mr. Charles Buller, on the 8th of April. In a speech of great eloquence, he advocated colonization upon a more extensive scale than had hitherto been practised, as the best method of diverting our superfluous labouring population into more profitable fields than our own country could supply. This he suggested, not as the only remedy, but as a supplement to other remedies which had been, or still might be adopted. In this way, colonization might be an auxiliary to free trade; and for its purposes, we had the vast regions of Canada and Australia, which needed only capital and labour to cover them with abundant harvests, and which, wanting that capital and labour, were wasting their productive energies in nourishing weeds, or, at best, in giving shelter to beasts. He added, that when he asked the house to colonize, he only asked them to carry the superfluity of part of one country to repair the deficiency of the other—to cultivate the desert, by supplying to it the means that lay idle here; in one word, "to convey the plough to the field, the workman to

his work, the hungry to his food." To this it was answered, that emigration from Britain to Canada was already forestalled by the United States, so that our colonial market in that quarter was fully pre-occupied; and that as for Australia, its colonization was going on as prosperously as it could well bear, through the means which had been adopted by government. It was thought better in the meantime to leave the matter as it stood, and Mr. Buller was persuaded to withdraw the motion. The time was drawing nigh when even a stronger motive than a mere desire to escape the evils of poverty would attract our population by tens of thousands to the antipodes.

While parliament was thus employed in legislating for the sufferings of the lower classes, the

condition of Ireland was growing worse than ever. It had been announced by O'Connell that 1843 "is, and shall be the year of repeal;" and to effect this purpose, monster meetings were assembled throughout the country, and speeches of the most inflammable description addressed to the myriads, to make the cry of "repeal" the national watchword. Of these formidable open-air meetings, one held at Trim, on the 16th of March, mustered 30,000 attendants; another at Mullingar, on the 14th of May (Sunday), at which the Roman Catholic priests took a very prominent part, exhibited an array of at least 100,000 Irishmen. But even these were insignificant compared with the meeting held at Tara on the 15th of August, at which the numbers assembled were calculated at from 250,000 to



THE BANK OF IRELAND, College Green, formerly the Irish Parliament House, and TRINITY COLLEGE, Dublin

1,000,000. This increase of physical force was also matched by the increased violence of the harangues; and here O'Connell, forgetting his former caution and swept away by the whirlwind he had evoked, spoke boldly out. He told this immense auditory that before twelve months elapsed, the parliament would be in College Green, Dublin—that not twelve months could possibly elapse without hurrahs for the parliament there being heard over the land. This permission also for Ireland to govern itself was to be obtained, or rather *extorted* from the queen; and after showing how this was to be accomplished, he exclaimed, "The Irish parliament will then assemble, and I defy all the generals, old and young, and all the old women in pantaloons [thus he spoke of the ministry and the Duke of Wellington];—nay, I defy all the chivalry of the earth, to take away that parliament from us again." Such dangerous musters, appealed to in such language, and the plans that were organized at them against the proceedings of law and government, by electing magistrates

of their own, could no longer be tolerated, and accordingly, when a monster meeting was announced to be held at Clontarf on the 8th of October, to which the audience was invited to repair in military order and array, it was prohibited by a proclamation of the lord-lieutenant and council. This prohibition, backed by the horse, foot, and artillery that were moved to the spot on the morning of the day appointed, obliged the agitator to countermand his advertisement, and the few who assembled could only gaze in silence upon the imposing military force that held possession of every approach to the ground. A few days after, O'Connell himself and his chief coadjutors were arrested on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. He was soon liberated from prison on giving recognizances for his appearance on trial; but the promptitude with which his career had been stopped seems to have deprived him of his wonted audacity, and his loud tone was lowered. He abjured the use of the word "Saxon," with which he had been wont to brand his enemies, and agreed to curtail his demands

to a local parliament for local purposes; while his popular cry of "no surrender" was changed into exhortations of peace and endurance. Having raised the people of Ireland to that stormy point at which he was unable to control them, he perhaps felt grateful that government had so opportunely stepped in and relieved him from such a charge.

This year of Irish monster meetings that loomed so terribly in the view of England, was also distinguished by an event in Scotland immeasurably less noisy and obtrusive, but more important in its character and results. We allude to that event well known under the name of the Disruption, in which the popular agitations in Scotland had now terminated, and by which the national church, to the astonishment and dismay of our rulers, was most unexpectedly rent asunder. The causes and particulars of this important religious movement, however, more properly belong to another department of our history.

The small principality of Wales was not without its share of the commotions of this stormy period. Annoyed by the heavy tolls that had been established upon their highways, and the abuses of the turnpike system in general, the Welsh population, so early as 1839, had taken the law into their own hands, and the demolition of toll-gates, from a reckless frolic, was now organized into a formidable conspiracy. The mode also in which it was conducted, was in full accordance with the wild, ardent, poetic character that distinguishes every branch of the Celtic race, in contrast to the deliberate methodical Saxon. The chief leader, either real or fictitious, of this turnpike warfare—the Captain Rock of the Welsh—was generally personated by a man dressed in woman's clothes, by whom the scriptural blessing of Rebekah was adopted, "Let thy seed possess the gate of those who hate them." The attack was made at midnight; the rioters, under the name of Rebekah's daughters, were disguised like women, and being generally on horseback, they were the better able to make their onslaughts by surprise, as well as escape pursuit. Their arrivals were only announced by the sudden blowing of horns and firing of guns; a few minutes sufficed them for hewing down the gates and demolishing the toll-houses, and before rescue could arrive, they had vanished, no one could tell whither. To rebuild these barriers was only to provoke a fresh demolition, so that the trustees desisted in despair, and left the roads free of toll. These outrages, and the success that crowned them, owing to the want of a paid constabulary, expanded the ambition of the rioters, and Rebekah, from being a mere destroyer of toll-bars, was now regarded as a national champion, by whom every

Welsh grievance was to be redressed. High rents and vexatious taxes were in like manner to be swept away; and the daughters of Rebekah were joined by the discontented of every class, until, to the number of several thousands, they attacked the town of Caermarthen at mid-day, on



REBEKAH'S DAUGHTERS, OR REBECAITES.
From the Illustrated London News, 1844.

the 10th of June, carried it by storm, and proceeded to destroy the workhouse, toll-houses, and every other building that stood in the way of a thorough reform. In the midst of this uproar, a troop of the 4th Light Dragoons from Cardiff rode into Caermarthen, and by a vigorous use of the flat of their swords drove the rioters out of the town, besides taking above a hundred prisoners, and several horses which the riders had abandoned in their flight. Such a daring outbreak, and its political character, roused the attention of government, and a large military force, as well as a strong body of the London police, were sent into the disaffected districts. This formidable demonstration, with the promise which government held out of an examination and redress of grievances, gradually restored the tranquillity of Wales, and the principality subsided into one of the most orderly portions of the British empire.

The commencement of 1844 gave a better promise of national prosperity than the previous year. The revenue had increased, trade was reviving, while the applications of pauperism for public relief had considerably diminished. As a necessary consequence of this state of matters, the public confidence in the ministry was strengthened, and gave additional stability to their tenure of office. Still, however, there was the serious drawback of Irish insubordination; and above all, there was to be settled the pending

trial of the chief offender, Daniel O'Connell, who was reckoned too dangerous to be let loose, as well as too powerful to be punished.

This trial had commenced on the 2d of November (1843), but it was soon apparent that every resource in the shape of obstruction and delay would be adopted by his supporters to defeat the ends of justice. The first difficulty was to impanel a jury; and in preparing the jury lists, it was found that two slips of paper, containing sixty-three names, had somehow slipped aside, and could not be found. The trial had to be postponed till the 15th of January, 1844, and when the eventful day arrived, O'Connell repaired to the Four Courts, not like a culprit but a conqueror, conducted by the lord-mayor of Dublin in his state carriage, and escorted by a train of twenty-three other carriages. The difficulty of finding twelve honest and impartial jurymen to try a man so supported was quickly felt, and of those who were selected for the dangerous office, some pleaded ill-health, others that their Christian names had been erroneously set down, and all paid the forfeiture of £50 for non-appearance, except one, who gave in a *bonâ fide* affidavit of disqualification from sickness. The various modes of defeating the institution of trial by jury were neither new nor difficult to find in this unhappy country. After a proper jury had been found and impanelled, and after the case for the prosecution, which lasted eleven days, had been ended, another long interval was dragged out; but notwithstanding every expedient of procrastination, Mr. O'Connell, on the 12th of February, was pronounced guilty on the whole eleven counts of the indictment. The sentence, which was not given till the 30th of May, was a mild one. He was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, to pay a fine of £2000, and to enter into recognizances to keep the peace for seven years. On being allowed to choose his place of imprisonment, Mr. O'Connell selected the Richmond Penitentiary in Dublin, and in that quiet retreat he found a shelter from those numerous deputations that sought, but were not allowed to wait upon him, as well as from those desperate responsibilities which he could never hope to fulfil. So eager nevertheless had he been to keep up appearances, and retire with boast and bravado, that immediately after his trial, he issued a manifesto to the people of Ireland full of his old promises, and ending with, "Keep the peace for six months, or at the most, twelve months longer, and you shall have the parliament in College Green again."

As O'Connell had appealed against his sentence, declaring that he was guiltless of conspiracy, and that justice had not been done to him, his appeal was brought before the House of

Lords, who referred it to twelve judges. By them, six of the eleven counts were declared bad or informal, and in the end, the judgment was reversed on the 6th of September. The greater part of the English public were astonished that such an agitator should again be let loose upon them, and condemned the decision of the law-lords as an ill-judged piece of clemency. But apart from moral considerations, this verdict was a deed of true political wisdom. It saved the government from the degradation of waging a united war against an adversary already sixty-nine years old, and who would soon be where "the wicked cease from troubling." It would pluck from his head that crown of martyrdom which he knew how to make more formidable than a kingly diadem. It would bereave him of his strongest argument derived from the injustice and oppression of the government. His exit from prison was a triumph, but it was the last of his many triumphs; and though for two years longer he continued to haunt the political arena, it was with woefully diminished influence, and a continually abating popularity. At last, with brain and constitution equally worn out, and weary of the sight of those national miseries which his selfish ambition had so much tended to multiply, he retired to the Continent, and died at Rome, in May, 1847. Even already Ireland has almost ceased to remember this object of her recent idolatry.

The financial statement of 1844 exhibited a gratifying contrast to the previous year, the surplus amounting to £2,700,000. This was a sufficient cure for the public depression, and the reaction was manifested in various demands for a greater reduction of taxes than could be safely conceded. These demands were met by the statement that the income-tax was the only resource upon which we could fall back, while its continuance beyond the next year was as yet uncertain. In the meantime, no further abatement could be made than in a few duties to the amount of £387,000 per annum.

The chief conflict on the question of reduction was about the sugar duties, an annual subject of parliamentary controversy, and for which the present season was especially favourable. On one side was the West India interest, and on the other the free-traders. The first were opposed to an extension of the limits from which our sugar was derived; while the other party declared that as our consumption of the article was continually on the increase, and slave-grown sugar would find its own way, we might as well avail ourselves of the opportunity, as allow it to pass away to other countries. The proposal of Mr. Goulburn, chancellor of the exchequer, was brought forward in a way by which government hoped to steer clear of both parties. He offered

two resolutions. By the first of these, sugar certified to be of the growth of countries where no slave-labour was employed, should be admitted at a duty of 34s., the colonial duty remaining as formerly at 24s.: by the second the queen should be authorized, at the same date, to proceed upon any existing treaties by which she was bound to admit the sugars of any foreign country, on the same footing as that of the most favoured nation. This last proposal had a reference to the Brazilian treaty, which would expire in November. To this, an amendment was moved by Lord John Russell to the following effect:—"That towards raising the supply granted to her majesty, instead of the duties of customs now payable on sugar, there shall be charged on brown or muscovado sugar, the produce of any foreign country, the sum of 34s. the cwt. After a keen debate between the advocates of the free trade and the West India interest, Lord John Russell's amendment was rejected, the government motion being carried by 197 against 128.

A bill grounded upon these resolutions was brought forward after a few days, and read a second time without discussion. The battle of this question of years was reserved for the 14th of June, when the House of Commons resolved itself into a committee on the sugar-duties bill. On the morning of that day there had been a meeting of the West India body in the city, and there it had been agreed to propose a lowering of the duty on colonial and East India sugar to 20s. instead of the 24s. proposed by government, and a raising of the duty on white-clayed, or equivalent to white-clayed sugar, of foreign free-labour produce to 34s., the duty on brown or clayed being 30s. The motion to that effect before the committee of the house was made by Mr. Miles. The discussion that ensued produced a strange commingling of Whigs, young England champions, and free-trade advocates, who for the moment were at one, with Lord John Russell at their head; and such was the weight of their opposition, that there was a majority of twenty against ministers. It was thought that Sir Robert Peel must yield or resign office, but he did neither; on the contrary, he resolved to confront the storm which was expected to ensue on the 17th, to which day the committee was adjourned. He advocated the bill, not only as favourable to free-trade principles, but the cause of humanity also, by the discouragement of slave-labour. "The proposal of government," he stated, "having been negatived by the house, the government had reconsidered the subject, and now felt it necessary to adhere to their own measure. They considered that the consumer would not be benefited; that the West Indians would not be protected; and that the

revenue would be seriously injured." As for the rival motion, it was not one differing in principle but only in amounts, and therefore the house would incur no disgrace in reconsidering its late vote, and freeing the government from its embarrassment, if they still had confidence in its administration. It was also worthy of notice that next year would be an important one in regard to questions of commerce and finance, and that this bill was a fitting preparation. It was read a third time in a committee of 488, and passed by a majority of twenty-two.

Another important measure of this year was the reduction of the 3½ per cents., a public relief which the general prosperity and growing prospects of the country fully warranted. The plan for this purpose, which had for some time been in expectation, was clearly and satisfactorily brought forward by Mr. Goulburn on the 8th of March. He stated the importance of the measure, in which government was called to the unprecedented task of legislating upon such a sum as £250,000,000, and by which the power and resources of the country, and the stability of its commercial faith, would be so signally illustrated. He then announced his intention of proposing the conversion of the 3½ into a 3¼ per cent. stock, which should continue till October, 1854, after which period the interest should be reduced to 3 per cent.; with a guarantee, that for twenty years from 1854, there should be no further reduction. By this measure the public, from October, 1844 to 1854, would save £625,000 per annum, and from and after 1854, £1,250,000 per annum. He proposed also to make such arrangements, that from next October the payments of interest would be nearly equalized in each quarter. The intimation was received with repeated cheers from both sides of the house. The bill which was brought in to give effect to the resolution was read a third time, and passed on the 19th of March.

Besides this, an important monetary measure which employed the attention of the present session, was the bill introduced by Sir Robert Peel for the regulation of the Bank of England, and for the administration of banking concerns in general. By an act of parliament passed in 1833, conferring certain privileges upon the Bank of England, a promise was made not only that the charter of that institution should expire in 1855, but also, that the legislature should have the power of revising the charter ten years earlier, by giving six months' notice. On this occasion, nothing could exceed the lucid exposition of Sir Robert Peel, and the able manner in which he carried through the bill, except the importance of the movement itself, which constitutes a great era in our commercial history. After stating his

views respecting the principle for the regulation of a paper currency, he thus announced the outline of the practical measures which he was prepared to recommend: "I propose, with respect to the Bank of England, that there should be an actual separation of the two departments of issue and banking—that there should be different officers to each, and a different system of account. I likewise propose that to the issue department should be transferred the whole amount of bullion now in possession of the Bank, and that the issue of bank-notes should hereafter take place on two foundations, and two foundations only—first, on a definite amount of securities, and after that, exclusively upon bullion; so that the action of the public would, in this latter respect, govern the amount of the circulation. There will be no power in the Bank to issue notes on deposits and discount of bills, and the issue department will have to place to the credit of the banking department the amount of notes which the issue department by law will be entitled to issue. With respect to the banking business of the Bank," continued Sir Robert, "I propose that it should be governed on precisely the same principles as would regulate any other body dealing with Bank of England notes. The fixed amount of securities on which I propose that the Bank of England should issue notes is £14,000,000, and the whole of the remainder of the circulation is to be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion. I propose that there should be a complete and periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, both of the banking and issue department, as tending to increase the credit of the Bank, and to prevent panic and needless alarm. I would therefore enact by law, that there should be returned to the government a weekly account of the issue of notes by the Bank of England—of the amount of bullion, of the fluctuations of the bullion, of the amount of deposits—in short, an account of every transaction both in the issue department and the banking department of the Bank of England; and that the government should forthwith publish unreservedly and weekly a full account of the circulation of the Bank."

After explaining the regulations which he proposed for private banks, his purpose in these being to limit competition, and confine their issues to a specified amount, Sir Robert proceeded to show how his plan of issue allowed to the Bank of England to the extent of a fixed amount of securities—to £14,000,000, and his proposed rate of interest upon it would accomplish the saving to government which he had already announced. This whole plan was embodied in a series of eleven resolutions, that were put from the chair, while the members

were earnestly entreated by Sir Robert to refrain from pronouncing any immediate opinion upon them, but allow time for them to be printed, and deliberately discussed. This took place on the 20th of May. The resolutions were passed, and the bill founded upon them was ratified on the 19th of July, with the general concurrence of all parties. It established a most important commercial change, by separating the business of the Bank of England into two distinct departments, the one for the issue of notes, and the other for ordinary banking transactions, thus assimilating them into one body. Not the least praise bestowed upon the author of the plan was, that at a season of great political temptation he had avoided more showy and immediate remedies, and adopted one which, though certain to work well, required the slow and silent operation of years to realize its promised benefits.

Of the other parliamentary proceedings of this session, the most important was an "act for the regulation of railways." Only ten years before this period there had been nothing more than one railway in England, being that between Manchester and Liverpool; but during the short interval, railway speculation had grown into a downright national mania, threatening nothing short of national bankruptcy. Not even the South Sea bubble had held out more alluring promises, absorbed more capital, or produced so many terrible reverses; and the only consolation in the present case arose from the perspective benefits which the public would ultimately obtain from the present wild outlay. Already several of the great lines were opened for public travel or conveyance, and as the railway companies availed themselves of their exclusive possession by laying on exorbitant fares, the subject had excited the attention of parliament at an early part of the session, and a select committee was appointed to consider the best means of adapting this rapidly-growing system of communication to the wants of the country. In consequence of the committee's decision, a bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone, containing enactments calculated to protect the public from the injurious effects of monopoly and combination, by vesting in the government a control over such companies as should thereafter come to solicit powers from parliament—and a right of intervention for the reduction of charges and tolls, whenever the profits of a railway should exceed the maximum of ten per cent. on the capital. As this bill so nearly touched the pockets of the principal companies, the opposition of their representatives in the house was both keen and formidable, but after certain concessions, the bill eventually passed and was established into law.

Another important act was introduced this

year for the regulation of joint-stock companies. It was at length found necessary to arrest the growth of those fraudulent and fictitious schemes which annually sprang up for the ruin of impatient money-holders, and in this bill the regulations for testing the character and establishing the responsibility of such companies were sufficiently stringent. A strict system of registration was established for the names and descriptions of the projectors, and the nature and objects of their undertaking were required to be enrolled at an office established for the purpose. Reports also were to be annually returned to parliament of such companies as should have come within the provisions of the act during the year.

In this year of monster meetings and O'Connell trials, certain concessions were granted to Ireland, by which it was hoped the religious asperity of its national insubordination would be materially softened. The first of these was the Irish charitable trusts bill, relative to the management and supervision of charitable bequests and donations in Ireland. Hitherto, while nearly three-fourths of such bequests were Roman Catholic endowments, the board under which their government and administration had been placed was almost exclusively Protestant. By the bill that was now passed after a third reading, the master of the rolls, the chief baron of the exchequer, and the judges of the prerogative court (of whom, two out of these three officers might be Roman Catholics) were to be *ex officio* members of the board, one or the other of them pre-

siding according to his rank. The board itself was to consist of ten commissioners appointed by the crown, of whom five should be Protestants, and five Roman Catholics. If a question also arose as to the status or condition of any person who had a right, or claimed to have a right, under any of the deeds of bequest brought before the commissioners, such question should be referred, if the claimant were a Roman Catholic, to the five commissioners of that persuasion, whose certificate of decision should be received as evidence. Even this, however, was not enough to satisfy the Irish members and their adherents, who complained that their clergy had not been consulted about this bill, nor their bishops recognized in it by their official titles. Another concession granted by parliament, was the abolition of certain penal acts still retained in the statute-book, although they had fallen into desuetude. These were the severe enactments of the periods of Elizabeth, James I. and William and Mary, which, however needful in their day, or in accordance with the spirit of the age, were thought disgraceful to the nineteenth century, as well as utterly unfit either for the protection of Protestantism or the subversion of Popery—being chiefly an array of pains and penalties inflicted upon Roman Catholic observances, or upon a refusal to comply with those of the Established church. Still, it was not without difficulty that the bill passed, for it was suspected by many zealous Protestants to be nothing more than a prelude to the entire emancipation of Popery.

CHAPTER X—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1845—1847.

VICTORIA.

Prosperous state of affairs at the beginning of 1845—Sir Robert Peel's proposal to continue the income-tax—His statement of the expediency of the measure—Its connection with the reduction of other taxes—Continued discussions on Sir Robert's proposal—Proposed amendments—Peel's bill passed for the continuation of the income-tax three years longer—Modifications made in the sugar duties—Other financial measures—Bills passed for the regulation of banking in Scotland and Ireland—Bill passed for the amendment of the poor laws in Scotland—The college of Maynooth—Peel's Maynooth improvement bill—His proposal for the endowment of the college—Opposition to the bill, and arguments against it—It is passed—Sir James Graham's plan for the education of Ireland by the establishment of three colleges—Discussion of its merits—Passing of the bill—Opposition to it from the Papists of Ireland—Continuing demand for the total abolition of the corn laws—Growing strength of the demand—Proceedings of the anti-corn-law league—Its certainty of success—The trial hastened by the failure of the crops—It commences at the opening of parliament in 1846—Promise given by the partial opening of the ports—Peel's speech for the abolition of the corn laws—His preliminary proposals—His plan of gradual previous to total abolition—Keenness of the following debates—Attempts to postpone the discussion—Peel's bill for abolition of the corn laws carried in the commons—It is passed through the House of Lords—Famine and tumults in Ireland—Bill for the suppression of assassination and violence in Ireland—It passes through the lords, but is rejected by the commons—Sir Robert Peel resigns office—His eulogy of Cobden in connection with corn-law abolition—Lord John Russell becomes premier—Remedies adopted for the Irish famine—Measures for the moral improvement of the army—Indian affairs—

Ameers of Soinde—Their hostility and treachery to the British in the Afghan war—War commenced between the Ameers and the British—Victories of Sir Charles Napier at Meeanee and Dubba—The Ameers banished—Soinde annexed to our Indian empire—War with the Mahrattas—They are defeated and reduced to subjection—Complaints against the government of Lord Ellenborough in India—He is recalled—Invasion of the Company's territories by the Sikhs—They are defeated at Moodkee—Their defeat at Ferozeshah—Their further defeats at Aliwal and Sobraon—The Sikhs driven across the Sutlej—The Punjab occupied by the British—They take possession of Lahore.



HE reaction of prosperity which had commenced with 1844 still continued to go onward in the following year. The plentiful harvest of the previous autumn was accompanied with a brisk trade, and abundant labour for the working classes; while 200 new railway schemes that applied for legislation under the terms of the late act, was a gratifying proof of the abundance of capital. No political disquietude also was at hand to cloud the public tranquillity, with the exception of the anti-corn-law league, which still continued its active operations, and occasioned uneasy surmises to the agricultural interest. This state of public prosperity was an honourable attestation to the wise measures of Sir Robert Peel, and an encouragement to persevere in his plans of financial reform; and in bringing forward his full scheme before a committee of ways and means, which he did so early as the 14th of February, the house was not a little startled at its boldness. He was aware that retrenchment was the popular cry, and the income-tax the chief ground of complaint; and as this tax was the sheet-anchor of his financial system, his chief aim was to secure its continuation. This would accomplish the double purpose of carrying on the efficient performance of the public service, and affording means for the repeal of other taxes that pressed still more heavily upon industry and commercial enterprise. He showed that by the 5th of April there would be a surplus revenue in the exchequer of at least five millions, while in twelve months, should the income-tax be discontinued, there would be instead a deficiency. Would they then run the risk, he asked, of that deficiency, by making no provision to meet it? or would they postpone the consideration of that deficiency till the year 1846? He proceeded to show the intentions of ministers if the tax was continued. It would enable them to effect a reduction of the taxes on sugar: it would secure the abolition of export duties on all articles whatever, coal not excepted: it would effect the removal of the duties from 430 out of the 813 raw materials used in manufactures. To facilitate the transfer of property, he intended to repeal the auction duty altogether. He also purposed to relieve the article of glass from all excise duty. All this he would be enabled to do without utterly absorbing the sur-

plus, if the income-tax was continued. That continuance he now proposed for three years longer, and such was his confidence in the elasticity of the country, that he thought after that period the tax might be safely dispensed with. This comprehensive financial plan, which occupied three hours and a half in the detail, was so luminous, and withal so promising, that it was welcomed with cheers from every part of the house. In the debate upon it on the 17th of February, Mr. Roebuck pointed out at great length the unequal, vexatious, and inquisitorial nature of the income-tax, and thought it a worse evil than those imposts of which it would accomplish the removal. He therefore proposed a modification of Sir Robert Peel's motion, by omitting the words "professions, trades, and offices," not with a view of excluding them from taxation altogether, but of subjecting them hereafter to a discriminating scheme of taxation which he had already described. This amendment was rejected by a majority of 208, only 55 voting in its favour, while 263 were against it.

The discussion was renewed on the 5th of March, and several amendments were proposed and rejected. One was by Mr. Bernal Osborne, for the committal of the bill on that day three months; another by Mr. Curteis, to make the duration of the tax two years instead of three. The strongest argument in favour of such a system of direct taxation was made in the course of this discussion by Lord Sandon. "One great objection urged against the income-tax," he declared, "had been the danger of driving away capital from the country, by imposing so large a weight of taxation upon it: but when a tax of three per cent. raised £5,000,000 or £6,000,000, there was not much danger of capital being driven away; and a tax of this nature enabled the house to dispense with a large amount of indirect taxation. It was our duty to endeavour to provide occupation and employment for the labouring classes; and how was this to be effected? By promoting the industry of the country in every possible way. But what was the great obstruction to the progress of industry? The taxes imposed upon every description of manufacture through the customs and excise. Direct taxation, therefore, was becoming more and more advisable; and he should be extremely sorry if the house pledged itself to abandon the income-tax at any given period."

After the bill had passed through committee, the discussion was renewed on the 10th of March, by Mr. Charles Buller proposing the following amendment:—"That the circumstances under which the renewal of the income-tax is at present



JOHN A. ROEBUCK, M.P.—From a photograph by Mayall

proposed, are such as to render it exceedingly improbable that parliament will have the power of dispensing with its continuance at the end of three years; and that it is therefore the duty of this house to take care that the tax be imposed in a form in which its operation shall be less unequal and inquisitorial than it now is." He complained that of the 430 articles to be struck out of the tariff through the continuance of the tax, there was not one which entered materially into the common consumption of the poorer classes; and that if Sir Robert Peel had dealt frankly with the articles of tea, coffee, malt, soap, spirits, and wines, he might have so benefited the revenue, by diminishing their price, as to make up the amount of the loss at the end of three years by the increase of consumption. In answer, it was stated by the chancellor of exchequer, that the articles Mr. Buller had specified, produced a revenue of £16,000,000 or £17,000,000, and the amendment was outvoted by 240 against 128. After several other proposed amendments were rejected, the bill was read a third time, and passed through the commons. On the moving of the third reading in the lords, on the 4th of April, the arguments of the other house were recapitulated, and considerable discussion ensued, and there, as in the commons, the chief apprehension was, that the operation of the tax could not be limited to three years, but in all probability would become a fixture. Still, however, no better remedy could be discovered; and after some bitter remarks from the

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Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Ashburton, the bill was read a third time and passed.

On the 24th of February, when the house had resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, Mr. M. Gibson, for the purpose of obtaining a permanent settlement of the sugar duties, moved a resolution as an amendment upon that of Sir Robert Peel, that no arrangement of those duties would be satisfactory and permanent which did not involve an equalization of duty on foreign and colonial sugar. In opposition to this proposal it was shown, that the cost of cultivating sugar in Jamaica was twice as much as in Cuba and Brazil; and that by equalizing the duties, we would ruin the West Indies, and defeat the abolition of the slave-trade. Accordingly, this amendment was rejected by a very large majority. Other discussions and debates upon the sugar duties followed in the committee, mixed with the subject of the corn laws and protective duties in general, upon which several amendments were proposed, but without effect. At last, a compromise was made by Sir Robert Peel: he consented to arrangements by which compensation should be made for the drawback of the duty upon the sugar now remaining in the queen's warehouses, so that no loss should be sustained by its owners; and this being granted, his new scale of duties upon the various sugars, foreign and colonial, was passed through the committee. The same demur occurred upon the other parts of the tariff, and chiefly the repeal of the auction-duties, but with a similar result. These financial measures having thus passed in committee, were equally successful in parliament, although not without keen discussions that extended over the whole course of the session. It was indeed a most important financial revolution, in which the interests of agriculture, free trade, manufactures, and the condition of the working classes were deeply at stake. The great annual question of the corn laws and free trade reappeared this year also in a variety of motions, which were successively defeated; but a terrible advocate had already entered into the contest, who, in the following year, was to plead against corn-law restrictions with arguments which no statesmanship could refute.

In the course of this year, Sir Robert Peel brought in two bills for the regulation of banking in Scotland and Ireland, conformable to those principles on which he had remodelled the banking system in England. His chief aim in these proposed changes was to add to the stability of the circulation in the United Kingdom, and to make Ireland and Scotland bear their proportionable share of guarantee against commercial panic. The bills passed through both houses

with little discussion, and were put into operation at the beginning of the next year.

Another important proceeding of 1845, in relation to Scotland, was a bill for the amendment of the poor's laws in that country. The introduction of the mercantile spirit had multiplied the poverty, as well as increased the wealth of the lower orders; but unfortunately, the manly spirit of pride and independence which so greatly distinguished the Scottish character, had considerably abated with the yearly multiplication of paupers, and private benevolence could no longer suffice for the evil. Legal provisions had therefore been devised, but these were only first experiments, that were soon found too insufficient for the growing amount of destitution. The chief contents of the new bill to remedy this defect, which was introduced by the Lord-advocate of Scotland, were thus enumerated by Sir James Graham at the second reading:—"Provisions had been made for local inspection; for a responsible supervision by a board sitting in the capital; for perfect publicity; for an appeal to the sheriff of the county (which was given for the first time) on the part of the poor man to whom relief was refused; for empowering the sheriff to order relief, and if the quantum were too small, for a power of appeal, without expense, to the central board, which had complete power, without limitation, to deal with the quantum of relief; on the other hand, if the quantum was too great, the parish might appeal to the court of session. Provisions had also been made for subscription to lunatic asylums; for the education of pauper children; for medical attendance; and for building poorhouses in large cities." This bill encountered considerable opposition in its various stages, chiefly from the Scottish members, but after undergoing a few slight alterations, it passed through the third reading without division.

One question, which if not the most important, was certainly the keenest subject of parliamentary debate during the session of 1845, demands particular notice. As usual in such cases, Ireland was the object of controversy. To provide a liberal education for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland at home, instead of compelling them to repair to foreign universities, where it was thought they would acquire political principles hostile to the British government, it had been usual for fifty years to vote an annual grant of £9000 to the college of Maynooth. This provision, however, had long been complained of as inadequate for the salaries of ten professors, and the sustenance of 250 free students which the college possessed, and the whole Roman Catholic prelatry had urgently petitioned for a greatly increased allowance. But even the original boon of £9000 had always been watched with an evil

eye by Protestants of every class throughout the three kingdoms, those of Ireland regarding it as a tampering with the Protestant ascendancy in that country, and those of England and Scotland as the commencement of a recognition of full equality between Popery and Protestantism. Hence the astonishment with which the proposal of Sir Robert Peel was received to raise this £9000 per annum to £30,000, and the loud outcry of popular remonstrance as well as thunder-shower of petitions that at any earlier period would have extinguished it at the outset.

In proposing his famous "Maynooth improvement bill," Sir Robert stated that there were three courses left open to her majesty's ministers. These were, to continue the present system and grant without alteration—to discontinue the vote altogether, and repudiate all connection with Maynooth—or liberally to adopt, improve, and extend the institution provided for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood. The first of these he regarded as the worst of the three. It was, he alleged, a profession on the part of government of providing a religious education for the spiritual instructors of Ireland, and at the same time so limiting the allowance as to be unfit for such a purpose. Besides, if it was a violation of principle to provide instruction for the Roman Catholic clergy, that guilt was incurred already. He then came to the second alternative; and to show that we could not abandon all connection with Maynooth, he went into a history of the origin of that connection, which had taken place at a less liberal period, and when Irish Popery was more strictly coerced. "These disabilities," he added, "have been now entirely removed; the Irish Roman Catholics are placed upon the same footing with ourselves in respect to civil privileges: should we now, in opposition to the acts of our predecessors, say to them—'That favour which was granted to you under the administration of Mr. Pitt must now be withheld from you on account of a conscientious scruple?' Sir, I should deprecate the effect of such a step. It is not the amount of the pecuniary grant; what I deprecate is the animus it would indicate. We should never be able to convince those from whom the grant was withheld that those scruples which were not felt by George III., by Mr. Pitt, by the exclusively Protestant legislature of their own country, are now felt to such a degree by us that we must abandon the connection which was thus formed."

After having disposed of the first and second alternative, Sir Robert proceeded to the third, which was, to improve the institution of Maynooth, and elevate its tone of education; and he explained the proposal which he was commissioned to make on the part of government. The

salaries of the professors were to be raised, 500 free students were to be supported, and the buildings of the college were to be put into repair. For all this the sum of £40,920 would in the first instance be necessary, and afterwards a grant, of course not an annual one, of £30,000 a year. (There was no small amount of astonishment expressed at this intimation.) The laws regulating land purchase were also to be waived in favour of the institution, so that the trustees, who hitherto could purchase only to the amount of £1000 per annum, and that for the term of their own lives, were now to be incorporated, and enabled "to hold real property to the extent of £3000 per annum, should members of the Roman Catholic faith be desirous to contribute to the college so incorporated." Finally, the repairs of the college buildings were to be consigned to the board of works like other public structures, and to be included in its annual estimates. After unfolding the whole of his plan, which seemed to fall like an explosive shell among the Protestant members, Sir Robert craved permission to bring in his bill, and ended with the following words:—"We do not think that there is any violation of conscientious scruples involved in our proposition. We believe that it is perfectly compatible to hold steadfast the profession of our faith without wavering, and at the same time to improve the education and to elevate the character of those who—do what you will—pass this measure or refuse it—must be the spiritual guides and religious instructors of millions of your fellow-countrymen." Lord John Russell supported the motion, and permission to bring the bill into parliament was carried by a majority of 102, the votes in its favour being 216, and against it 114.

The more zealous portion of the Protestant party had been so taken by surprise that no system of opposition had been organized, and they now began to muster their whole strength for the conflict of the second reading. Churchmen and dissenters were at one against a common enemy; while such of the Tory party as cared little for the theological merits of the question, were opposed to the Maynooth bill on political grounds. It was recognized by all as a preliminary step to the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, and as such, hostile and dangerous alike to church and state. Public meetings were therefore called during the interval, petitions were sent from almost every part of the United Kingdom, and amongst the various elections which took place at the period the sentiments of the candidates upon the Maynooth endowment was the test of their fitness for a seat in parliament.

Under these auspices the second reading was moved on the 11th of April, and the discussion it occasioned occupied six evenings in the lower

house, and three in the upper. It would be as difficult therefore to give even a summary of these debates, as to convey a distinct idea of their warmth and asperity. Against the bill it was argued, that to endow the college of Maynooth was to provide a stronghold and training ground for Irish agitation—that it would be a nursery for Jesuits—that a state could not conscientiously support two different religions, as if both were equally true—that by this measure of endowment we established and rooted Popery in Ireland, even though a time should come when the Irish themselves might be inclined to quit it—and that in spite of all the promises they had given as the price of former concessions, the Irish bishops persisted in their invasions on the Protestant constitution, and would still continue their hostility. The arguments on the other side were derived in like manner from considerations of conscience and political expediency; but as these are so well understood from their continual iteration and reiteration on the public ear, it is unnecessary even to revert to them. It is enough to say that they were in many cases liable to a twofold application, and might as justly have been used by the opposite party as by the advocates for the endowment. Thus even as the means of stilling Irish agitation, upon which the plea of the ministers was founded, it was shown that on the other hand this boon to Popery would stir up a more formidable agitation still throughout the collected Protestantism of Great Britain. On a division there were for the second reading 323, and against it 176, giving a majority for the bill of 147. On the order of the day being read for going into committee, Mr. Ward moved the following resolution for amendment:—"That it is the opinion of this house, that any provision to be made for the purposes of the present bill ought to be taken from the funds already applicable to ecclesiastical purposes in Ireland." He proceeded to show that, while the Scottish church, with its 3,000,000 of Presbyterians, was endowed to the amount of not more than £200,000, the Irish Protestant church, of not more than 850,000 Protestants, received a revenue of £650,000. Out of this endowment the required amount might be subtracted for Maynooth, while such a proceeding, he alleged, would neutralize the dissenting opposition. After a long debate, Mr. Ward's motion was rejected by a large majority, and the endowment was authorized to be paid from the consolidated fund. The third reading of the bill was introduced, after several amendments had been rejected by large majorities; and the debate, which was continued during three nights, was chiefly occupied with arguments of a theological nature. When the votes were taken, there appeared for the bill 317, and against it 184.

The bill having thus passed through the commons, was introduced for a second reading into the lords by the Duke of Wellington, on the 2d of June. The lay advocates in its favour, besides the Great Captain, were the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Brougham, Lord Beaumont, the Marquis of Normanby, Earl Spencer, the Earl of St. Germain, Lord Monteagle, and Lord Stanley; its opponents were the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Manchester, Lord Roden, the Earl of Winchelsea, and the Earl of Charleville. Among the spiritual lords were the Bishops of Norwich and St. David's, and the Archbishop of Dublin, who spoke in favour of the bill; while against it were the Bishops of London, Exeter, and Cashel. The fact of these right reverend speakers arrayed on opposite sides, as well as the arguments they adduced, showed how singularly the questions, both of conscience and political expediency, could be applied equally for and against the measure. The chief indication of novelty which the discussion in the House of Lords presented, arose from the amendment proposed by Lord Roden for an inquiry by a select committee into the character of the education given at Maynooth. He declared he had ascertained from the textbooks and history of the institution, that the instruction given was of anti social and disloyal tendency; and he knew that the people of England, who had petitioned so largely against this bill, would not be satisfied if investigation were refused. He was seconded by the Bishop of London, who declared that the principles taught at Maynooth were calculated to make the priests democrats in politics, and bigots in religion; and he asked, "Could they be justified, then, in endowing a college to carry out such a system, without at least exacting from those to be intrusted with the working of it some distinct and definite pledge that the system itself should be improved, and its worst features removed?" Lord Roden's amendment was rejected by a large majority. At the third reading of the bill, it was passed by 181 votes against 50. Before it passed, an amendment was proposed by the Earl of Winchelsea, that its operation should be limited to a period of three years, but without effect. In this way, the endowment of the college of Maynooth seemed to be so permanently established, that nothing short of a great national revolution could dislodge it. From that period to the present, it has never ceased to be a bone of contention and ground of remonstrance, which every year becomes louder and stronger, giving its best advocates good cause to apprehend that they have gone too far, and legislated too rashly.

Even this measure, however, was felt at the time to be not enough. The college endowment

was but a step in advance to a more complete system of Irish education, and that education was to be so utterly unconnected with religious distinctions, as to be equally adapted to Protestant and Papist. The plan was developed by Sir James Graham, the secretary of state for the



SIR JAMES GRAHAM, Bart
From a portrait by S. W. Reynolds

home department, upon the 9th of May. After pointing out the manner in which the plan for the separate religious instruction of the children of the two parties of religionists had failed in the schools established in Ireland upon that principle, and how much better the national schools had succeeded where religious teaching was left to the care of parents and guardians, he proposed that these educational advantages, at present limited to the lower classes of the Irish, should be also imparted to the middle and upper ranks. How this could be accomplished he showed from the example of the colleges of London and Edinburgh, where there was an absence of all religious tests, and he proposed that three provincial institutions should be established in Ireland upon the same principle. Coming to details, he proposed that Cork should be the site of the college for the south, Galway or Limerick for the west, and Derry or Belfast for the north of Ireland—that government should grant £100,000 for their erection—and that an endowment of £8000 should be assigned annually to each. In these, all the sciences were to be taught except theology, although there should be no restriction to the voluntary endowment of a professorship of theology in any of these colleges, the attendance upon its lectures to be voluntary also.

Such is but an outline of the new government plan of education for Ireland, by which it was hoped all religious parties would be brought

together upon the neutral ground of a secular education. It was welcomed by the liberal Irish members, and not opposed by their conservative brethren. The chief opposition was from Sir Robert Inglis, who denounced the plan as one of the most gigantic schemes of godless education that had ever been proposed in any country. The bill was introduced; and at the second reading, on the 2d of June, the discussion, which was a very full one, extended over two nights. The main argument against it was that of Sir Robert Inglis—that it was a “gigantic scheme of godless education,” because it was dissociated from religious instruction. Sir James Graham stated in reply, that no measure for the theological instruction of the students in these colleges by a state endowment would be acceptable to the people of Ireland—that a Roman Catholic college in the south, a Presbyterian college in the north, and a Church of England college in Dublin, would only give a fresh stimulus to those religious disturbances which distracted Ireland too much already. Lord John Russell thought the plan not conciliatory enough towards the Roman Catholics, and proposed that the bill should be made more palatable to their clergy, by admitting them to a share in the legislation of these colleges. During this second reading, Mr. O’Connell, who had hitherto been absent in Ireland, appeared in his place in the house, and denounced the bill, because it did not make religion the basis of education. This, he thought, should be established not only as a part, but an essential part of the proposed system. He declared that if they did not attend to the advice of the Irish Roman Catholic prelates, their colleges could not succeed—that the advice of these prelates had been in several cases disregarded, and that they considered the bill a “penal and revolting measure.” “Penal!” said Sir James Graham. “Yes; they considered it penal,” replied the enfeebled agitator, “because they were deprived of doing the duty they owed to the principles of their religion.” He demanded a hall in which each particular religion should be taught, and in this he was seconded by Lord John Russell, who brought forward the proposal as an amendment, which was negatived by 117 to 42. Other proposals of amendment followed on several parts of the bill, but with a similar result. At the discussion on the third reading, a collateral subject was introduced upon the revenues and management of Trinity College, as to whether that college had not been originally founded with Roman Catholic property, and whether its income, funds, and offices might not be extended to Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. It was meant to bring the question of equality between the two religions in Ireland to the test, and to show, that in spite of all the pro-

fessions of the present ministry, they were still as far from this even-handed dealing as before. Thus a fresh element of controversy was introduced, with which the subject of the new colleges and the exclusion of religious endowments and theological chairs was curiously blended. The majority for the third reading was 177 to 26, and the bill was read and passed accordingly. In the lords it passed with less discussion and equal unanimity.

In this way the “godless colleges” were established in Ireland. The unlucky term, derived from the expression of Sir Robert Inglis, which was bandied to and fro during the debate, both among the commons and lords, was at last caught and secured by the fanatics of the Romish faith, by whom it was perpetuated as a nickname. This was not all; for so staunch was the opposition of the Irish priesthood, that they obtained from Pope Pius IX. a rescript prohibiting the attendance of the Roman Catholic youths of Ireland upon these secular, and therefore profane educational institutions. Thus the resistance came not from zealous Protestantism, as in the case of the endowment of Maynooth, but from the bigotry of Popery and the ambition of the Irish priesthood, that could tolerate no system of instruction in which they were not allowed to rule. The course of these colleges has therefore as yet been a struggle, while the chances seem equal of success or failure. As was originally proposed, £100,000 was granted for the erection of the buildings, and £18,000 per annum for salaries to office-bearers, and prizes for the encouragement of learning. As in colleges of more recent establishment, both in Britain and the Continent, neither the professors nor students reside within the walls. The appointment and removal of professors is vested in the crown.

While these were the principal movements of this year, a great national calamity was at work for the accomplishment of changes which political combinations could not effect. We allude to the agricultural blight of this year’s harvest, and the important concessions which it extorted from the powerful landed interest of Great Britain.

As yet, we have taken little notice of the long opposition carried on against the corn laws, and the insufficiency of Sir Robert Peel’s sliding scale to allay it. A total abolition of restrictions on the importation of corn was demanded, and nothing short of this would satisfy the claimants. To add also to the intensity of the contest, a strong feeling of political rivalry was largely mixed with it, so that it was considered a life-and-death question between the two great parties into which British society was divided—the agricultural and the manufacturing communities. While

the question was kept alive in parliament by the annual motion of Mr. Villiers for a committee of the whole house to consider the operation of the corn-importing duties, with a view to their immediate abolition, the subject was agitated powerfully throughout the kingdom, by the publications of the anti-corn-law league, and the orators whom they employed to explain and advocate their principles in out-of-door meetings and in-door assemblies. In 1841, this league found a voice in parliament through Mr. Richard Cobden, the pupil of Colonel Thompson in



RICHARD COBDEN, M.P. — From a lithographic portrait.

the anti-corn-law theory, who was now its active promulgator and eloquent champion; and the statements he made of the distresses of the working classes through the dearness of bread, had compelled the most unreflecting to listen. He was ably seconded by Mr. Bright, whose powers of political oratory had found a successful theme. Gradually, also, even farmers, magistrates, country squires and noblemen had their eyes opened to a new light which they had hitherto resisted, and they either joined the league, or ceased to oppose it. A still more formidable movement of this new power in the state was in the metropolis itself, where it effected such a lodgment as enabled it to influence every portion of the empire. The usual halls of London were at last found insufficient for the crowds that thronged to the meetings of the anti-corn-law league; and in 1843, Drury Lane was engaged for Wednesday evenings, where tales as tragic, and far more true, of sorrow and suffering were recorded to the thousands who weekly assembled there, than even Shakspeare or Otway had embodied, or Kean and Kemble acted. But a still

more important benefit to the cause than "overflowing houses" in the capital was found in the counties. To this department the league having turned its scrutiny, was soon enabled to discover that the landed interest was strongest there, through the multiplication of the franchise among the tenants-at-will, by which votes could be fraudulently increased to almost any amount. To counteract the predominance which the registration gave to the landed interest in the counties, it was necessary to make the forty-shilling clause available for the manufacturing community, according to the terms of the reform bill. And this could be honestly, as well as easily done. A house entitled to confer the franchise might be purchased for £30 or £40, while such articles of purchase were in plenty throughout the English market. Upon this idea Mr Cobden and the league acted. Offices were opened by the association for registering such land and houses, surveying the property, and preparing the conveyance deeds, so that the purchaser, freed from the business technicalities, had only to make his election of the place he wished to occupy, and pay down the money. In this way, not merely voters were secured, but industrious artisans and labourers were taught to invest their savings in a way best fitted to secure their independence.

Such was now the progress of the anti-corn-law league that the repeal of the restrictions was only a question of time. Years might yet elapse; but the result was so certain, that it was already contemplated as inevitable by the staunchest of the old protectionists. Unmistakeable symptoms of wavering and yielding had also been manifesting themselves in parliament. Sir James Graham had declared his conviction that the prosperity of the landed interest was dependent on that of the other classes, and that a gradual repeal of protection would be necessary for agriculture: all that he deprecated was suddenness. Lord John Russell had also declared, that he could no longer recommend the fixed duty of 8s., which he had proposed in 1841: and that should he advocate the cause again, it would be for a smaller duty of 4s., 5s., or 6s., but not less than 4s. While statesmen were thus toying with a question which they felt they must sooner or later give up, the elements themselves, or rather Him whom they obey, had pronounced its doom. A cold and late spring was succeeded by cold and long-continued showers, which threatened such a defective harvest, that a larger amount of imported grain would be necessary; and unless the American market should be overstocked, our hopes of assistance from any European market would be vain. But it was not the grain alone that suffered by the chilling rain: 'brown spots

began to appear upon the leaves of the potato; these were soon found to be indications of rotteness at the root; and at last it was discovered that the potato crop of Ireland and the greater part of Britain, the sole or chief subsistence of millions, was ruined by a mysterious blight such as had never before been witnessed. A national famine was not only inevitable but at hand, and the remedy must be immediate. Towards the close of the year the question of all parties was, "Are the ports to be opened?" Meetings of cabinet councils were frequent; but although Sir Robert Peel yielded to the stern necessity, and was desirous that the ports should be thrown open, so many of his colleagues were opposed to the measure, that in December he resigned. Upon this, Lord John Russell was summoned by her majesty for the purpose of forming a new government; but this offer he was obliged to decline, as his party were in a considerable minority in the commons. Lord Stanley and other dissentients to the corn-law abolition had previously received the same offer, but had declined it. The only hope after all seemed to lie in the retired minister, who at his departure had expressed his willingness to support, in his private capacity, whatever new minister might be appointed, in effecting a settlement of the question of the corn laws; and upon this declaration her majesty acted when the other applications had failed. On the 19th of December therefore, only a few days after he had left office, Sir Robert Peel was induced to resume it; and having reconstructed his cabinet, he was now prepared to encounter the noblest, but at the same time the most difficult task which a public character can perform—to tell the world that all his lifetime he had been the champion and advocate of a great political fallacy; and that now, he recanted under the force of circumstances which had convinced him of the error of his choice.

All was in readiness for that great political conflict, that had occupied so many years of preparation, and on which so many interests were at stake. Parliament was opened on the 19th of January, 1846, by the queen in person; and an allusion to the failure of the potato crop, the deficiency of food which it would occasion, and an earnest recommendation to co-operate in adopting such means as might alleviate the sufferings which the calamity would cause, formed an important part of the royal speech. The inferior business to which the attention of the houses was called was only prefatory to the great event, and consisted of a remission of several duties in the produce and manufacture of other countries, and a considerable reduction in others. Among these changes in the tariff, one connected with food was of especial significance. Animal food and vege-

tables were to be admitted duty free, and that on butter, cheese, hops, and cured fish was to be reduced one half. Live animals also, and several other minor articles, were exempted from duty. This "note of preparation" was given in Sir Robert's speech on the 27th of January, when every part of the house was crowded with expecting auditors, and when even the street was filled with hundreds who had tickets, but could not obtain admission. It is enough to add, that these proposals were afterwards passed with little demur; all their importance, which at any other season would have been a fruitful source of debate, was absorbed in the great controversy at issue.

In his opening speech to the house, which lasted four hours, Sir Robert Peel frankly acknowledged the awkwardness of his position. He would not deny, he said, that his opinions on the subject of protection had undergone great change, and that he did not feel himself humiliated by the confession. On the contrary, he claimed for himself the privilege of yielding to the force of reason and argument, and of acting upon his enlarged experience, and upon his more matured conviction. It was the experience of the last three years that had forced his new convictions upon him, by showing him that his former arguments were no longer tenable. During that period, prices had been high and wages unwontedly low, so that the effect had been an universal distress among the labouring population. He then showed that the removals hitherto made upon protecting duties had been accompanied with a material improvement upon the revenue, but without any detriment to the agricultural interest. Now that a new calamity had befallen the country, by a scarcity of that article which formed a considerable portion of the food of the people, government must perceive that it was impossible for them any longer to maintain the existing corn laws in their present integrity. After describing the reluctance of his cabinet to accord with these views, or to act upon them, which occasioned his resignation, and alluding to his recal to office, on the understanding that he was to follow out his own line of procedure, he added, in allusion to the new trials with which his office was encompassed, and the only terms on which he would submit to hold it: "It is a burden far above my physical, infinitely beyond my intellectual strength. The relief from it with honour would be a favour, and not a punishment. But while honour and a sense of public duty require it, I do not shrink from office. I am ready to incur its responsibilities, to bear its sacrifices, to confront its honourable perils; but I will not retain it with mutilated power and shackled authority. I will not stand

at the helm during the tempestuous night, if that helm is not allowed freely to traverse; I will not undertake to direct the course of the vessel by observations taken in the year 1842. I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest. I do not desire to be the minister of England, but while I am minister of England I will hold office by no servile tenure; I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interests and providing for the public safety."

On the 27th of January Sir Robert brought before the House of Commons his great scheme of commercial and financial policy. It ranged over a large variety of objects; for, as he stated, the great principle of the relaxation of protective duties was not to be confined to any particular interest; on the contrary, he would ask all classes, manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural, to make the sacrifice, if such it might be considered, to the common good. He then proceeded to loosen the several props of the protective system. Of all the duties on raw material imported from foreign countries, only two remained—the duty on tallow, and that on timber: on the former, he proposed a reduction from 3s. 2d. to 1s. 6d. per cwt., and on the latter, a gradual reduction, until it reached a point where it should be permanently fixed at a future day. The manufacturers having thus free access to every raw material of manufacture, were to relinquish in return the protection they enjoyed in wool, linen, and cotton, upon the coarser articles of which the duties of importation were to be abandoned, while those upon the finer were to be reduced from twenty to ten per cent. In like manner, the duty upon silk was to be reduced from thirty to fifteen per cent. After enumerating other articles of less consequence upon which similar reductions were to be made, Sir Robert advanced to the main subject at issue. These were the articles connected with agriculture upon which import duties were levied. That upon all seeds was to be diminished to 5s. per cwt. Indian corn, so useful in the fattening of cattle, was to be imported duty free. Buckwheat and buckwheat-flour were to be admitted in the same manner. The duties upon the importation of foreign butter, cheese, and cured fish were to be reduced to half their amount. All articles of agricultural produce which constituted food as distinct from corn, every kind of vegetable and animal food, and all live animals from foreign countries were to be imported duty free.

Having thus approached the formidable question with a cautious step, Sir Robert unfolded his proposed change upon the corn laws themselves.

He did not intend to propose their immediate repeal; but on the other hand, that their continuation should be only temporary, for the sake of giving time for a final adjustment of the question in relation to the agricultural interest. His bill, therefore, would contain the proposal that after a certain date, grain of all kinds should come in duty free, and that in the meantime considerably reduced duty should continue upon it for three years and not longer. In the interval that should thus elapse until the 1st of February 1849, he proposed that the scale of duty on imported wheat should range from 10s. a quarter when its average price was under 48s., to 8s. a quarter when it was under 54s. According to this diminished rate, there would be a duty of only 4s. per quarter on wheat at its present price, instead of 16s., while every other grain taken out of bond for consumption in the home market would have to pay little more than nominal duty. This arrangement he intended to accompany with certain provisions for the interests of the agricultural party; such as the alleviation of the burdens on lands by highway rates, the law of settlement, and the expense for the maintenance of county jails, with additional facilities allowed by the state for the improvement of agricultural skill and industry. In conclusion, he suggested that, as his measure involved a great decrease in the revenue, as well as an annual charge of £600,000, the discussion upon it should be deferred till that day week. As a longer time was demanded by several of the members, the delay was protracted till the 9th of February. Upon that day, the subject was resumed with an earnestness commensurate with its importance. Nor was violence of speech or even downright personality spared, for each speaker felt his own pecuniary interests more or less involved in the contest. Perhaps this may account for the strong opposition which the bill unexpectedly encountered from several who hitherto had been the constant supporters of government. The debate commenced with an amendment of Mr. Philip Miles, member for East Somersetshire, that the house go into committee on that day six months. Fifty-five speakers advocated the cause of protection, and forty-eight that of free trade, while the discussion was carried on by repeated adjournments for twelve nights. On a division, the motion of Sir Robert Peel was carried, the amendment of Mr. Miles being rejected by a majority of 337 to 244.

On the 2d of March, when the house went into committee, and after the first resolution had been moved, Mr. Villiers proposed as an amendment "That all duties on imported corn do now cease." He expressed his conviction that immediate abolition was not only more generally desired

but a better measure than a postponement for three years; and he thought that Sir Robert must be of the same mind himself, as he had proposed the opening of the ports in November, which was tantamount to abolition. Sir Robert Peel stated in reply, that if an immediate instead of a deferred repeal was carried, he should accept the amendment, but that he preferred the latter measure to the former. His sentiment was followed by Lord John Russell, who thought that the success of the abolition question would be endangered if the amendment were carried. The amendment of Mr. Villiers was rejected by a majority of 265 against 78. On the 20th of March, the corn bill, with certain modifications upon the original proposal for the importation of maize duty free, stood for a second reading, and the debate was continued through four nights. The usual delay of a six months' adjournment was again proposed, and upon this amendment the protectionists rallied for a fresh encounter. On this occasion, Sir Robert Peel—who, since the opening of parliament, had been reproached in every form of language for tergiversation and apostasy, and threatened with every kind of political retribution—indignantly repelled the charge, as he had repeatedly done, and defied its consequences: “I am not surprised,” he said, “to hear honourable members predict to me that my tenure of power is short. Let these measures pass into a law. Suspend your indignation until then; and then it will be perfectly open to you to determine what measure you will adopt for the purpose of terminating my political life. I shall still pursue steadily that course which my conscience tells me I should take, let you and those opposite pursue what course you think right.” He afterwards added, what succeeding emergencies but too well justified: “You may think I have taken too great precautions against Irish famine: you are mistaken. Events will prove that these precautions are not unnecessary. But even if it were not so, the motive was to rescue a whole population from the calamity of possible famine and disease; and I shall, under these circumstances, be easy under such an accusation.” The second reading was carried by a majority of 88, 302 being for, and 214 against it.

On the 4th of May, when discussion was resumed previous to the third reading, all the expedients of delay were adopted for the final struggle. On this occasion, Lord George Bentinck, who moved a postponement till that day six months, declared that, as on former occasions, the distress of Ireland had been greatly exaggerated. After two divisions which were occasioned by the opponents of the bill, the order of the day was carried, and the house went into committee, when Lord George Bentinck proposed

that the word “oats” should be omitted in the specified articles upon which the duty was to be reduced. This he urged upon the plea that, as Ireland in the last and former years had an annual exportation of oats to the value of £2,500,000, even if a free importation of oats from abroad lowered the price of that grain to the extent of ten per cent., that country would be a sufferer by the change to the amount of £250,000 per annum. This new-born zeal for Ireland was answered by the chancellor of the exchequer, who showed that, if this amendment passed, oats, instead of paying one shilling per quarter of duty after the 1st of February, 1849, along with certain other grains, would be admitted without paying any duty at all, and thus Ireland itself would be the principal sufferer. The amendment was withdrawn, as was also that of Sir Charles Burrell, for a six months' delay, on the footing that the distress of Ireland was not so extreme as had been asserted. The bill did not arrive at the last stage till the 11th of May, and even then, when the third reading was proposed, a debate of three nights occurred, in which the same arguments that had been again and again refuted were brought forward, and urged with all their former violence. At length, on the 16th, when every mode of opposition had been exhausted, the third reading was carried by a majority of ninety-eight, those in its favour being 327, and those against it 229. Such was the result after a parliamentary conflict, the length and the virulence of which have seldom been surpassed, even in our assembly of national representatives.

In the lords, the chief debate on the corn bill took place upon the question of the second reading on the 25th of May. The speeches were scarcely less ardent than those which had rung for weeks in the House of Commons, while the repetition of the same arguments showed how sincerely each speaker felt upon the subject, whether as a political partizan or a landholder. The second reading passed by a majority of forty-seven. At the third reading, several amendments were successively outvoted, one of these being proposed by the Duke of Buckingham, the other by the Earl of Wicklow, a third by the Duke of Richmond, and a fourth by Lord Ashburton. This recusant spirit evinced by the members of the upper house had been temperately admonished in the following words by the Duke of Wellington: “If we reject this bill, my lords, we know that we reject the bill which has been passed and agreed to by the two other branches of the constitution, and that the House of Lords will stand alone in rejecting it. This is the consideration with which I beg your lordships to look at the question. This is a position, my lords, in which you ought not, in which

you cannot stand; it is a position in which you are powerless, and can do nothing. You have vast influence on public opinion; but separated from the crown and from the House of Commons, you can do nothing until the connection with them is revived." The third reading was passed, but not without a struggle. Several of the dissentient lords declared their deep distrust and disapproval of the measure, and of the mode in which it had been carried; while the Duke of Richmond expressed his regret to see such a measure become law without an amendment appearing on the journals of the house. He would advise the farmers to agitate against it, and for an adequate protection not only to agriculture, but to every species of national industry.

Although the new facilities for the importation of cheap food had an especial reference to Ireland, it was evident that something more than the corn bill would be necessary for the tranquillity of that continually agitated, and now famine-threatened country. The insecurity of life, and the prevalence of assassination and deeds of violence, had so greatly increased at the commencement of this year, that a bill was introduced upon the subject on the 24th of February. It was introduced also, in the first instance, not into the House of Commons, but of Lords, by the Earl of St. Germans, who, after a statistical account, which showed the offences against the person, property, and public peace, to have risen in a twelvemonth from 3102 into 5281 cases, proposed his measures for their suppression. These chiefly consisted of quartering an increased constabulary force upon any district in which a murder had been committed, and preventing people from being absent from their dwellings between sunset and sunrise, the time when murders were usually committed. To enforce these regulations, and also to compensate the sufferers or their representatives, it was further proposed that the vice-regal powers of the lord-lieutenant should be materially increased. The second and also the third reading of the bill, whose operation was limited to the 1st of October, 1849, after a few slight modifications, was passed through the lords without opposition. But very different was the fate of the bill when it entered the House of Commons, which it did on the 30th of March. It could scarcely obtain even a first reading, although this courtesy was almost invariably granted to bills sent down from the lords. This at length it obtained after a virulent debate and repeated adjournments. The whole force of the Irish constituency was brought against the bill during all its long protracted stages, and it was not till the 26th of June that the motion for its second reading was rejected by 292 votes against 219, giving a majority of seventy-three.

It was noticed as a curious coincidence, that this bill, which had for its object the security of life and repression of crime in Ireland, was defeated on the very same evening that the corn-law bill, which had for its chief object the relief of Irish destitution and misery, was successfully carried through its last stage in the House of Lords.

Having effected the great object for which he had resumed office, and effected it against an amount of obloquy and opposition that would have turned most statesmen from the attempt, Sir Robert Peel felt that his mission was accomplished. In addition to the final settlement of that great controversy of years, that of the Oregon territory, which threatened to involve us in an American war, was amicably adjusted, and the state of trade and finances was prosperous and full of promise. On the 29th of June, therefore, the resignation of Sir Robert Peel and his conservative ministry was announced in both houses by the Duke of Wellington. Seldom has a British premier been enabled to retire from office under such happy auspices, or in the midst of such general affection and confidence. His last act was one of disinterested justice: it was to attribute the honour of the recent victory to him by whose labours the way had been prepared. "There is a name," he said, "which ought to be associated with the success of these measures. It is not the name of the noble lord the member for London [Lord John Russell], neither is it my name. Sir, the name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures, is the name of a man who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason, enforced by an eloquence the more to be admired, because it was unaffected and unadorned—the name which ought to be, and which will be associated with the success of these measures, is the name of Richard Cobden. Without scruple, sir, I attribute the success of these measures to him."

The retirement of Sir Robert Peel was followed by the accession of Lord John Russell to the premiership. The results of the session, however, were of little importance, in consequence of the absorbing interest of the great question of the corn laws, which had been settled at last after so many years of agitation. The chief subject that occupied the attention of parliament was the famine in Ireland in consequence of the failure of the potato crop, which was now beginning to realize the worst fears of the corn-law abolitionists. The remedy proposed by Lord John Russell was the employment of the people by government upon public works, with money advanced from the treasury at only 3½ per cent. of interest, the principal itself to be repaid in

ten years; and from the very urgent character of the necessity, this remedy was adopted, notwithstanding the doubtful chance of repayment. The important subject of military reform in the matter of corporal punishment was also brought forward, in consequence of a motion for the total abolition of flogging in the army; but this premature, and therefore dangerous act of humanity, was prevented by the modification proposed by the Duke of Wellington as commander-in-chief. This was the limitation of flogging to the maximum of fifty lashes, and these only to be inflicted when the state of the weather, health of the culprit, and other circumstances showed that the punishment would be attended with no danger to life or limb. In the meantime, the moral character of the soldier, hitherto neglected, was to be so fully supplied with the means of improvement, that in course of time flogging might be dispensed with altogether. These means were, the establishment of libraries in the barracks, the institution of regimental schools, and of normal schools for regimental schoolmasters, and the formation of saving-banks in the army. By the adoption of such remedies, every year has witnessed a gradual improvement in the moral character of our soldiery.

During these four years of events at home, the state of our empire in India still continued to be a subject of much anxiety. Happily, however, these eastern commotions were quelled, and this by a series of achievements through which our military character was raised higher, and our Indian rule more firmly established than ever. A brief recapitulation of these transactions is all that can at present be attempted.

Lord Ellenborough had scarcely brought to an honourable close the hostilities in Afghanistan, ere he found himself of necessity involved in another war. The Ameers of Scinde had behaved in a treacherous manner while our troops were suffering their unspeakable disasters among the Afghan mountains. They had sustained some pecuniary loss, and they fancied they had suffered still more (besides a loss of honour) by a treaty into which they had been forced by Lord Auckland at the advice of Burnes. They had been obliged to renounce their transit duties on merchandise going up and down the Indus, and as yet they had seen nothing of that "hundredfold" benefit which had been promised them in the treaty. Moreover, only some of the chiefs had entered into this treaty; and all of them were excited by the apprehension that the English intended to dispossess them of their hunting-grounds which lie along the banks of the Indus, and which, besides being the source of their chief and almost only amusement, were far more profitable to them than any trade up and

down the river was likely to be for many a year. These chiefs were a brave and very vain set of men, almost as self-confident and presumptuous as the Burmese had been before the appearance of our army on the Irrawadi; and hence it was surmised that they would flee to arms rather than submit much longer even to the existing treaty. "Delusion as to the circumstances under which we retired from Afghanistan," says Lord Ellenborough, "and ignorance of our real strength, which they never experienced, would have induced a brave and barbarous people of plunderers to avail themselves of the first occasion in which we might be involved in difficulties, to endeavour to throw off engagements which they entered into with reluctance, and to compel our retirement from the Indus."

It is said, too, that the Ameers could not restrain their own people, and much less the armed retainers of their neighbours; and it is pretty obvious that our Indian government preferred attacking and breaking their strength now, to waiting for a future collision when they might choose their own time and possibly take us by surprise. They signed a new treaty on the 14th of February, 1843, and broke it one day afterwards by attacking the residence of the British commissioners with a large force; but then it is alleged that though the treaty had been signed and everything conceded that we asked for, Sir Charles Napier continued to advance, being apparently resolved to conquer Hyderabad, their capital, in spite of the treaty. On the other hand, it is said that the Ameers were tempted by the smallness of Napier's force and the magnitude of their own to attack him, and that they never intended to abide by the concessions they had made. We can well believe the last of these two assertions; but, in our view of the case, the concessions, so far from being worth fighting for, were not worth asking for.

On the 17th of February was fought the battle of Meeanee, a conflict which, in its heroic character and important results, has often been compared to the battle of Assaye. The advance of the gallant Napier had brought him to Muttaree, when he learned that the Ameers were awaiting his coming at Meeanee, ten miles distant, where they had taken up a position with 22,000 men. They were not only well provided with artillery but strongly posted, having woods on their flanks, which, it was thought, even by the British commander, could not be turned, and in their front the dry bed of the river Fulailee, which had a high bank and was difficult to be crossed. The army also that occupied such a formidable position was not composed of effeminate Hindoos, but gallant daring Beloochees, who, it was known, would fight to the last, and who to their native

valour added no small portion of military skill and experience. On the other hand, the British force did not exceed 2800 men of all arms, and twelve pieces of cannon. Undismayed by these difficulties and such fearful odds, Sir Charles Napier resolved to become the assailant, well



BELOOCHES ON THE LOOK OUT
From Burnes Atkinson, and Von Orlich

knowing that any delay or symptom of hesitation would increase the confidence of the enemy, and enlarge their army with reinforcements. After a quick survey of their position, Sir Charles gave the word to advance; and his troops moved on at a steady pace, as if they had been upon parade, crossed a plain that was swept by the enemy's artillery, and opened their fire at about a hundred yards from the bank. But this distant fight was soon exchanged for close combat; the order to charge was given by Sir Charles with a voice that was heard along the whole line; and his soldiers rushed through the dry bed of the Fulailee, and up the steep bank, with a rapidity that confounded the Beloochees, and made their fire straggling and useless, although they had laid their matchlocks in rest to be ready for the onset. A fearful hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which that little army of British was encountered with an alacrity that equalled, and a valour that almost matched their own. The Beloochees dashed across the bank to close with their assailants, and after firing their pistols and matchlocks, betook themselves to shield and sabre, their favourite weapons, and with which they had so often turned the tide of

battle against Indian antagonists. But these weapons were unavailing against the firm rampart-like ranks of the British, and their lines of bayonets, that pressed forward with a regularity and strength that seemed impelled by one powerful machine. And yet the Beloochees continued this terrible fight for three hours, and on more than one occasion the British ranks were disordered by the fierce charges of these intrepid swordsmen. They were rallied, however, in every case by the brave old Napier, who on these occasions displayed the ardour of a young soldier, combined with a skill and promptitude which few of our generals have equalled. At last, a charge of horse which he ordered at the critical moment decided the battle: the 9th Bengal cavalry and the Scinde horse fell upon the right of the enemy; and as soon as they had reached the rear of their right flank, the Beloochee resistance became more faint, and was at last exchanged for a slow indignant retreat, which only added to their heavy loss in killed and wounded. It amounted in all to 5000 men; and the whole of their artillery, their ammunition, standards, and camp, with considerable stores, and some treasure, fell into the hands of the British, whose loss was only 256 men in killed and wounded. That they should have suffered so little and yet achieved such a victory, attests the skill with which they were handled, and the courage with which they were led on. After the battle of Meeanee, the khans of Hyderabad came into the British camp, and surrendered their swords and their city to the victor.

Although Hyderabad was thus in full possession of the British, and its chiefs were prisoners of war, Scinde was not yet conquered. Another rebellious prince, Meer Shere Mahomed of Meerpoor, was in the vicinity of that city at the head of 20,000 Beloochees, and ready to renew the war. Against him, therefore, Sir Charles was obliged to march, instead of reposing upon his laurels at Hyderabad. He found Shere Mahomed strongly posted behind one of those nullahs that intersect the country in all directions, this nullah being formed by two deep parallel ditches, one twenty feet wide and eight feet deep, the other forty-two feet wide and seventeen deep. Here the Shere (that is, the Lion) had advantageously posted his numerous army, boasting loudly that he would "Cabool the British." But he had not taken the military skill and courage of Napier into account, or the warning conveyed by the victory of Meeanee. On the 24th of March, Sir Charles attacked him at Dubba, four miles from Hyderabad, and after a hard fight of three hours was again victorious. He outmanœuvred Shere Mahomed, the British stormed the nullah, and the enemy were beaten as effectually as they

had been upon the previous month, so that Shere Mahomed, after ineffectual attempts to rally a fresh army and renew the war, was fain to escape with a handful of his followers into the desert. Such is but a scanty specimen of those achievements of the campaign by which Sir Charles Napier accomplished the conquest of Scinde—a campaign of which his only superior in warfare (the Duke of Wellington) thus spoke in the House of Lords in the following year:—"His (Napier's) march upon Emaum Ghur was one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed, or had ever perused an account of in his life. He moved his troops through the desert against hostile forces; he had his guns transported under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and in a manner the most extraordinary; and he cut off a retreat of the enemy, which rendered it impossible for them ever to regain their positions. After retiring from this successful operation, he collected all his troops, and made those preparations for future defence which were necessary to the completion of his success. He made the most of this extraordinary attack, which was completely successful. He gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a position in which he was not again likely to be attacked. Not only did he secure Hyderabad, and the portion of the Indus which lay in his rear, but he brought up a reinforcement, and placed himself at the head of a stronger army than that which he commanded before the battle. He manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations; and it must be in the highest degree gratifying to their lordships to remember that these zealous and gallant efforts had been attended with perfect success." This was a noble testimony to the heroic conduct of Sir Charles Napier, and it had a double value coming from such a source. The result of these victories has been the annexation of the country to our possessions. In a few

short sentences Lord Ellenborough appointed Sir Charles Napier governor of "the province of Scinde," abolished slavery and all duties of transit in every part of Scinde which now was, or hereafter might be, occupied by our army, and declared the navigation of the Indus free to all nations. Nothing could exceed the satisfaction of the people of Scinde at their transference to

the British dominion. These Ameers, who were now sent into banishment, were not the native rulers of the country, but a combination of crowned heads who governed by the right of conquest; their subjects were of a different language and creed; and this diversity only served to increase the arrogance of the master, and embitter the bondage of the ruled. It was no wonder, therefore, if they groaned for deliverance from such uncongenial conquerors and oppressors; and when an unusual fall of rain had happened to irrigate the parched soil, and bring the promise of new abundance, the natives of Scinde regarded this as a token of the approbation of



LIEUT. GENERAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER
From a portrait by Smart

heaven upon the doom of the governor-general by which these Beloochee rulers were deposed from their sovereignty, and sent into exile.

Before the close of this same year, 1843, we were engaged with the Mahrattas, who had broken their treaties with the Indian government, and rebelled against the young and helpless maharajah, whom we were bound by treaty to support. They had also committed a series of most atrocious murders, and were guilty of other excesses which called for immediate repression. The governor-general advanced in person with an army to the strong fortress of Gwalior. Our troops, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, were about 14,000 strong, with forty pieces of artillery: the Mahrattas brought to the field 18,000 men, including 3000 cavalry, with 100 guns. On the 29th of December, 1843, a terrible battle was fought at Maharajpoo, which ended in another victory to the British, who, however, lost 797 men in killed and wounded. On the same day another decisive victory was gained by

Major general Grey, who had moved with a division of the army to Punnar, about twelve miles from Gwalior. In consequence of these two victories the Mahratta durbar submitted to the demands of the Indian government—Colonel Stubbs remained governor of the fort of Gwalior, which commands the city; the plundering Mahratta troops were disbanded, and a British contingent was to be maintained in the country at the cost of the Gwalior government, which also agreed to pay forthwith the expenses of the campaign.

In all his operations Lord Ellenborough had been remarkably successful; but he had enemies in India, and more enemies at home. In the session of 1843 his policy was bitterly assailed by the Whig ex-ministers, who had involved us in the ruinous Afghan war, and who had meanly contemplated withdrawing our forces from that country, and trusting to negotiation with the barbarians for the recovery of our captives. His lordship was warmly defended by Sir R. Peel and the Duke of Wellington. "The difficulties in India," said the duke, "are now far greater than what they formerly were, because there has now been set up what is called a 'free press,' but what I shall call a *licentious* press! With a British population in India of not more than 50,000 persons, including 25,000 British troops, how is that country to be governed if the feelings of the natives are to be worked upon by a press like this?" Lord Brougham also defended the governor-general, as also did Lord Stanley and Mr. Hogg, the latter being one of the most competent authorities on India matters that could anywhere be found. Lord Ellenborough, however, had piqued the pride of the court of directors; and that court, having by their charter power so to do, recalled his lordship in April, 1844. Sir Henry Hardinge being appointed his successor, repaired immediately to India. Sir Henry on his arrival found that our troops in Scinde were suffering greatly from the unhealthiness of the climate, and that a mutinous spirit appeared in several Bengal native regiments which were under orders to march into that country. Like so many of his predecessors who had gone to India with most pacific intentions, Sir Henry soon found himself compelled to gird on the sword. Since the death of Runjeet Sing, the Lion of Lahore, the Sikh country had been convulsed by a continuity of revolutions, murders, and massacres; and the Sikh chiefs and soldiers had become as lawless as the Mahrattas in the time of the Marquis Wellesley. Shortly after the arrival of the new governor-general, daily reports were spread that these Sikhs intended to invade the British territories. The orders from the home authorities were so strin-

gent not to interfere with the Punjab, unless actual aggression were first perpetrated by the Sikhs, that the Indian government was crippled; and, acting on his instructions, the governor-general, who was then in the upper provinces, did not deem it advisable to take measures for raising an army capable of opposing the Sikhs, should they actually cross the Sutlej. Sir Henry Hardinge, if left to his own decision, would no doubt have taken, at an early stage, the steps which he afterwards adopted with such admirable energy and promptitude.¹ [We believe, however, that operations must have been somewhat retarded by the reductions recently made in our troops on this long frontier line.] It was different with Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief. He was at the head of his army. His acts were under the control of the governor-general, so far as organizing an army was concerned; but, trusting to his own foresight and military experience, he gave early warning to the troops on the frontier, as well as to those at the important military station of Meerut, to hold themselves in readiness.² Most fortunately Lord Ellenborough, in anticipation of this storm, had established a large force at Umballa, which could be available at a moment's notice.

So soon as it was known that a Sikh force had actually crossed the Sutlej and invaded our territory, our troops were put in motion with admirable celerity. The marches made were wonderful. On the 18th of December the first encounter took place at Moodkee. Our people were fatigued by a very long march through a sandy country.³ The Sikhs were quite fresh; they had a numerous artillery, and had become excellent artillerymen under the training of Avitabile, Venturi, and other European officers; we had merely a few six-pounders, not having had time sufficient to bring up any heavy guns. Nothing was to be done but to charge the enemy at the bayonet point. They were well posted among the jungle and stunted trees. The small compact body of British infantry (her majesty's 9th, 31st, 50th, and 80th regiments) charged amidst a murderous fire of cannon and of musketry, the Sikh infantry firing admirably. The columns of this fierce and formidable enemy were, however, broken and dispersed, but not before they had made a desperate stand and committed great slaughter among the European officers and men. Sir Robert Sale fell mortally wounded. Sir John Maccaskill was shot dead, and almost every officer on the staff of the governor-general was

¹ Dr. Macgregor, *History of the Sikhs*.

² *Ibid.*

³ "The troops were in a state of great exhaustion, principally from the want of water, which was not procurable on the road."—*Commander-in-chief's Despatch.*

either killed or wounded. The 3d light dragoons, being the only European cavalry present, pursued the fleeing Sikhs. The force thus defeated was only an experimental one. The *grande corps-d'armée*, with 500 guns of all calibre, were as yet on the other side of the Sutlej. Though thoroughly beaten at Moodkee, they were satisfied that, with an overwhelming number of guns strongly entrenched, they might withstand the attack of the British.

On the 19th of December some heavy guns, escorted by her majesty's 29th, the 1st European light infantry, and some native regiments, reached Moodkee. The Sikhs, in column after column, were crossing the Sutlej, boasting that they would march on to Delhi, Benares, Calcutta! On the 21st of December their pride was abated by the terrible battle of Ferozeshah. They had brought up a stupendous artillery, and were strongly entrenched. The battle is told by the gallant commander-in-chief in a few words.—"The Sikh guns could not be silenced by the British, and the infantry therefore advanced, amidst a murderous shower of shot and grape, and captured them."¹

On the setting in of night the European infantry remained in the portion of the camp which they had captured, while the Sikhs occupied the rest; their cavalry and infantry moving about the whole night, harassing and firing on the British who were bivouacked. Now and then they brought up a gun and fired grape among our wearied sleepy people. They had nothing for it but to remain quiet, and await the return of daylight. But their position was a fearful one! Before the entrenchments were entered, her majesty's 62d were "absolutely mowed down by the fire under which they were advancing."² Before the battle could be renewed on the 22d, Tej Sing brought up to the Sikhs fresh battalions and a large field of artillery, supported by 30,000 Ghorchurras, or irregular cavalry. Our own weak cavalry was unavailing, our artillery of little or no use: everything had to be done, and *was* done, by our indomitable British and Irish infantry! The Sikhs were driven out of the camp, and were beaten

and broken wherever they attempted a stand. We lost in killed and wounded more than 2000 men; thirty-seven officers were killed, and double that number wounded. Between the battle of Moodkee and this double battle of Ferozeshah, our total loss in killed and wounded exceeded 3000. The commander-in-chief, Sir Hugh Gough, commanded the right wing; while the left was under the command of Sir Henry Hardinge, who set aside his dignity doubly and trebly, and volunteered his services as second in command. Sir

GROUP OF SIKHS³

Harry Smith commanded the first infantry division, Major-general Gilbert the second, Brigadier Wallace the third, and Sir John Littler the fourth. All these officers were engaged in the thickest of the fight, and behaved with equal skill and gallantry. Wallace was killed by a cannon-shot. The commander-in-chief resolved to wait for the guns and mortars then moving upwards, with the 9th and 16th lancers, and her majesty's 10th and 53d foot. The Scinde troops, under Sir Charles Napier, had also been ordered up.

The Sikhs resolved to make another effort to maintain their position on the left bank of the Sutlej; and for this purpose they began to construct a new bridge of boats below Hurrakee. As soon as this bridge was finished, more Sikhs began to cross over. We have no space for any of the minor details. Sir Harry Smith gained a brilliant victory over a detached Sikh force, at

¹ Despatch.

² Speech of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, on the 26th February, 1846.

³ 1, From a suit of armour in the Tower of London. 2, An Akalee, from the Honourable Miss Eden's *Portraits of the Princes and People of India*. 3, A chief on horseback, from Soltykoff's *Habitants de L'Inde*. 4 and 5, Soldiers, from the Hon C. S. Hardinge's *Recollections of India*.

Aliwal, on the 28th of January, capturing or destroying all their guns. Having finished their bridge of boats, the Sikhs busily employed themselves in making entrenchments, a *tête-de-pont*, &c., at Sobraon. Though at Moodkee, Ferozeshah, and Aliwal, they had lost upwards of 150 guns, they had united a formidable number on this point. The soldiers collected within these entrenchments at Sobraon were those who had been best trained by the French and Italian officers: these men felt assured that their position could not be taken by the best of troops; and they quietly waited the attack. Sir Hugh Gough did not keep them long waiting. He put his army in motion on the morning of Tuesday, the 10th of February, 1846, and in a very few hours the works of Sobraon were in his possession, and the Sikhs in headlong flight across the Sutlej. In their efforts to reach the right bank through the deepened water the enemy suffered a terrible carnage from our horse artillery. Hundreds fell under the cannonade; hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage.¹ This was a glorious fight, and complete in its results. Nearly every gun of the Sikhs was captured, together with numerous standards. Such a victory, however, could not be achieved without an immense sacrifice; and there are few actions on record where so many officers were killed and wounded. The brave Sir Robert Dick fell in the attack on the camp; Brigadier M'Leod was hit while leading the 4th brigade of the centre division against the strongest part of the entrenchment at Sobraon, and was borne off the field mortally wounded; Brigadier Charles Cyril Taylor, who commanded the 29th foot, was killed; Major-general Gilbert, and the veteran Colonel Ryan, of the 50th, were wounded; and many other distinguished officers fell among the slain, or were carried maimed to the hospitals.

The Punjab was occupied by the British without any repetition of the hard struggle which

had occurred on the left bank of the Sutlej. On the 14th of February, 1846, the governor-general issued a proclamation:—"The Sikh army," said he, "has been expelled from the left bank of the Sutlej, having been defeated in every action, with the loss of more than 220 pieces of field artillery. The British army has crossed the Sutlej and entered the Punjab. The governor-general announces, by this proclamation, that this measure has been adopted in accordance with the intentions expressed in the proclamation of the 13th December last, as having been forced upon the governor-general for the purpose of effectually protecting the British provinces, for vindicating the authority of the British government, and for punishing the violators of treaties, and the disturbers of the public peace."

On the 17th of February our siege-guns crossed the bridge along with the 4th brigade, under the command of Brigadier Orchard. The army then steadily marched upon Lahore, the capital, which was entered on the 20th without any opposition. The remnant of the Sikh army quietly yielded, and delivered up more guns. The ranees saw that the only power on which she could rely for the stability of her young son's throne, and her own and his personal safety, was the British army. A treaty was concluded: the governor-general was to leave a force at Lahore, to prop up the young rajah's government; the rajah or maharajah Goolab Sing, was to be allowed to become master of the rich province of Cashmere; and indemnities were to be paid to the British.²

There could not have been a more honourable conclusion to our military history than Sir Charles Napier's war against the Ameers of Scinde, and these glorious combats on the Sutlej; they effaced the disgrace which had befallen us in Afghanistan; they more than renewed our former prestige; and they told the princes and potentates of India and the countries thereto adjacent, that the power of Britain was as great, and the spirit of her soldiers as high, as ever they had been.

¹ Despatch of the Commander in chief

² Dr. Macgregor's *History of the Sikhs*, &c.

CHAPTER XI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1847—1849.

VICTORIA.

Continuing famine in Ireland—Attention called to it in the royal speech—Two bills to remedy the evil—Their nature—They are passed in parliament—Money lent to the Irish railways—Suspension of the corn and navigation laws proposed—The proposal adopted—Duties on rum and sugar modified—Proposal adopted for a loan of £8,000,000 for the relief of Ireland—Additional grant for public education proposed in the House of Lords—Controversy excited by it in the commons—A small sum granted with restrictions—Manchester erected into a bishopric—Political difficulties of the measure—New parliament—Disorders and assassinations in Ireland—Bill for their suppression—Mild nature of its remedies—Opposition of the Irish members to the bill—It is passed—Feargus O'Connor's unsuccessful attempt to re-introduce the question of Irish repeal—Jews' disqualification bill announced for future adjustment—Session of 1848—Consideration of West Indian interests proposed—A committee appointed for the purpose—Immediate measures adopted for our West India colonies—Unpalatable proposal upon the colonial sugar duties—It is passed—Diminution of the revenue from dread of foreign invasion—Select and secret committees of inquiry appointed—Temporary increase upon the income-tax granted—Proposal of alteration in the navigation laws—Arguments in favour of their alteration—The subject postponed for further consideration—Jewish disabilities bill re-introduced—Arguments used for and against the admission of Jews into parliament—The bill rejected by the lords—Continuation of the Irish insurrectionary spirit—Irish rebellion under Smith O'Brien—Its paltry character and speedy suppression—Measures adopted for tranquillizing Ireland—Bill to facilitate the sale of Irish encumbered estates—It passes through parliament—Bill passed to facilitate our negotiations with Rome—Abortive attempt of the chartists to effect a revolution—Their meeting on Kennington Common—Their huge petition to the House of Commons—Falsity of many of its signatures—This year signalized by European national revolutions—Revolution in France—Tumults and conflicts in Paris—Louis Philippe abdicates—He escapes to England—Temperate character of the revolution—A republican government established in France—It becomes unpopular—Louis Napoleon Bonaparte elected its president—Revolution in Italy—The pope driven out of Rome—Revolutions in the Germanic states.



RISH famine and Irish distress continued to be the great subject of popular anxiety, as well as parliamentary discussion. The mysterious blight of the potato, which had impoverished England and Scotland to the amount of several millions by destroying one of the principal articles of food, was immeasurably more terrible in Ireland, where the potato constituted the chief subsistence of its population. Harrowing accounts of whole parishes depopulated by famine, and of houses without number in which the wasted inmates were dying by inches, not only excited the horror of the British public, but stirred its sympathy to the lowest depths. The destruction of food to the amount, in value, of £16,000,000, in a country so improvident and so poor, implied an amount of suffering and mortality into which no statistic details could fully enter. Pesteilence, the usual attendant of national famine, had also entered that devoted island, so that in crowded rural districts, and especially in the cities, the inhabitants were dying in heaps. An earlier session of parliament than usual was therefore opened on the 19th of January, and the royal speech, which was delivered by her majesty in person, thus acknowledged at the outset, and in accents of sorrow, the paramount subject of attention:—

“It is with the deepest concern, that upon your
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again assembling, I have to call your attention to the dearth of provisions which prevails in Ireland, and in parts of Scotland.

“In Ireland, especially, the loss of the usual food of the people has been the cause of severe sufferings, of disease, and of greatly increased mortality among the poorer classes. Outrages have become more frequent, chiefly directed against property; and the transit of provisions has been rendered unsafe in some parts of the country.”

After adverting to the means which had already been adopted for the alleviation of these sufferings, the speech, which was almost exclusively occupied with Irish affairs, thus continued:—

“The deficiency of the harvest in France and Germany, and other parts of Europe, has added to the difficulty of obtaining adequate supplies of provisions.

“It will be your duty to consider what further measures are required to alleviate the existing distress. I recommend to you to take into your serious consideration, whether, by increasing, for a limited period, the facilities for importing corn from foreign countries, and, by the admission of sugar more freely into breweries and distilleries, the supply of food may be beneficially augmented.”

For these distresses, “to which nothing ex-

ceeding was to be found in the page of Josephus, or on the canvas of Poussin, or in the dismal chant of Dante,"¹ the ministerial measures for relief were brought forward on the 25th of January. They were embodied in two bills, proposed in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, and in that of Lords by the Marquis of Lansdowne. In the one bill, the remedies were for immediate, and in the other, for future and permanent relief. In the former class, besides the board of public works, which was already giving employment to 500,000 labourers, representing 2,000,000 souls, he proposed the addition of relief committees, established in certain districts, empowered to receive subscriptions, levy rates, and receive donations from government—and that out of such funds, food should be purchased, soup-kitchens established, rations dealt out to the destitute, and labourers employed upon tillage to aid in their own support. Of the debt thus contracted by the necessary advances from the treasury, which was to be repaid by annual instalments in the course of twenty-two years, one half of the amount was to be remitted and thrown upon the public, although this would necessarily burden the imperial finances, and prevent the reduction of taxation. The measures of a more permanent character had reference to advances of money for the improvement of estates, the reclamation of waste lands, and the purchase of waste lands by government for that purpose; the extension of the poor law, facilities for the sale of encumbered estates, and the improvement of Irish fisheries. In thus stating the particulars of which his two bills were to be composed, Lord John Russell ended by exhorting the Irish to adopt the maxim, "Help yourselves, and Heaven will help you."

Over so large a field and variety of particulars, the discussion that ensued was of such a correspondent character, that it is impossible, within our limits, to give even an abstract of its history. The urgency with which a remedy was needed was evident from the tangible fact, that food to the value of £16,000,000 had been annihilated by this terrible visitation of Providence, while the well-known improvidence of the Irish character made it evident that no temporary or half-measure of relief would avail. The bills of Lord John Russell, after several amendments, were passed through both houses. The chief difficulty seemed to consist in the selection of the most beneficial course of expenditure; but as the age of railways had now so far progressed, and as every possible benefit was anticipated from this new device of welding the whole British empire into one compact mass, the idea of employing the Irish in the construction of rail-

ways was the foremost proposal on the subject. The initiative, however, was sufficiently startling. It was nothing less than the proposal of a loan of £16,000,000 to the Irish railway companies, at the same interest at which the money was borrowed by government. This was brought forward by Lord George Bentinck, who anticipated no difficulty or doubt of repayment; for he had been assured by infallible authority—no less than that of Mr. Hudson himself, that the worst railway under his (the railway king's) direction, was capable of affording to government a cent. per cent. security. Independently also of the immediate employment which would thus be given to 110,000 men, it would so improve the land of Ireland as to increase the rental by £900,000—equivalent to a capital of not less than £23,000,000. Well might Sir Robert Peel exclaim derisively: "Twenty-three millions for the Irish landlords, to be derived from the improved value of their property in consequence of railroad enterprise!—then, why do not the Irish landlords promote these undertakings?" Still clinging, however, to this favourite national panacea, the experiment was to be tried, although upon a greatly reduced scale. This was in consequence of a motion by the chancellor of the exchequer, who proposed that a loan of £620,000 should be distributed in certain shares among the Irish railways, repayable with five per cent. interest. This was but a small fraction of the £8,000,000 borrowed during the course of the session to be applied in the relief of Ireland, and the bill was passed by 175 votes against 62. Besides these various remedies, which were adopted with more or less success, a motion was brought forward upon the subject of emigration, on the 1st of June, by the Earl of Lincoln. It would have been strange indeed, if this constantly recurring expedient had been forgotten at such a crisis. The object of the motion, which was agreed to, was "to obtain a commission to inquire, first, whether colonization could be applied, so as to relieve those who remained in Ireland; secondly, whether it could be applied, so as to relieve those who left Ireland; and, lastly, whether it could be so conducted as not to interfere with the interests of our colonies."

As the calamity of the failure of the potato crop had been felt to a great extent in England, and a still greater in Scotland, every facility for the importation of food required to be immediately adopted, without which every other expedient would have failed. The suspension of the corn and navigation laws, which had been recommended by the royal speech, was introduced almost immediately after the opening of the session by Lord John Russell, who moved for a committee of the whole house on the corn impor-

¹ Speech of Lord Brougham.

tation act, to be followed by another on the navigation laws. The necessity of remitting the duties on the importation of foreign grain, he stated, had not been felt by Britain alone: the famine itself was common throughout Europe, and therefore, in several of the principal states, that remission had been already effected, and in some of them, prohibitory statutes had also been passed against the exportation of their grain. On that account, there were only two quarters from which supplies could be obtained; these were Odessa and the United States. He proposed, therefore, that all duties on the importation of foreign corn should be suspended till the 1st of November next, after which, it should be left to the consideration of parliament whether this suspension should be continued or not. With regard to the navigation laws, by which the importation of foreign corn was impeded, their suspension was necessary to diminish the price of freight, and set free a number of vessels of foreign countries, which might then be employed in transporting grain to this country and to Ireland. This suspension, also, instead of being permanent, was only to be temporary, and in mixed cargoes was to apply only to the corn that was landed. The necessity as well as propriety of these two bills was so generally felt, that only two days after their first reading, they were passed by both houses, and on the 26th of January received the royal sanction.

On the evening of the 25th, the same day on which these bills had been passed through the House of Commons, a modification of the rum and sugar duties was proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer. By this measure of the new government, it was declared that not only relief would be granted to the country, but also to the sugar-growing colonies who needed a requital for the removing of protection. This was to be effected by admitting the use of sugar in brewing and distillation, by which a saving in the expense of grain would be insured. As for colonial rum, it was proposed that the differential duty upon it should be reduced from 1s. to 6d. These proposals were also passed without alteration.

In the financial statement for the year before the committee of ways and means, the necessary loans that had to be contracted for the relief of the Irish famine were fully stated by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 22d of February. He was happy to state, that the finances were well able to sustain the demand, as the balances this year in the exchequer were upwards of £9,000,000, while the next year would probably show a very considerable increase. Taking all this into account, and calculating that the expenditure necessary for Ireland would be scarcely less

than £1,000,000 per month, until the next harvest, he proposed that the sum of £8,000,000 should be borrowed out of the consolidated fund for the relief of Ireland. To this, the objections in the debate that followed were various: some thought it too large; others, that so much should not be granted, without a guarantee that remedial measures would be carried into effect; and others, that a property and income tax should be imposed upon Ireland to raise the required amount. After keen opposition the measure was passed, and carried into effect; and that kind of relief for Irish destitution was dealt out which can only be of temporary efficacy, until a provident independent spirit and industrial habits are ingrafted upon the Irish character.

Passing over several bills which were introduced in parliament this session, but not finally ratified, we proceed to the subject of public education, which was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Lansdowne, and which formed the subject of several keen debates, in consequence of the public antagonism it always excited between the Established church and the dissenters. Already, from 1833 to 1846, the amount of parliamentary grants for public education was £490,000, by which 500,000 pupils were provided with the means of instruction. In bringing forward his proposal for an additional grant, Lord Lansdowne stated the following *desiderata*, as the objects to be accomplished by his demand:—1. The system of inspection, which hitherto had been limited, although it had been attended with signal benefit, might be extended. 2. The standard and condition of schoolmasters would be raised. 3. Apprentices selected from the most hopeful of the pupils would be trained into efficient teachers. 4. Retiring pensions could be granted to those schoolmasters and schoolmistresses who for fifteen years had unexceptionably managed schools of a certain size, and gratuities provided for those who still preferred to remain in office. 5. The schools could thus be provided with industrial apparatus, in the country for agricultural, and in the town for mechanical application, by means of which instruction might be conveyed to the scholar on subjects not usually included in any system of education. This, his lordship said, was all that the government was at present prepared to propose. Lord Brougham regretted that the plan was not more comprehensive still; but sarcastically remarked that such was impossible, as society was divided into two great classes—churchmen and dissenters—who loved education much, but controversy more.

Of controversy there was enough when the subject was brought into the House of Commons, where dissenterism could obtain a free arena.

On the 29th of April, Lord John Russell detailed to the house the correspondence that had passed between government and the Wesleyan body upon these departments of public education, and expressed his hope that the Roman Catholic schools, at present to be excluded, would be comprised in the grants as well as others. He then gave a history of the progress of education in the country from 1784, when Mr. Raikes first established Sunday schools, down to 1846, when the annual grant had been increased to £100,000; and described the jealousy and opposition with which the attempts of government to extend and improve the educational system had been continually encountered. After justifying these ministerial measures, he proceeded to show the lamentable deficiency of the public education of this country, and the necessity for its still further improvement. We never, he declared, gave instruction to our labouring population until they were sent to our jails as prisoners, instead of indoctrinating them in religion, morality, and industry before their minds were vitiated. He finally disclosed the government plan, imperfect indeed as yet, but urgently needed for immediate use, and craved the means for its establishment.

The debate that followed was sufficiently varied, the ground of objection being shifted from point to point over an extensive field. In a majority of cases it was allowed that the state should possess the guardianship of public education, because it underlay the responsibility of providing it—but by what body is the state to be represented in this important guardianship? “By the church, of course,” was the general reply; and here the door of contention was opened, for the entrance of the contending claims of the Established church on one hand, and the dissenting interest on the other. By the government scheme, also, the Roman Catholics were for the present to be excluded; and this awoke the hostility of that middle party who might be called liberalists in religion—men who viewed the merits of the question solely upon the footing of abstract justice or political expediency, and who urged the propriety of admitting the Catholic population to a full share of these educational state endowments. Even the sum demanded, which to several of the dissentients appeared too much, was in the eyes of others by far too little; and of this last class was Mr. Hume himself, who was so conscious of the inestimable advantages of a good national education, that he was ready to give not the paltry sum of £100,000 for it, but five times as much. While the debate was pending in the House of Commons, the subject was under consideration in the House of Lords. There, too, its religious difficulties were fully appreciated; and the chief questions at issue

were, “Shall the Roman Catholics be admitted to these schools?” and if so, “How far shall concessions be made to them in the religious instructions which form a part of the school routine?” The sum of £100,000 was voted for the purposes of education, with the understanding that, “when the subject came before parliament year after year, and the government asked for a grant of money for the purposes of education, the principles on which the money was to be expended would be fully explained; so that parliament would be in a position every year to give or to withhold its sanction.”

During this session, in which so much theological discussion was involved, a measure, towards the close, in which the Established church was deeply interested, was accomplished by the creation of the new diocese of Manchester. The bill to that effect was introduced into the lords by Lord Lansdowne. After stating the immense increase of population in that quarter, which made the spiritual superintendence of a separate bishop necessary, and the wealth of the diocese, which insured him ample support without expense to the public, his lordship proposed, that Manchester should forthwith be erected into a bishopric. But here lay the chief importance of the proposal: “It was considered inexpedient to add to the number of prelates in that house, and no addition to the number of their lordships’ house would be made in consequence of the creation of the new bishopric. The first Bishop of Manchester would succeed to a seat in their lordships’ house when, by death or otherwise, a vacancy occurred in one of the other bishoprics. Thus, a bishop, when appointed, would not have a seat in their lordships’ house until a vacancy took place.” This was a startling innovation: a bishop was no longer to have a right to sit there *ex officio*, except the old-established prelates; and as it was stated that in all probability an increase to the number of twenty-four new bishoprics would soon be found necessary, each bishop would have little chance of a seat in parliament until he had reached a considerable age. A better expedient, it was alleged, would be, a return to the still unrepealed law of appointing suffragan bishops, who should possess episcopal supervision without a place upon the bench. The original motion, after being carried in the lords, was transferred to the commons, where it encountered a still greater amount of obstruction, and chiefly upon the same footing; but there also it passed a second reading by a majority of 124 to 15. In the committee, the bill was vehemently decried by those who saw no need of more bishops; by those who were opposed to the measure, on the score of the additional taxation it would occasion; and by those

who were unwilling to see the office curtailed of its accustomed privileges. The bill, however, passed to the third reading by a majority of 93 to 14, and Manchester was erected into a bishopric with the prescribed limitations.

During this session the lost bills, of which Lord Brougham declared, "some were never born, others departed without a moment's warning," were so numerous, that we cannot afford space even for their titles. Some of the more important of these, however, were not finally and irrecoverably lost: their announcement served to awaken the public attention, and prepare the way for their re-introduction under more favourable circumstances. Parliament was dissolved on the 23d of July by her majesty in person. The chief theme of the royal speech on this occasion was the Irish famine, and the promptitude and liberality with which it had been encountered.

The first session of the new parliament commenced on the 18th of November, at which Mr. Charles Shaw Lefevre was elected speaker. The address of her majesty, which was read by the Marquis of Lansdowne, again adverted to the predominant calamity of the period. The famine was still raging in Ireland, and the crimes and insubordination which distress had produced or encouraged, were such as to demand the attention of both houses. In the lords, it was declared by Lord Stanley, that "one by one the best members of society fell victims to a system of assassination; and it was now an admitted fact, that it was safer in that island to violate than to obey the law." The Romish priesthood, too, he alleged, "instead of denouncing this horrid system, aided and abetted it. The time was come for prompt and effectual measures; and he called on the government in the name of civilization to introduce them instantly." With equal urgency Lord Brougham declared, that "as for Ireland, she now stood in a hateful and shameful pre-eminence of crime, and he trusted that effectual measures would be taken to disarm the people, and to protect life and property."

Upon Sir George Grey, the secretary for the home department, the duty devolved of introducing a bill upon the subject, which he did on the 29th of November. After laying before the House of Commons the statistics of public crimes in Ireland, from which it appeared that, during six months of 1847, the cases of homicide, attempts at assassination, robberies of arms, and firing of dwellings had increased so fearfully, that they more than doubled the amount of the six months preceding, Sir George proposed his remedy. It simply consisted in investing the lord-lieutenant with extraordinary powers in those districts where the peace was most disturbed. In these he was

to increase the constabulary force as he should judge fit, and prevent persons from carrying firearms, except those who were privileged by office for exemption from this disarming act, under penalty of imprisonment for not more than three years; and those persons who had firearms in their houses throughout these proclaimed districts, were to be required to deliver them up at the nearest police-station by a certain day. In any district where a murder had been committed, the justices and constables were also to be empowered to call upon all males between the ages of sixteen and sixty to assist in pursuit of the murderers; and should any one refuse, he was liable to be imprisoned with or without hard labour for any term not exceeding two years.

Such were the chief characteristics of this bill, framed to arrest the most intolerable and mischievous of all tyrannies—the tyranny of an armed, unchecked, and infuriated people, confident in brute force, and determined to use it to the utmost. And yet the bill was decried as despotic and tyrannical! while various statements were brought forward for the purpose of proving, that not the people but the landlords, the Anglo-Irish aristocracy, were the real and punishable causes of these atrocities. After the bill was introduced, and had come to the second reading, a motion was made by Mr. John O'Connell, son of the agitator, that the house should pass to the order of the day. The discussion that followed was such as Irish affairs had awoken every year; and the arguments used were such as lay thick on the surface of the subject; and would have been worn out long ago but for the perennial necessity that renewed their freshness, and kept them always ready for act and use. The strain of Irish oratory which it also awoke was no new melody in the ears of the house, although of such recent introduction. The bill, although so gentle compared with the occasion that produced it, was characterized by Mr. J. O'Connell as a measure of "petty, minute, ingenious, torturing details." "It was," he said, "the most deceptive measure ever brought before the house. In other coercion bills, there had been frank, bold, avowed oppression; in this enactment it was covert: this was an insidious, deceptive, sneaking bill. It deserved no other terms. It did underhand that which its authors had not courage to do plainly and openly. It went beyond the powers of the worst clause of the worst previous act. It was calculated to meet the people at every turn: to annoy them in their persons, their pockets, and their liberties." Such was but a moderate specimen of Irish eloquence upon a question of Irish legislation. In spite of every attempt to defeat or delay the bill, it passed through the second and third read-

ings by large majorities, in the last case the votes being 173 to 14. The bill also passed unaltered through the committee in the House of Lords.

This was not the whole amount of vexation arising from the affairs of Ireland during the course of this session. The death of Daniel O'Connell, which had occurred at Genoa during this year (May 25th), seems to have produced a scramble among his disciples for the vacant leadership; and upon the present occasion, Mr. Feargus O'Connor endeavoured to seize the coveted distinction, by raising within parliament itself the favourite Irish mob-cry of repeal. To this effect, he moved for the appointment of a select committee "to inquire and report on the means by which the dissolution of the parliament of Ireland was effected; on the effects of that measure upon Ireland, and upon the labourers in husbandry and operatives in manufactures in England; and on the probable consequences of continuing the legislative union between both countries." To strengthen his claim, he entered into a lengthened history of Ireland from the period of its occupation by the English crown, till the period of the union with England in 1800; after which he attempted to show that every article of that union had been violated by the English legislature. So discursive a mode of handling his subject afforded him a wide field for complaint and abuse, which he was not slow to occupy; but it was quickly evident that he was no "Daniel come to judgment," however much he might attempt to imitate, or even to ape the great agitator. His motion was premature, and found only 23 of his compatriots to support it against a majority of 232.

The only subject of discussion in parliament after this, was the Jews' disqualification bill, in consequence of the return at the late general election of Baron Rothschild for the city of London. As the baron belonged to the Jewish persuasion, and as every new member on taking his seat was obliged to make a statutory declaration "on the faith of a true Christian," it was thought that this simple requirement precluded all Jews, as long as they persisted in their hereditary faith, from a place in parliament. The question that had so often been unsuccessfully raised, was now to be tried under the most hopeful auspices; and the claims of the great Hebrew financier were backed by a London election, and advocated by his colleague, who was no other than the first minister of the crown. Lord John Russell brought the subject before the house, in this case, in the shape of a resolution affirming the "eligibility of Jews to all functions and offices to which Roman Catholics were admissible by law." A majority of sixty-seven for the resolution prepared the way for his new bill,

which was to be introduced at the next session. Christmas being now at hand, the meetings of parliament were adjourned to the 3d of February.

The first subject of discussion with which the business of the next session in 1848 commenced, was the West India question, a question which, since the period of negro emancipation, had never ceased to be a source of doubt and perplexity. It was opened in the present case by Lord George Bentinck, the distinguished advocate of the West India interests, by the following motion: "That a select committee be appointed to inquire into the present condition and prospects of the interests connected with, and dependent on, sugar and coffee planting in her majesty's East and West Indian possessions and the Mauritius; and to consider whether any and what measures can be adopted by parliament for their relief." His motion was prefaced by three important petitions with which he had been intrusted: "One from the standing committee of the West India planters; another from the merchants of Greenock, against restraints on emigration, and on the employment of labour; and a third from merchants and others in Jamaica, praying for the removal of burdens, for a full supply of African labour, an alteration of the navigation laws, and an assimilation on the duties on colonial rum to those paid by the British distiller." The extreme necessity of an immediate inquiry he stated from the fact, that fifty great West India houses in Britain had failed under liabilities of more than six millions of money; and that this was the reward of our cheap sugar system, with which our free labour in the West India colonies could not compete. His lordship's motion for a committee was agreed to without a division.

Although the next proceeding of parliament was to advance a loan of £170,000 for promoting the immigration of free labourers into British Guiana and Trinidad, it became evident, from the desponding accounts received from the West Indies, that something more decisive must be done to save these colonies from absolute bankruptcy and ruin. The subject was therefore resumed in parliament on the 16th of June, by Lord John Russell, who brought before the House of Commons a measure of relief. This was, that the house, in addition to the money already voted, should guarantee a loan of £500,000 to these colonies on the security of their revenues, for meeting the expense of immigration. In addition to this temporary relief, he proposed a reduction on the duty of colonial sugar by 1s. each year, until the present rate, reduced on the 5th of July to 13s., should have diminished to 10s.; and that a new distinctive duty should be laid upon foreign brown sugar, such as would leave

a fair field of competition to our West India produce. Such, stripped of its technicalities and numerous details, was the government plan of relief brought forward by the premier. The debate that followed was no exception to the generality of those that were usually waged upon West India questions; and though sugar was the theme, it was discussed with as much bitterness as if it had been gall and wormwood. From wrath, the debate proceeded to such rude personalities, as would have better suited the ancient Roman forum than a British senate. At one stage of it, Lord G. Bentinck having accused the colonial office and its secretary of suppressing important information, in order to keep the house and the public in the dark as to the real predicament of the colonies, was thus answered in kind by Lord John Russell. "In general, with regard to those matters, it is quite evident that these mean frauds—these extremely disgraceful tricks—which the noble lord imputes to my noble friend—are not the faults and the characteristics of men high in office in this country. They are the characteristics of men who are engaged in pursuits which the noble lord long followed [*loud cries of oh, oh! and great uproar*]. Some time ago, the noble lord very greatly distinguished himself by detecting a fraud of this nature—[*loud cheers and counter-cheers*]—with respect to the name and age of a horse, a transaction in which he showed very great quickness of apprehension." [*Great confusion.*] Thus strangely was Newmarket mixed with the Indies, and race-horses with muscovado and clayed sugars!

A debate that could originate such unseemly eccentricities was protracted by frequent adjournments, and several amendments were successively moved, but only to be rejected. At one time the opposition to the bill arose from anti-slavery arguments, and at another from those of the protectionists. At last, all its resolutions were agreed to, and the bill thus passed into the House of Lords unaltered, where it underwent a second reading, and called forth no further debate until it became law.

It was not without reason that so much demur had been made upon the lessening of colonial taxes, and the grant of colonial loans. The balance-sheet of the last year, which was presented on the 3d of February, 1848, showed an excess of expenditure over income to the amount of £2,956,683, while a still more serious falling off was anticipated from the alarm of foreign invasion, and the necessity of increasing our armaments, and fortifying the more exposed parts of our coasts. This dread of a hostile interruption of peace arose from the unsettled state of France, and the warlike preparations that for some time

had been going on in that country. These causes, and their effects upon the revenue, were distinctly stated by Lord John Russell on the 18th; and for a remedy, he proposed to continue the income-tax for three years at the increased rate of five per cent. This proposal excited general dismay in the house, and while some declaimed against the madness of an increased taxation amidst the growing mercantile depression, others could discover no serious cause of alarm in the growth of the French army and navy, and their frequent threats of invading Britain. It was even alleged, that all our warlike preparations would only tempt the enemy to make a trial of our strength. The dread of our statesmen, however, upon the subject, in which the Duke of Wellington himself took a part, showed that it was anything but visionary; and subsequent events have shown, that nothing but those startling political changes that soon afterwards occurred in France could have diverted our old enemy from her long cherished purpose of revenge. The real causes of alarm, however, could not be openly stated; and therefore Sir Charles Wood moved that a select and secret committee should be appointed, to examine how far the estimates of the army, navy, and ordnance might be adopted; and to inquire generally into the affairs of those departments. Another subject of inquiry, was into the miscellaneous estimates; and to report whether any reductions could be effected, or any improvements made in the financial arrangements of these several departments. The necessity of such investigations was evident from the fact, that the expenditure for the navy, army, and ordnance, which in 1835 had been £11,730,000, had already risen to £17,340,000, and the motion was carried. It was soon apparent, however, that the attempt of the ministers to raise the income-tax from three to five per cent. was for the present impossible. The popular storm against it was so violent, and the petitions so numerous, that a national agitation was apprehended, before which both tax and ministry would have been swept away. On the 28th of February, therefore, the chancellor of the exchequer hastened to the house with an amended budget. The plan of permanently increasing the income-tax was abandoned. Still, a temporary increase was necessary, and for the following two years he declared it might be raised to five per cent., while at the end of five years the tax itself should altogether cease. On being asked whether he would pledge himself to take it off, as it was to be only temporary, at the end of two years, he replied with some warmth: "Can any man foresee what will be the state of the world two years, or even six months hence?" The same might have been predicated of his five years' limit. Who could have

anticipated after that duration, the permanency which it would acquire, or the causes that should compel its continuance?

Next in importance to the income-tax were the navigation laws, the alteration of which had been recommended by the royal speech, and promised by the present ministry on their entering into office. These laws, which were now found incompatible with the true interests of commerce, enacted, with regard to our foreign trade, that certain enumerated European articles could only be imported in British ships, or in ships from which the goods are exported, or of which they are the produce. With regard to our colonial trade, it was confined, with a few slight exceptions, entirely to British shipping. And to constitute a British ship, the vessel must be British-built, British-owned, and manned by a crew of seamen of whom three-fourths at least must be British. It was time that these restrictions, the fruits of an early age and narrow policy, in which the true interests of commerce were little understood, should be removed. It was not, however, till the 15th of May, that the measure to that effect was formally proposed by Mr. Labouchere. His speech on this occasion was of a length and complexity fully warranted by the importance of the subject, in which the security of the colonial trade, of the long voyage trade, and the carrying trade were equally involved. The proposed alterations were chiefly in connection with those mercantile advantages which our colonies had hitherto enjoyed, and those reciprocities in our traffic with foreign nations which the principle of free trade demanded. In the course of the debate, he endeavoured to remove the fears of the protectionists by showing that English shipping and seamen were quite equal to meet foreign shipping and seamen in equal markets; that, in fact, wherever they had done so, the increase of tonnage in our favour had been strikingly great. On the other hand, he showed by figures, that the most protected departments of the shipping were comparatively the least flourishing. Was it right, he asked, to maintain the principles of the navigation laws? The first principle was that of colonial monopoly; the second was the maintenance of those restrictions which were intended to secure the long voyage trade to this country; and the third was the maintenance of those restrictions which were intended to secure the European carrying trade. The question was, whether they were prepared to consider the propriety of departing from these principles, or leaving them untouched; whether they should meet the wants of commerce and the exigencies of the case before them; whether they were prepared thoroughly and completely to revise the

whole system of our navigation laws, with the view of adapting them to the spirit of the times, and meeting the just demands of other countries, the wishes of our own colonies, and the interests of our expanding trade. Following in the same track, Sir Robert Peel observed: "Every article of foreign manufacture, it was said, threw out of employment thousands of native workmen. But what a doctrine was that for a great manufacturing nation, which exported £58,000,000 in declared value of its own manufactures! Admit that doctrine, and foreign countries must regard us not as the benefactors, but as the enemies of human happiness." The subject itself was introduced so late in the session, was productive of such contrariety of sentiment, and protracted through so many adjournments, that on the 10th of August Mr. Labouchere announced its postponement to the following year. Enough, however, had been done to secure for it a favourable reception when it should be brought in the form of a regular motion before the attention of parliament.

In accordance with the promise given in the preceding session, the bill for the removal of the test by which members of the Jewish persuasion had hitherto been prevented from a seat in parliament was re-introduced at an early stage of the present session. The second reading was moved on the 7th of February, and notwithstanding the liberality with which Roman Catholics had been admitted into a share of the government, there was still much demur about granting the same privileges to Jews. From their peculiar nationality, it was alleged, they never could become Englishmen; and from their creed, they could never be the true and faithful representatives of a community whose legislation was upon Christian rule. On the other hand it was represented, that in England a Jew might be a magistrate, and why not also a legislator?—that all who shared in the burdens of the state were also entitled to its honours and privileges—and that our national constitution, in its religious restrictions, was yet of such an expansive character that it could accommodate itself to the growth and progress of society. The enemies of the bill were also taunted with the charge of narrowness and inflexibility, and exhorted to look to the example of France and Belgium, where all distinctions between Christian and Jew are abolished; and to that of Prussia, where the same principle had all but passed into law. To admit the Jews to parliament, was also stated to be nothing more than an act of reparation for centuries of injustice, persecution, and wrong. If the public feeling also was to be consulted in the measure, it would be found, that notwithstanding the long interval that had elapsed, the

petitions against the bill had not above 50,000 signatures, while those in its favour had more than 300,000. The second, and likewise the third reading were carried by considerable majorities. Very different, however, was the fate of the bill in the House of Lords, where the second reading was moved on the 25th of May by the Marquis of Lansdowne. There, the arguments urged against its admission were chiefly of a religious character, and seemed to have more weight than in the commons; and the fate of the bill, for this year at least, was sealed, in its rejection by a majority of 163 against 128.

The affairs of Ireland during the earlier part of the session occupied less of the attention of parliament than usual, and it was hoped by many that, with the death of O'Connell, the dangers of Irish agitation had been averted. But little did such hopes take into account either the national character of the people, or the vitality of a national hatred. Deprived of their leader, the Irish malcontents only showed themselves more desperate and daring; and while political clubs were multiplied over the whole country, their purposes were avowed more openly and loudly than ever. From these seminaries of political regeneration, the people were exhorted to prepare pikes and blunderbusses—to learn to destroy the soldiers not merely with such weapons, but with vitriol and burning turpentine—and to effect a thorough reform by the extermination of the 8000 Protestant landlords of Ireland. While such advices fell everywhere like firebrands upon the inflammable population, the new leaders of the movement were in close communication not only with America, but also with France, whose insurrectionary spirit inspired them with the highest confidence.

The campaign was opened by Mr. William Smith O'Brien, the most distinguished as well as most daring of this self-constituted Irish chieftainry. Since the death of O'Connell, under whose ascendancy his genius had stood rebuked, he had aimed at the vacant throne of agitation, and signalized himself by the recklessness and bustle of his proceedings, while his ancestry, fortune, and popular manners gave him considerable influence among his countrymen. So little difficulty did he anticipate in his proceedings, that at a public meeting in March, he had told his hearers they had only to "fraternize" both with the army and the police, to obtain their hearty co-operation. It was like the well-known receipt for catching swallows, and he found Irishmen in plenty to try the experiment. A war directory was constituted; a rising in arms was proclaimed for the 19th of July; and O'Brien, who was to head the movement, and who was already announced as one of the future

kings of Ireland, accompanied by his assistants, Meagher and Dillon, arrived at Enniscorthy, and took the command of the hungry and expecting multitudes who waited his arrival, and had been perfecting themselves in drill and other martial preliminaries. After much marching, counter-marching, and haranguing, the insurgents arrived at Mullinahone. On the following day (July 26th) O'Brien, armed with a pike, and pistols in his belt, and accompanied by a detachment of his followers, advanced to the police-barracks, and summoned the inmates to surrender, telling them that resistance would be in vain; but the soldiers, although only six in number, refused, upon which the future king of Munster, instead of storming the barracks, drew off, and resumed his marchings hither and thither, until he arrived on the 29th at Ballinacorney. By this time, a large reward had been offered for his arrest, and Mr. Trant, sub-inspector of the police, at the head of forty or fifty men, was sent to disperse the insurgents. Finding on his arrival that they mustered two or three thousand strong, armed with muskets, pikes, scythes, and pitchforks, he withdrew his small party to a slate-roofed house a few fields distant from the highway, and there resolved to make his post good, until the expected troops and constabulary arrived to his aid. The battle, if battle it might be called, was begun and ended in a few minutes. The assailants, after an ill-directed volley, advanced through the cabbage-garden in front of the house, to storm it; but a few shots from those within sent them scamping in all directions, while the hero of the fight, after retreating on all fours through the cabbages, mounted a horse belonging to a constable, and galloped off like the rest, complaining of the cowardice of his followers. He was soon after apprehended and tried, along with his coadjutors Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donoghue, when all four were convicted and sentenced to die the death of traitors—a sentence, however, which was never meant to be executed, and which was changed into transportation for life.

In this way a rebellion, which in more able hands might have changed the fate of a kingdom, was scarcely more formidable, when brought to the touch, than a common holiday riot. Even those who would have been its sufferers could scarcely refrain from expressions of disappointment at such a ludicrous and contemptible termination. It was not, however, to be expected that such movements would always have such leaders; and both before and after the outbreak, government adopted such precautions as might neutralize the power of the Irish political clubs, from which the greatest mischief was to be apprehended. The chief of these precautions was the

very obvious one of vesting the lord-lieutenant with extraordinary powers. A bill accordingly was passed through both houses for the suspension of the habeas corpus act in Ireland. But a far more important measure, which had the future and permanent benefit of the country for its object, was the bill for facilitating the sale of encumbered estates, which had been moved at the commencement of the session, and was now resumed and passed. It was shown that the immense amount of landed property thus circumstanced in Ireland was not only detrimental to its owners, but injurious to the community at large. It was so laden with debts and mortgages, that landlords who nominally had estates worth £10,000 or £12,000 per annum, did not derive from them more than as many hundreds, while others derived from their estates no rental whatever. It was impossible, therefore, that they could improve the land, or find occupation for their tenantry. In such a case, the impoverished landlords would not only welcome the opportunity of converting their useless estates into money, but the peasantry would be benefited by the introduction of British capital and British industry. As able conveyancers were scarce in Ireland, one object of the bill was to cheapen and shorten the proceedings of transfer in the Court of Chancery. It encountered much opposition through its several stages, as it threatened to supersede the old national noblesse by a new aristocracy; but even this difficulty was obliged to yield to the necessity of the case, and thus new facilities were afforded for the better colonization and cultivation of this hitherto neglected country.

Closely connected with the disturbances of Ireland, and the difficulty of managing its Roman Catholic population, was a bill introduced and passed this session for enabling her majesty to carry on diplomatic relations with the court of Rome. It was one of the natural consequences of those concessions to Romanism which had now become the order of the day; and the chief argument used in its favour, was the political expediency of such a change. The principal objections against it were, that it recognized, for the first time, in Protestant England, the pope's title of "sovereign pontiff;" that it violated the obligations of the bill of rights, and gave admission at any time to a Papal nuncio into England. The bill was passed, although it was already known that the pope contemplated the project of dividing England into dioceses, and appointing an Archbishop of Westminster.

Although this year has been emphatically called the era of revolutions, in which almost every throne of Europe was shaken and nation convulsed, the state of Britain during the whole

period exhibited a most enviable contrast. It was impossible, indeed, that the ambitious, the discontented, and the ignorant, would fail to kindle at the example of France, and endeavour to imitate it; but the imitation was as futile and contemptible as that which had occurred in Ireland, under Smith O'Brien, for the restoration of the days of Malachi and Brian Boromhe. On the present occasion, the attempt was made by the chartists and physical-force men, who thought that the happy moment had occurred for overturning the British constitution, and establishing in its stead the five points of the charter; and accordingly, a "demonstration" was announced to be held on the 10th of April, when the reformers were invited to assemble on Kennington Common, to overwhelm the government with a display of their force and numbers. But vast though the assemblage was, it passed away as silently as a vapour; and without calling out any troops, the metropolitan police was found sufficient for the preservation of order. On the same day that this Kennington muster took place, two petitions were presented to the House of Commons by Feargus O'Connor, one of them signed, as he declared, by 5,706,000 and the other by 30,000, praying for the enactment of the five points, viz.: annual parliaments, universal suffrage, equal electoral districts, no property qualification, and payment of members. These petitions were brought into the house in five huge bales, and rolled along the floor to the table, where they were ruefully eyed by many members, not merely as mountains of offence, but magazines of national danger and destruction. But a careful examination diminished the terrors of these monster petitions. It was found that the signatures, when counted, instead of being nearly 6,000,000, were less than 2,000,000 of names. Of these also, a great multitude were forgeries, such as Victoria Rex, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel; while others were merely derisive subscriptions, such as No Cheese, Pug-nose, Flat-nose, and appellatives of a much less harmless description. In this schoolboy fashion the scrolls at the corners of streets had been signed by thousands who cared neither for the five points nor their advocates. The effect was, that chartism shrunk abashed into its former obscurity, and a bill was introduced and passed for the more effectual suppression of seditious and treasonable proceedings. These proceedings were now classed under the head of felony, and punishable with transportation. In expressing his approval of this bill, Sir Robert Peel observed, that "he thought it right that men who had not the dignity of traitors, should be reduced to the position of felons. He would put a stop to those frogs that were croaking sedition in the marshes,

and would not allow them to puff themselves into the dimensions of the nobler animals that bellowed treason."

The long-protracted session of parliament for 1847-48, which had continued nearly ten months, was brought to a close on the 5th of September, when both houses were prorogued by her majesty in person till the 2d of November. It was a welcome intermission to the wearied members, as notwithstanding the apparently scanty results of legislation, the sittings, with a very few exceptions, had been continuous over the whole of that long period, and the labour severe and incessant.

We have already adverted to this year as the era of European revolution. This spirit was once more originated, and the signal of outbreak given by France, the mighty mother of modern anarchy and political change. In that country, the transition from the Thiers to the Guizot ministry had brought no amelioration in the radical evils of its government. The electoral constituency was still so small that its votes could easily be purchased by the government; and hence, the minister could at any time command a majority in the chamber of deputies, let the voice of the nation be what it might. It was universally complained of, therefore, as the engine of despotism, rather than the exponent of the national will and guardian of the national liberties. Louis Philippe too, adroitly availing himself of such an instrument, had freed himself from the jealous restrictions by which, as a mere citizen-king, his every movement had been circumscribed and fettered, and was moving onward to absolute rule with a continually accelerating step. True, he was an old man, and in the course of nature must soon die; but as if to perpetuate his power, and establish an absolute monarchy upon a basis that could not be shaken, he was devoting his old age to the aggrandizement of his family by royal alliances, so that in process of time it seemed as if it might vie in strength and permanency with that of Hapsburg itself. But his crowning iniquity in this respect, as well as great political blunder, was the Spanish marriage, in which the young queen of Spain was compelled by his intrigues to espouse an imbecile unpromising husband, that the succession might revert to his own family, and the Spanish kingdom be reunited to that of France. This event alienated from him not only the confidence of his own subjects, but of the European powers at large. In it the former dreaded the return of the absolutism of Louis XIV.; the latter his boundless ambition and lust of conquest, under which the world was still smarting after more than a century had elapsed.

From the state of public feeling in France, it

was evident that the reign of the "king of the barricades" was drawing to a close—that the paving stones of Paris would soon be in requisition once more. This was especially shown by the number and character of the reform banquets which were now multiplying over the country, and by the abortive attempts of the government to suppress them. They were regarded by the ruling powers as lineal successors of the old Jacobin clubs, and dreaded accordingly. It was by one of those meetings that matters were brought to a crisis. The twelfth arrondissement of Paris had announced a reform banquet on the 19th of January; but in consequence of a vote that had been just carried in the chambers against such assemblies, the meeting was put off from time to time, until it was definitely fixed to take place on the 22d of February. This, however, was not all; for the programme not only specified the mode in which the guests were to assemble and march through the streets, but it also invited the national guards to attend in uniform, and line the procession. This proceeding, in which private individuals usurped the powers of government, was too startling to be overlooked: the ministers had resolved to let the banquet take place, and afterwards try the legality of such meetings before the high court of cassation; but now, when the proceeding had assumed such a treasonable and dangerous character, a more summary process was necessary, and the banquet was accordingly proscribed by a public proclamation. The dinner was therefore abandoned, but a more terrible measure was digested in its stead; for on the very day appointed—the 22d of February—and at five o'clock in the afternoon, fifty-three members of the opposition, who at that hour would otherwise have been employed in eating and speech-making at the banquet, sent to the chamber of deputies an act of impeachment of ministers, by the hands of M. Odillon Barrot, who laid it upon their table. With the infatuation of doomed men the chamber adjourned without reading it, although the streets of Paris were already thronging with those tumultuary masses, which, like thunderclouds, had hitherto been wont to announce a revolutionary storm. On the following day, M. Guizot in the chamber announced the resignation of himself and his colleagues, and the commission which the king had intrusted to Count Molé to construct a new cabinet; but the mob was now predominant over the whole capital; barricades were speedily erected, and conflicts took place between the military and the people, which were continued till night, the populace being heartened in the insurrection by the reluctance of the national guards to act against them.

During the hours of darkness that succeeded, all was wakefulness and perplexity at the palace; Molé had been unable to form a new ministry, and M. Thiers was sent for, who agreed to assume the office of president of the council, with M. Odillon Barrot for minister of the interior. But although this change was loudly trumpeted on the following morning, it failed to quiet the people, who had assembled to complete their work: they had been maddened with the taste of blood, and instead of a change of the cabinet, nothing less than an eversion of the throne itself would satisfy them. When the popular names of the new ministry were therefore announced, they answered with cries of "*Vive la République!*" and tore down the proclamation. The fighting was resumed; but still the populace had easy work of it, as in most cases the soldiery either looked on as spectators, or joined the popular movement. The storm rolled onward toward the Tuileries, where the last resource of fallen royalty was adopted—Louis Philippe consented to abdicate in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, the Duchess of Orleans his mother being in the meantime appointed regent; and this resolution was promptly followed up by the entrance of the duchess herself into the chamber of deputies, leading her two young sons, and attended by her brothers-in-law, the Ducs de Nemours and Montpensier. But even there, when her accession to the regency was announced, it was met with the cry, "It is too late!" and this declaration was followed with such a tumult, that for a short time it was feared the duchess and her children were in danger, more especially when an armed mob burst into the chamber, and menaced the president with their muskets. Amidst wild uproar and brandishing of weapons, a provisional government of five persons was decreed, and a republic proclaimed. During this in-door interlude, the work of fighting and demolition was going on without, in which the Hotel de Ville and the Palais Royal had a double share; while the Tuileries itself was carried by storm, where the royal carriages were piled into a heap, and converted into a bonfire. But in the meantime the king and royal family had escaped. Escorted by a body of horsemen, they had walked slowly from the Tuileries at one o'clock; and it was given out that the king was on his way to the chamber of deputies, to announce his abdication. But on passing the Pont Tournant, two small black carriages with one horse each were drawn up, which had been secretly prepared for their departure, and by these humble conveyances the king, queen, and family were conveyed to Versailles. They continued their flight disguised, and travelling chiefly by night arrived at Honfleur,

where Louis Philippe under the convenient European name of Smith, obtained a passport, and escaped to England, in which country he was certain of safety at least, if not of a cordial welcome.

In this way was the Orleans dynasty deposed and exiled in the course of a few hours. It is just, however, and honourable to the French character, to advert to the improvements which they had made in revolutionizing. The open manful struggle of the three days in 1830, and the concord that followed when the work was achieved, was a signal contrast to the atrocities of the first revolution. In like manner this of 1848 was an improvement even on that of 1830, on account of the small amount of havoc and bloodshed with which it was accompanied. The killed and wounded, during the numerous skirmishes that occurred in various parts of the capital during the course of two days, did not amount to a thousand; and when the Tuileries was crowded with the mob, though there was plenty of singing and drinking, and some demolition of furniture, there was little plundering. On the floor of one of the apartments was a frame of card-paper soldiers on wooden stands, with which the sons of the Duchess of Orleans had probably been playing before the sudden emergency drove them into flight and exile. A boy from the crowd laid hold of the toy, but was ordered by a grim armed artisan, hot from battle, to lay it down. "It is but a toy," replied the urchin. "That is true," said his monitor, "but if you take a toy, others would think they might take a treasure." Whether right or wrong, it was a great political principle that was at issue, and the meanest or worst of the actors seemed to scorn the thought of alloying it with theft and brigandage. While private property was thus respected, the emblems of religion were treated with veneration by the mob, even when their passions were at the wildest. When they had stormed the Tuileries, they found a magnificent image of our Saviour. "My friends," exclaimed a young pupil of the Polytechnic School, "this is the master of us all." The captors immediately uncovered their heads, and carried the image in solemn procession to the church of St. Roch.

A government was now extemporized in Paris with a rapidity which the case seemed fully to warrant. As might be expected, also, it was republican throughout. All titles of nobility and other aristocratic distinctions were abolished. The names of journals, streets, and public buildings that savoured of royalty were changed. The old republican watchwords, also, that had so long been unheard, were now recalled from their hiding places, and every street resounded with the cry

of liberty, equality, and fraternity. As the great defect in the right of electing representatives had formed the chief argument of dissatisfaction with the old state of things, its limitations were so completely swept away, that the suffrage was declared to be direct and universal, without any limitation as to property. All Frenchmen of the age of twenty-one were to be electors, and all who had reached the age of twenty-five were eligible for election. In addition to this, the vote was to be secret and by ballot; while the 900 representatives, to which the number was now raised, were each to be paid at the rate of twenty francs per day during the session. Among the difficulties of the new government, one of the most pressing was the support of the unemployed workmen in Paris—the thews and sinews of the revolution, who might unmake to-morrow what they had made to-day. As the remedy needed to be instant, a national guard *mobile* was immediately formed, ostensibly that they might be employed upon the frontier, where there was little need of their services, and for the thousands who could not be enrolled, national workshops called *ateliers* were opened by the government, to give occupation to the unemployed, at the wage of two francs a day, which afterwards, from the immense number of applicants, had to be reduced to one franc.

By these and similar expedients, provision was made for the safety and permanence of the new constitution. And yet, not many weeks or days had elapsed, when their utter insufficiency was felt. The whole nation had been taken at unawares by the sudden revolution in Paris, and had silently acquiesced in it; but in a short time it was shown that the republicans of Paris were not the representatives of France, nor even of its capital. During the long interval of peace, a numerous and influential middle class had grown up, to whom the insecurity of a republican government was the greatest of evils; and therefore, while in Paris itself they were sufficient to hold the wild democracy of the faubourgs in check, they were so predominant beyond its walls, as to turn the whole national feeling against the existing state of things. This anti-republican spirit continued to grow in strength, from the stagna-

tion of commerce and trade, the multiplication of bankruptcy and pauperism, and the insufficiency of the national funds to feed the idle and discontented; and it was finally confirmed by the wild proposals of the communists and red republicans, whose plans would have once more produced an universal equalization of property, and a war against every nation. After several desperate attempts at insurrection on the part of the latter, which were always defeated, their insurrectionary principles were brought to a final issue on the 23d of June. The government having found their establishments of *ateliers* or workshops



THE ATTACK ON THE PANTHEON, PARIS.—From the Illustrated News, 1848.

worse than useless, had closed them, by which their employees, who had increased from 13,000 to 120,000, were thrown upon the resources of common industry, instead of having light work and full subsistence prepared to their hand. They rebelled. the red republicans united their cause with that of the workmen, and a new war of barricades commenced, such as Paris had not yet witnessed. One of the most desperate of this series of street conflicts was at that splendid national building the Pantheon, in which a defeated party of the insurgents rallied, and where they gallantly maintained their position for nearly two hours, until they were driven out by the persevering attacks of the troops, and a heavy, incessant cannonade. It was not merely that the insurgents fought with their wonted courage and desperation, but they also united military science to their courage, and constructed such barriers of stone at every defensible point, as tasked the utmost occupation of artillery, and deepened ten-

fold the horrors of these civic conflicts. But those terrible efforts, which had formerly sufficed to unseat dynasties and revolutionize the nation, were met, encountered, and crushed in every direction during this four days' warfare of siege and storm; and General Cavaignac, who had been elected to the dictatorship at the commencement of the danger, and under whose energetic measures it had been suppressed, instead of being allowed to resign his power at the close, was almost unanimously invested by the national assembly with the office of president of the council. Even already the friends of order in France were willing to secure its blessings under the baton of an able military leader. Whether the baton should become a sceptre and the general an emperor was nothing more than a question of time and opportunity.

That question, however, was not to be settled in favour of the able and successful Cavaignac. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was now in Paris. After his escape from the fortress of Ham, he had returned to his old privacy in England, and there it is probable his solitary musings were connected with the blunders of his ill-concerted attempt, and the means by which a second trial might be more successful. In the meantime he kept his own secret, and his chief appearance in public was such as might well disarm suspicion, for it was as a special constable during the chartist riots in London, when his only weapon was a policeman's truncheon. The dethronement of Louis Philippe and establishment of a republic were his signals for action: he hastened to Paris, but was advised by the provisional government to return to England. He complied, but subsequently, during his absence, he was elected a member of the national assembly by not less than four constituencies. Ought he to be permitted to sit? was now the question. His very name seemed to menace the restoration of the empire, and their ears were once more startled with the ominous popular cry of "*Vive Napoleon!*" It was decided by a great majority that he should be admitted, and he was admitted accordingly on the 27th of September. On taking his seat, he earnestly disclaimed those ambitious designs

which had been charged against him, and under the suspicion of which he had hitherto been condemned to exile. "My conduct, always inspired by duty," he said, "always animated by respect for the law—my conduct will prove the falsehood of those who have attempted to blacken me, for the purpose of still keeping me proscribed, and will demonstrate that no one is more firmly resolved than myself to establish and defend the republic."

Since the commencement of the provisional government, a committee had been employed in drawing up a form of constitution for France. The chief features of their plan were, a president to be elected by universal suffrage, and a vice-president, who was to be elected by the national assembly. There was also to be one assembly, and no other chamber. After long delay, the election of a president was commenced, and the great national ballot-box was opened for the purpose, near the close of the year. On this occasion it might have been thought that the upright, disinterested Cavaignac, the best soldier of France, and hero of the revolution, would have been elected, not only on account of his



LOUIS NAPOLEON, President of the French Republic
From a photograph by Maynil, 1849

high character and wide popularity, but his recent valuable services. He was not indeed forgot, and nearly a million and a half of votes were enrolled for his election. But for Louis Napoleon, who had seen no military service whatever, who was scarcely even a Frenchman, and whose former life had neither been illustrious nor popular, 5,434,226 votes were tendered; and by this overwhelming majority, he was raised to that elevation, above which there was only a single step. Who after such an event could say, that his dethroned uncle had ceased to reign, as well as ceased to live?

A similar spirit was manifested over the greater part of Europe. In Italy, especially, the desire of throwing off the Austrian yoke was so strong, that the revolutionary element was kindled into full conflagration by lighting a cigar. In Milan, the people, for the purpose of injuring the revenue derived from them by their oppressors, had discontinued the practice of smoking; and when the Austrian soldiers smoked

cigars in the streets, the self-denying populace, irritated no doubt by abstinence as well as patriotism, fell upon the soldiers, who drew their swords upon the assailants, and in several scuffles, severe wounds and even deaths were the consequences. The same was the case in Pavia, where sanguinary encounters occurred in the streets between the students and the tobacco-loving soldiery. A revolt followed, which, commencing at Milan, speedily extended over the Austrian dominions in Italy. In Rome, the example was quickly followed; the way, strangely enough, having been prepared by the pontiff himself, who, assuming the character of a reforming sovereign as well as spiritual guide, introduced into the Papal constitution as many innovations as sufficed to whet the popular appetite for liberty without satisfying it; and the people, who now felt what was needed, rose in arms, to convert their half liberty into a whole. The consequence was, that in November the pope was obliged to escape from Rome in the disguise of a livery servant, mounted upon a coach-box. A revolt of Sicily against the Neapolitan government was at the same time raging at Palermo, where conflicts both on land and sea were maintained, and generally in favour of the revolutionists. Although these energetic attempts were in course of time suppressed, it was chiefly through foreign intervention and aid; and the whole course of conflict sufficed to show that the old Italian spirit had fully awoken, and would only wait for another opportunity. Every succeeding year has only deepened that conviction, and made politicians regard Italy as a slumbering volcano, that may at any moment burst forth to overwhelm and regenerate.

While Italy was thus moved throughout her kingdoms and provinces, the Teutonic spirit was equally pervaded by the epidemic influence of this most eventful year. The first of these great political movements was the quarrel of the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein against the Danish government, to which they had hitherto belonged, and which occasioned the armed interference of the German confederation. It does not fall to our lot to specify the conflicts that took place between Denmark and Prussia on this occasion, and by which, notwithstanding a seemingly amicable termination, the seeds of future quarrel were plentifully sown, that may

ripen into a melancholy harvest. In Hesse-Cassel the people rose against the elector, and compelled his assent to certain terms by which the more oppressive parts of their form of government were swept away. In Bavaria, the spirit of insurrection was still more distinctly manifested, being occasioned by the shameful dotage of their old sovereign, who had adopted a wandering stage-dancer for his mistress, raised her to the rank of nobility, and made her the principal channel of royal communication and favour. The time had happily gone by in Europe when a royal mistress could rule the movements of a court and the destinies of a nation; and on this occasion the armed remonstrance of the Bavarians was so effectual, that the actress was banished, and the king compelled to abdicate. But while the whole Germanic empire was more or less agitated throughout its many states with the principles of revolution and political reform, and while in several cases these were only decided by an appeal to arms, a war of liberty, which had broken out in Hungary against the Austrian rule, was the chief movement of note in the eyes of Europe, on account of the importance of the two antagonists, and the great events by which their warfare was signalized. The most important of these results was the spirit of disaffection against their own sovereigns, which recent events had so strongly fostered in the hearts of the Austrians; and after a desperate series of street battles in Vienna between the insurgent populace and the military, the emperor resigned his crown in favour of his nephew, Francis John, who succeeded to the imperial dignity without opposition. In this manner, during the whole of this year, Europe was convulsed to its furthest extremities with those great insurrectionary principles which the first French revolution had implanted, and which the recent events in France had encouraged into action. It was a startling spectacle the sight of so many throneless sovereigns, whom not the chances of war and the violence of enemies, but the doom of their own subjects, had deposed and driven into banishment. It was felt that a new principle of war was now to predominate, and that the conflict was henceforth to lie between the rulers and the ruled, instead of a trial for superiority and conquest by one nation against another.

CHAPTER XII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1849—1850.

VICTORIA.

Opening of parliament—Bill to remove restrictions on the navigation laws—It is carried—Unsuccessful attempt of the protectionists to rally—Changes proposed in our rule of the colonies—Disorders in Canada—Repugnance of our penal settlements to continue as convict colonies—Hostility of the Cape of Good Hope to convict importation—The colonists prevent a convict shipment from landing—Measures for the relief of Irish destitution—The rate-in-aid bill passed—Bill passed to facilitate the transfer of encumbered estates in Ireland—Particulars of the bill—Amendment of the Irish poor law—Loans advanced by government to Irish landholders—Parliamentary inquiries into the part taken by British officials in the late European revolutions—Jewish disabilities bill again rejected—Bill to legalize marriage with a deceased wife's sister—Its second reading carried—Affairs of India—Symptoms of revolt—Insurrection of the Sikhs—Mooltan besieged by the British—Gallant resistance and final capture of Mooltan—Unsuccessful conflict of Lord Gough with the Sikhs at Ramnuggur—A second attack is successful—Severe loss of the British against the Sikhs at the battle of Chillianwallah—Alarm excited in Britain by the tidings—Sir Charles Napier sent as commander-in-chief to India—Complete defeat of the Sikhs by Lord Gough at Goojerat—Submission of the Sikhs—Annexation of the Punjab to the British Indian empire—Contrary effects of free trade on agriculture and commerce at the commencement of 1850—Demands of the agriculturists for exemption from local taxation—They are rejected—Motion for parliamentary reform negatived—The claims of the colonies to self-government considered—Inducements to grant these demands—The right conceded to the Australian colonies—Our foreign policy in relation to Greece made the subject of parliamentary inquiry—It is condemned in the House of Lords and justified in the Commons—Mr. Roebuck's arguments in its favour—Proposal to discontinue the blockade for the suppression of the slave-trade—The motion negatived—Death of Sir Robert Peel.



THE shock of foreign revolutions, the immense drain of capital occasioned by railway speculations, and the troubled state of Ireland, tended to retard that promised prosperity arising from free trade which was hoped to date its commencement from the beginning of 1849. Further legislation was found to be necessary before these blessings could be realized; and this disheartening fact was announced in the royal speech at the opening of parliament on the 2d of February. The chief impediment to be removed was the navigation laws, which her majesty's speech recommended to the attention of the legislature. This had been a subject of parliamentary discussion during the preceding year, but had been postponed to the present; and in accordance with the pledge then given, a motion was brought forward on the 14th of February by Mr. Labouchere, president of the board of trade, to the following effect: "That it is expedient to remove the restrictions which prevent the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British dominions abroad; and to amend the laws regulating the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, subject, nevertheless, to such control by her majesty in council as may be necessary; and also to amend the laws for the registration of ships and seamen." Mr. Labouchere stated, that from former discussions the question was now well understood; that the pro-

posal of removing these obstructions on trade were generally acceptable throughout the country; and that while our colonies would hail the removal as a boon, the United States of America would meet the relaxation of our laws by a similar concession. On the other hand, the protectionist party, through their advocate, Mr. Henry Drummond, declared the measure to be "the last of a series inculcated by the Manchester school, the end and intention of which were to discharge all British labourers, and to employ foreign labourers in lieu of them—foreign sawyers instead of English sawyers, foreign shipwrights instead of English shipwrights, and so on through the whole catalogue of employments."

At the second reading of the bill on the 9th of March, after a long and keen discussion which lasted till the 23d, Mr. Labouchere announced a material alteration which government intended to adopt in the measure. At first, it had been intended to admit foreign countries, under certain modifications, to a share of the coasting trade, as it was believed that no loss would thereby accrue to the revenue. Subsequently, however, it had been found, that there would be the utmost risk of a falling-off if they allowed vessels, either British or foreign, to combine the coasting with the foreign voyage; and on this account, he did not feel justified in pressing that part of the bill which, in a modified degree, threw open the coasting trade of the country. The clauses to that effect were accordingly struck

out, and on the 23d of April the bill, thus modified, passed onward to a third reading. On this occasion its chief supporter was Sir James Graham. He advocated the bill on the ground that it was supported by the representatives of



HENRY LABOUCHERE, M.P.

From a print by Lewis, after a drawing by J. Slater, 1828.

the chief seats of commerce—among others, of Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, and the West Riding. Without needing to rest either upon reciprocity or retaliation, it would tend to increase the commerce of the world; an increase from which this country would derive the greatest advantage, as the lion's share would fall to England. It would neither, he asserted, compromise our superiority on the seas, nor injure the mercantile marine, which was the mainstay of the royal navy. The simple and intelligible basis, moreover, upon which the measure would place our navigation system was now absolutely needed, on account of the complication of our reciprocity treaties—a complication which rendered it difficult for us, in many cases, to know where or how we stood. Sir James then startled the house by declaring, that if we persisted in retaining the navigation laws, without falling back upon the protective system in favour of Canadian corn, the loss of Canada would be inevitable. Such were his principal subjects of argument, which seemed to make a deep impression on the house. He was followed in a similar spirit by Lord John Russell, who, from the increase of our tonnage and number of seamen since the navigation laws had been relaxed, had no apprehension from the consequences of their removal, and who was urgent for a speedy decision to that effect, on account of the cry for a return to the protection duties, and the discontent which such a hopeless demand occasioned. The bill passed its third reading.

In the House of Lords, the second reading of

the bill was moved by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who satisfactorily showed that, though foreign shipping had marvellously increased since the great relaxation made in our navigation laws, at the close of the war, there was still no danger to be dreaded from a competition. To the astonishment of the whole house, he was opposed by Lord Brougham, the ex-chancellor on this occasion having made one of those sudden changes in political opinion with which he occasionally perplexed both friend and enemy; and his chief argument arose from the unsettled state of Europe, fermenting at present with revolution, which required us to keep our naval resources entire. "Was such a year," he asked, "the one for making great and portentous alterations in a navy by which victories had been nobly won and immortal triumphs gained? Was this the time for reducing our thousand ships to a hundred, or for striking off £10,000,000 sterling from our army, navy, and ordnance estimates?" Upon this important question the discussion was carried on in the lords, as it had been in the commons, and the second reading was passed by a majority of ten, among 366 voters. But for this majority, which could not be anticipated till the last moment, it was understood that the ministry would have resigned. The opposition was continued with equal keenness through the third reading, although without hope of success. During the debate, a severe caveat was administered to the bishops, through whom the second reading had been carried, by the Earl of Winchelsea. He warned them, that if the day ever arrived when measures of a secular character injurious to the best interests of the country should be carried by their votes, England would again wish to see the house of convocation restored, and the bishops represented in that house by a few chosen from themselves, to state their opinions on religious matters only. After a further course of animated debate, the opposition peers withdrew in a body, and the bill passed the third reading. Soon after, it received the royal assent, and the first day of the following year was fixed for the commencement of its operation.

In this manner, and after a long and keen contention of years, the most important measure of the session was settled. The decision was only a necessary consequence of the free-trade principle, which was now established beyond the chance of removal. Still, however, the protectionists were numerous and formidable, and, undismayed by their recent defeat, they returned to the charge upon a different quarter, viz.: that of the agricultural interest. The nature of their attack will be best understood from the following resolution, proposed by Mr. D'Israeli, who,

since the death of Lord George Bentinck, had become the recognized leader of the party:—

“That the whole of the local taxation of the country for national purposes falls mainly, if not exclusively, on real property; and bears with undue severity on the occupiers of land, in a manner injurious to the agricultural interests of the country, and otherwise highly impolitic and unjust. That the hardship of this apportionment is greatly aggravated by the fact that more than one-third of the whole revenue derived from the excise is levied upon agricultural produce, exposed, by the recent changes in the law, to direct competition with the untaxed produce of foreign countries; the home producer being thus subjected to a burden of taxation which, by greatly enhancing the price, limits the demand for British produce, and to restrictions which injuriously interfere with the conduct of his trade and industry. That this house will resolve itself into a committee to take into its serious consideration such measures as may remove the grievances of which the owners and occupiers of real property thus justly complain, and which may establish a more equitable apportionment of the public burdens.” Mr. D’Israeli then showed by statistical details that taxes to the amount of £12,000,000 were imposed upon the rental of landed property amounting to £67,000,000; and, as a remedy for this inequality, he announced his design to propose, that the system of local administration and the levy of rates remaining as at present, that the local districts should be responsible for one moiety, and the other be paid from the consolidated fund. The correctness of these statistics was denied; and it was argued that, even granting their correctness, the remedy itself would be abortive. The proposal of this talented orator and popular novel-writer was thrown out by a majority of 280 to 189.

The state of our colonies had of late attracted an unwonted degree of public attention, not only owing to their rapidly increasing greatness, but the expenditure they occasioned to the mother country; and a conviction had for some time been growing prevalent that they were now sufficiently ready for self-government, and might therefore safely be left to their own resources. At the same time the errors of the colonial office were complained of in parliament by Mr. Baillie, member for Inverness-shire, who embodied the charges of tyranny, oppression, and wasteful expenditure against it, as instanced by the cases of Ceylon and British Guiana. The discussion led to a proposal, on the part of Sir Robert Peel, that some such change should be introduced into our system of colonial government at large as would give general satisfaction. During the course of the session this proposal received additional weight and urg-

ency from the intelligence which arrived in May of the disordered state of Canada. In this, the most important of our colonies, an indemnity bill had been sanctioned, granting compensation to those parties whose property had been destroyed during the rebellion in 1837-8. This decree was obnoxious to the Tory party in the colony, who feared that the compensation would be extracted from the orderly part of the community, in favour of those who had occasioned or abetted the rebellion; and their rage was chiefly directed against Lord Elgin, the governor-general, who, contrary to their hopes, had given his assent to the bill. On his return, therefore, from the parliament house, his lordship was pelted by the mob, the house itself was attacked and burned down, and several of the obnoxious ministers were assailed in the streets of Montreal, and their dwellings destroyed. It was shown that this spirit of discontent pervaded the whole extent of the colony, while these riotous proceedings, instead of being confined to the lower orders, were countenanced and even shared in by people of rank, fortune, and intelligence.

When the home government was thus involved in the great trial of the colonial question, an additional difficulty was thrown into it from the plan adopted for the disposal of our convict population. While the other countries of Europe had disposed of their criminals in a summary fashion, by sending to the mines or the galleys such as were not disposed of at once by capital punishment, the growing spirit of English liberty had revolted at the sight of chains and bondage, even when inflicted on the guilty. Deportation therefore was adopted, by which the evil was removed out of sight; and our American colonies had at first been used as places of banishment for our convicts, until such a species of cheap labour was repudiated. The course of banishment was then directed to our Australasian colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land, until these penal settlements refused to be any longer the mere sinks and drains of British iniquity, while the mother country, oppressed with her growing hosts of criminals, was at a loss for their disposal. In this dilemma, other outlets had to be sought for those whom we could not keep at home; and, in September, 1848, it was announced that our convicts were to be sent to the Cape of Good Hope, partly for the purpose of reforming them, and partly for supplying the colonists with good cheap labour. But the Cape colonists were indignant at the insult of being converted into jailors, as well as alarmed at the moral pestilence that would be introduced into their homes; and, at a public meeting held at Cape Town on the 4th of July, as soon as the decision of the home government had arrived, seven resolutions were

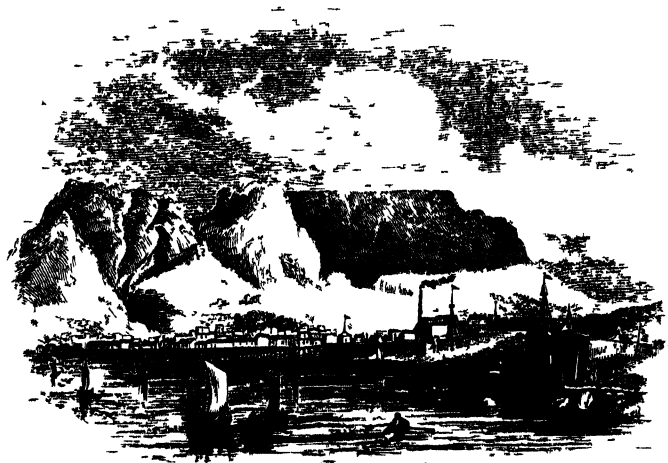
passed, in which the inhabitants complained of the degradation, and expressed their determination in every way to resist it. To such a height, indeed, had their indignation risen, that they were ready to take up arms, and risk the horrors of an unequal warfare, rather than afford the evil a footing on their shores.

This resolution was soon tested. On the 19th of September the first instalment came, in the form of a ship-load of felons conveyed from Bermuda, which anchored in Simon's Bay in the evening. As soon as the arrival was known at Cape Town, the preconcerted signal of alarm was

so that Sir Harry was soon compelled to have bread baked in his own house. Their perseverance was in the end successful. Rather than lose so valuable a colony to the British crown, which must have been the result, the home government yielded; and, without having been able to effect even a momentary landing, the *Neptune* sailed away with her obnoxious cargo in quest of more hospitable settlements.

During this session, the condition of Ireland, and plans for its coercion and relief, occupied the usual amount of parliamentary attention. This necessity, indeed, was so urgent that the discus-

sion of Irish affairs commenced with the opening of the session, and the suspension of the habeas corpus act in the more disturbed districts, which had been imposed the previous year, was continued for six months longer. Another step was a motion of Sir Charles Wood, that "the commissioners of the treasury be authorized to direct the issue out of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom of any sum not exceeding £50,000, for affording relief to certain poor-law unions in Ireland." It was felt, indeed, that this loan, like other



CAPE TOWN AND TABLE MOUNT, from near Amsterdam Battery

given—the gong of the town-hall sent forth its thunders, the church bells were rung at half-minute time, and an address was despatched to the governor, "praying, as the people have determined that the convicts must not, cannot, and shall not be landed or kept in any parts of this colony," that the *Neptune* should be ordered, after victualling, to leave their shores, and rid the colonists of their anxiety. Sir Harry Smith, the governor, in a sore strait between the parent government on the one hand, and the fierce determination of the colonists on the other, attempted a middle course, and returned a soft answer. He expressed his intention not to receive the convicts pending the arrival of answers to his despatches on the subject addressed to the secretary of state, which might be expected in a month or six weeks; and that in the meantime the *Neptune* would ride at anchor in Simon's Bay, as in the case of any other ship. But this answer was anything than satisfactory to the remonstrants; they dreaded the smuggling of even a single convict on shore as the "letting out of water;" and they commenced action by stopping the supplies for the army, navy, and government,

grants to Ireland, must, from the desperate chances of repayment, be considered as a gift, and that it was merely part and parcel of a ruinous system that afforded no prospect of a close. Such was the view taken of it by Sir James Graham, when he gave his reluctant assent to the proposal. He did not scruple to declare, that "this must be the last vote, and he should agree to it distinctly on that ground; with the feeling that the time had clearly come when ministers must carefully review the whole subject of local taxation in Ireland, and come forward with a general proposition, embracing not only that, but many other subjects." A third proposal, moved and carried after the usual amount of Irish opposition, was to the following effect:—"That in each of the two next years there shall be paid by every union in Ireland a sum equal to the rate of sixpence in the pound on each electoral division in such union, towards a general fund for the relief of the poor in Ireland. That the said sum shall be paid to a separate account at the Bank of Ireland, in the name of the paymaster of civil services in Ireland, and shall be applied in such manner as parliament shall direct." To

this, also, the following amendment was added:—"That the income-tax received from property in Ireland, and a tax to be derived from other descriptions of Irish property, should be appropriated for the augmentation of the fund to be applied for the relief of distress."

While this rate-in-aid bill was passing through the House of Commons to that of the Lords, and involved in the uncertainties of an anxious and protracted discussion, the growing distress of Ireland brooked neither half measures nor delay. The £50,000 so lately granted for relief had disappeared, like a drop of water on a sand heap, and more and larger subsidies were in demand, let the fate of the bill be what it might. On the 19th of April, therefore, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to authorize her majesty's treasury to advance a sum of £100,000 for affording relief to certain distressed unions in Ireland, the same to be charged on any rate to be levied in each union, under any measure to be passed during the present session.

In this way, the passing of the rate-in-aid bill was already anticipated; and failing this, no remedy remained but to convert the demanded loan into a grant. To this explanation Lord John Russell added, that should the rate-in-aid bill be thrown out, the government would propose no further grant from the consolidated fund. It was an awkward dilemma prepared for those who objected to a present loan for the relief of Irish distress. A proposal was made by Mr. Herbert to substitute an income and property tax on such land in Ireland as was exempted from its operation, in lieu of the rate-in-aid, but the latter alternative seemed the more tolerable evil of the two; and Mr. Herbert's amendment was rejected, while the original motion was carried by a majority of 201 against 106.

But the most important of all the government measures at this period in behalf of Ireland, was the bill for facilitating the transfer of encumbered estates. A bill to that effect indeed had been passed last year, but as yet it was little more than a dead letter, owing to the serious obstacles with which its working was impeded. These originated not only in the troubled state of the country, which made any transfer of old hereditary property unpopular and dangerous, but also in the constitution and forms of procedure of the Court of Chancery. Facilities must be granted for such a kind of transference, even though they should be of an arbitrary character, just as the habeas corpus law itself must be suspended when the safety of the whole community is at issue. The bill to further the facilities of transference was intrusted to Sir John Romilly, the solicitor-general, and introduced by him to parliament on the 26th of April. His plan was to the fol-

lowing effect: Instead of the buyers and sellers being fettered by the delays of chancery, and the expense of heavy fees, a commission was to be established, through which the whole business of transfer should be cheaply and expeditiously conducted. This commission, similar to one formerly established for the West Indies, and which had worked so well, was to consist of three paid commissioners and a secretary, invested with all the powers possessed by the Court of Chancery. It was to frame its own rules for its guidance, which were to be submitted to the privy council in Ireland; and afterwards, on being laid on the table of the British parliament, they were to have the same force and effect as if they had been enacted by the house. The commissioners would also have the power to alter their rules from time to time as circumstances might require, with this restriction, however, that they should not frame any rules imposing fees upon, or levying them from suitors. In the first instance, also, this commission, instead of being permanent, was to continue five years, until the experiment of its working had been fully tested. As for their official duties, they were only to act on application being made to them by owners or encumbrancers of estates; and this being done, they were to sell the property in such a manner, and in such quantities, as might seem to them for the best. The conveyance to the purchaser was to be made by a short and simple schedule, that would be an indefeasible title to the purchaser; while the commissioners should have the same right of putting him in possession as was vested in the execution of a sheriff's writ, by which actions of ejectment to obtain possession would be unnecessary. The purchase money was to be paid into the Bank of Ireland in the name of the commission, and then to be divided without delay amongst the various persons entitled to it, the commission determining as to the persons to whom it was to be paid.

Such were the most important particulars of the new and improved bill for the sale and transfer of encumbered Irish property: it was received with cheers from all sides of the house, and was passed through the commons with scarcely any opposition. It was introduced into the upper house by Lord John Campbell on the 11th of June, who confessed that the bill was indeed of an arbitrary character, and could only be justified by the most urgent necessity. The chief objections were brought against it by Lord Brougham, who suggested one or two modifications. By the first of these, the encumbered proprietor, instead of having the unlimited power of selling, could only dispose of his landed property when one-half or two-thirds of the rental were eaten up by the mortgages, while no.

sale was to be made at less than a certain number of years' purchase. The bill was referred to a select committee, and after several alterations, to which the House of Commons assented, it finally passed into law.

Another measure of relief for Ireland was an amendment of the Irish poor law. The system hitherto in use had proved unavailing, from the burdens already entailed on property, and the increasing growth of national pauperism, so that, but for the repeated aid of government, the poor-law system itself would have been utterly extinguished. On the 26th of April, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the evil. It chiefly consisted of the introduction of a maximum in each separate electoral division, and the rates in all the electoral divisions in the unions. When in any case the rates of one of these divisions amounted to five shillings in the pound, it should be entitled to call upon the other electoral divisions of the union to contribute a share in whatever further relief might be required—this share not to exceed two shillings in the pound, in each division. In this way, the maximum rate of relief would be raised to seven shillings in the pound. As the necessity of some such measure was apparent, and as no better remedy for the present could be suggested, the bill was passed in the commons, with an amendment proposed by Sir George Grey, that rates in payment of former advances and loans, should be separated from the maximums fixed by the rate-in-aid bill. The whole brunt of opposition was brought against the measure in the House of Lords, where it was stigmatized as a miserable attempt at legislation, and a "trap to catch English capital." The bill was examined and contested clause by clause; that of the maximum rate, which formed the key-stone of the whole fabric, was removed; and in this dismantled condition the bill was sent back to the commons for reconsideration. There, however, its arrival was confronted with a question of privilege. Ought the house to waive its exclusive jurisdiction over matters affecting public money, by assenting to the amendments of the lords, although these amendments touched upon rates? Here, also, the extreme urgency of the case prevailed; the suggestions of the upper house were taken into consideration, and the greater part of the amendments were adopted.

Other measures in relation to Irish relief were considered during the course of the session. The first of these was the proposal of the chancellor of exchequer to advance a loan to the Irish landholders of £300,000, in addition to the former loans, for the drainage and improvement of their estates. To this, also, he proposed an additional £200,000 for the more costly, but more im-

proving system of arterial drainage, which had already been adopted with signal benefit to Ireland. This proposal was agreed to by vote. Another had reference to emigration. The superabundance of the Irish population required to be drawn off, and facilities were needed for the purpose by those who were desirous to emigrate. In this case, it was proposed that the boards of guardians should be empowered to borrow money for the purpose of advancing loans to Irish emigrants, to be repaid by instalments in the course of five or seven years. The landed proprietors, also, were to be allowed, for the same purposes, to borrow money upon their settled property for a similar period. In this way, it was stated, the sum needed, amounting to a million or a million and a half, would be entirely defrayed from Irish resources. This motion, which was proposed on the 15th of May by Mr. Mansell, one of the members for the county of Limerick, was also carried.

That volcanic shaking of the nations by which so many thrones had been overturned during the previous year, could not escape the anxious solicitude of the British parliament, isolated though the country had been from the visitation; and so early as the 6th of March the subject was commenced, by an inquiry as to whether a contractor who had been in the habit of supplying arms to the British government, had been allowed to furnish them from the government stores for the use of the insurgents in Sicily? The answer was, that this had been inadvertently done, and was afterwards the subject of deep regret. The question of British participation in the recent troubles in the north of Italy soon after followed; and Lord Palmerston was accused of withholding a despatch from the Austrian government, connected with the views of the latter towards Sardinia, by which an unfounded alarm had been created in the public mind of Britain against Austria. The motion for producing this suppressed document, however, was withdrawn. The French intervention in the affairs of Rome, by which the insurrection had been subdued and the pontiff replaced—and the revolt of Hungary, by which the overthrow of the Austrian dominion over that country had been all but accomplished—came in for their share of discussion, bearing as they did upon British interests, and attracting a full share of British sympathy. It was evident, indeed, that with 1848, an age of revolution had commenced which the rest of the present century would scarcely suffice to settle, let the immediate termination of the struggle be what it might. And still, in every case, the question was, Had Britain, amidst all these trying events, conducted her policy according to the good faith of treaties, and the claims of political justice? A satisfactory answer was given by Lord Palmerston. Our

government had not interfered, but it had not remained silent: it had expressed those sentiments which a great nation can never utter in vain. "It is not fitting," said his lordship, in his place in parliament—"it is not fitting that a country occupying such a proud position as England—that a country having such various and extensive interests—should lock herself up in a simple regard to her own internal affairs, and should be a passive and mute spectator of everything that is going on around. It is quite true that it may be said, 'Your opinions are but opinions; and you express them against our opinions, who have at our command large armies to back them: what are opinions against armies?' My answer is, opinions are stronger than armies. I say, then, that it is our duty not to remain passive spectators of events that in their immediate consequences affect other countries, but which, in their remote and certain consequences, are sure to come back with disastrous effect upon ourselves; that so far as the courtesies of international intercourse may permit us to do so, it is our duty, especially when our opinion is asked—as it has been on many occasions on which we have been blamed for giving it—to state our opinions founded on the experience of this country—an experience that might be, and ought to have been, an example to less fortunate countries. We are not entitled to interpose in any manner that will commit this country to embark in those hostilities. All we can justly do, is to take advantage of any opportunities that may present themselves, in which the counsels of friendship and peace may be offered to the contending parties. Her majesty's government have not, in the present state of the matter, thought that any opportunity has as yet presented itself that could enable them, with any prospect of advantage, to make an official communication of those opinions which they entertain on this subject—I say official, as contradistinguished from opinions expressed in a more private and confidential manner: but undoubtedly, if any occasion were to occur that should lead them to think the expression of such opinions would tend to a favourable result, it would be the duty of the government not to let such an opportunity pass by."

Among the lost bills of this session, which had reference chiefly to retrenchment and parliamentary reform, one of the most important was the admissibility of the Jews to parliament. On this occasion, the proposal was moved by Lord John Russell, who reviewed the three oaths taken by members on their admission to parliament, viz. those of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration. The first of these was superfluous, as no lineal descendant of James II. remained, and therefore he proposed that it should

be abrogated. As for the oath of abjuration, his lordship alleged that it was only a modification of the first, and devised to exclude the temporal power of the pope, ending with these words, "on the faith of a Christian," which a Jew could not take, however he might abjure Popery and all its pretensions. His lordship therefore proposed that these words should be omitted in the case of Jewish subjects, to make them eligible to a seat in parliament. The bill in this form passed through the several readings in the commons, the third being carried by a majority of 272 to 206. It was not equally fortunate with the lords. There, the second reading was moved on the 26th of July, but had the episcopal bench for its chief antagonists, and the bill was rejected by a majority of twenty-five.

Another measure, which had for its object the removal of the legal restrictions against marriage with a deceased wife's sister, was brought before parliament this session for the second time. Although the Christian world at large had generally been agreed upon the religious illegality of such marriages, the practice in England had latterly become so frequent, and the succession of such an amount of property had become involved in the issue, that in 1835 all antecedent marriages between a widower and his wife's sister were legalized, but all contracted subsequently to that date were annulled. But since the passing of this act, it had been found by a commission of inquiry, that from 30,000 to 50,000 of such marriages had taken place, involving the legitimacy of at least 40,000 children. The bill proposing the final and complete removal of all such restrictions was introduced on the 22d of February, by Mr. James Stuart Wortley, and the discussions that followed on the subject embraced the whole range of theological, moral, and social obligations. The principal arguments both for and against such unions had to be derived from the Levitical law; and as each disputant had his own interpretation, or gloss, or comment upon the subject, such an amount of theological casuistry was brought forward as has seldom been displayed in a modern British parliament. The question was so frequently adjourned, that the bill did not reach its second reading till the 20th of June, when it was carried by a majority of 177 against 143. Here, however, its progress was for the time arrested, the lateness of the season, as well as the state of public feeling against it, giving no prospect of the bill being brought to a third reading during this year. On the 1st of August, the parliament was prorogued by commission.

After the victories which so lately crowned our arms in India, the tranquillity of our eastern empire, with few exceptions, continued uninter-

rupted during the course of 1847. This pacific character was no doubt materially promoted by the death of Akbar Khan, our chief antagonist in the Cabool war. In the Punjab, a serious disturbance was threatened from the intrigues of the Ranees to overthrow the council of regency; but by adopting the summary process of transporting her under a military escort to Shaikpoora, about twenty-five miles distant from Lahore, and keeping her there under strict surveillance, the danger was averted. In Scinde, also, our lately acquired conquest, a temporary disturbance which might have risen into dangerous importance, was speedily suppressed by the gallantry of a British officer and his handful of troops. A clan or tribe called the Boogtees, one of the most dangerous of all those marauding hordes that infest the frontiers of Scinde, to the number of 600 or 700 foot, and a small party of horse, had descended into the plains, and advanced towards the Timanee river. They were encountered near the Khoonee jungle by Lieutenant Merewether, who had set out to oppose them at the head of 133 men of all ranks, from the Scinde irregular cavalry. The battle that ensued was, notwithstanding the fewness of the combatants, of the most desperate character, the Boogtees rallying after each repulse, and renewing the conflict with the most obstinate perseverance, until nearly the whole were cut to pieces, including all their chieftains of note. In October, the hero of Meeanee and Hyderabad resigned his office as governor of the province of Scinde. Viscount Hardinge also resigned his office of governor-general, and was succeeded by the Earl of Dalhousie.

These eastern events were but the mutterings of the distant storm, which was again to gather around the Punjab. It was from the powerful and daring Sikhs, still untamed by their terrible defeat, that the danger was to proceed. In their occupation of the new province, the British had resolved to substitute Sirdar Khan Sing as new governor of Mooltan; and Mr. Vans Agnew, a Bengal civil officer, and Lieutenant Anderson, were sent to instal him in office. But by one of those sudden and treacherous revolutions so common in India, Agnew and Anderson were attacked and desperately wounded by the natives; and on being carried for shelter to a small fort outside the town, its gates were thrown open to the assailants by the Sikh garrison who held it, and the two officers were overpowered and murdered.

As soon as tidings of this assassination reached Lahore, bodies of our Indian allies were ordered to march upon Mooltan; and Lieutenant Edwardes, employed with a small force upon the Indus, broke up his encampment, and proceeded towards the scene of action. He effected a junction with

Colonel Cortland; and their united forces, chiefly composed of Sikh regiments in the British service, attacked and routed an army of their revolted countrymen. But although they continued to press onward for Mooltan, dispersing the enemy in their way, and were joined by native troops that brought their force up to 18,000, they were still not strong enough to undertake the siege of such a city, and were obliged to send to Lahore for reinforcements, in consequence of which their army before the walls of Mooltan soon mustered 28,000 men, of whom 6000 were British soldiers. With these, also, General Whish arrived, who assumed the chief command.

The British general now thought himself strong enough to attempt the capture of Mooltan, and for this purpose made an attack on the outworks on the 12th of September. All the defensible points on one side of the city were taken after a desperate resistance; but on the following day, when a still more decisive onset was to be attempted, Shere Sing, one of the auxiliary chieftains of the British invading force, suddenly deserted their cause, with 5000 Sikhs who were under his command. A similar spirit of defection was manifested by a large portion of the Sikh population, who were ready to forget their feuds for a joint attack on the British invaders; and soon a formidable army of 30,000, under the command of Shere Sing, and his father Chuttur Sing, were in the field, and ready to contend with their late masters for the possession of the Punjab. This formidable revolt required the presence of another British army near the centre of the Punjab, and thither accordingly a strong force was sent about the middle of November, under the command of Lord Gough. In the meantime, the siege of Mooltan was continued by General Whish, while the town was gallantly defended by Moolraj, lately its dewan or governor, who had been dispossessed of his charge by the British as a doubtful ally, in favour of Sirdar Khan Sing.

The besieging army being now raised by reinforcements from Bombay to 32,000 men, of whom 15,000 were British, made their final assault upon the town on the 28th of December. On the next morning, when the assailants had carried their bombardment close to the walls, an immense magazine within the town blew up with a tremendous explosion, shaking Mooltan to its foundations, and tumbling the houses about the ears of the inhabitants. This fearful earthquake occasioned only a momentary pause in the assault, and though their chief magazine of military stores was destroyed, the Sikhs continued their resistance for fifty hours longer. On the morning of the 2d of January, the British effected an entrance into the town, and laid siege to the

citadel into which the enemy had retired, and where they did not surrender till the 22d, when their stronghold was reduced to the last extremity by sap and mine, and about to be blown into the air. Of the garrison who marched out after this brave resistance, the following description is given:—"First appeared about 200 ill-clothed miserable wretches, who seemed broken and dispirited; then followed about 3500 hard, trained, stern, and stalwart-looking men; they had defended the fort to the last, and abandoned

it only when no longer tenable. They looked as if they would have fought to the death in the breaches, if such had been the will of their chief." It was evident from these specimens, that the British ascendancy in India was now to encounter more formidable enemies than the unwarlike effeminate Hindoos. Of Moolraj, who came out the last, it is added, "He neither wore the face of defiance or dejection, but moved along under the general gaze, as one conscious of having bravely done his duty, and aware of being the



STORMING OF THE KHOONLE BOORJ BREACH, MOOLTAN --From Dunlop's Sketches during the Siege of Mooltan

object of universal regard." He was tried as an accessory to the assassinations committed on Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson; and being found guilty after a long trial of fifteen days, he received sentence of death, which, however, was commuted for imprisonment during life. After the fall of Mooltan, the victorious army marched northward to join the forces of Lord Gough.

While these operations were in progress, the grand army in the field which was opposed to Chere Sing and Chuttur Sing had not been so fortunate. These chiefs had skilfully posted their forces on the right bank of the river Chenab, near the town of Ramnuggur, having also fortified and occupied the town, a grove of trees on the left bank of the Chenab, and a small island in mid-channel comprising about two acres. Here they were attacked on the 22d of November at two o'clock in the morning, by Lord Gough; but the Sikhs were so skilfully posted, and defended themselves so bravely, while the British, ignorant of the nature of the ground, committed so many blunders that they were unsuccessful at every point, and suffered a heavy loss in men and officers. On the 30th, operations were resumed by an attack upon the Sikhs in front, while a strong British force was detached

to cross the river above Ramnuggur, and take the enemy in flank and rear. This last movement was effected on the 2d of December; and on receiving the intelligence our army commenced a heavy cannonade along the front of the enemy's encampment, compelled them to fall back two miles, and succeeded in sending another British detachment across the Chenab. Although the Sikhs resisted each lodgment, it was so unsuccessful, that they abandoned their position, leaving the passage of the river open to the British, who crossed in full expectation that the campaign had already terminated.

This flattering hope was speedily brought to a painful close. On the 10th of January, intelligence was received that the Sikhs had taken Attock, which had made a long and gallant defence, and that their army now amounted to 40,000 men and sixty-two guns, ready, if need should be, to become the assailants in turn. Eager to reach them, and end the war by one decisive action, Lord Gough rapidly advanced to the village of Chillianwallah, in the neighbourhood of which he found them skilfully drawn up, entrenched by sandhills, ravines, and jungles, of which they well knew the military use. Although the British troops were wearied with their long march, and the day was far

spent, and although the intervening ground between them and the enemy had not been carefully reconnoitred and ascertained, the signal of attack was given, and followed by a result unwonted in the history of our Indian warfare. The well-served artillery of the Sikhs tore our columns as they advanced; our troops that were sent to dislodge the enemy from the jungle, were outflanked and driven back; while a considerable portion of our cavalry, instead of charging, turned bridle, and rode through their own artillery, overturning and trampling down everything in their way. Over the whole front of the engagement a series of unfortunate movements had been made, and disgraceful checks or defeats experienced. The British indeed remained masters of the field, but it was with the loss of 2269 men in killed and wounded, five stand of colours and four guns taken, with the recapture also of those cannon we had taken in the engagement.

On the arrival in England of the despatches from India, it was felt that not only a national calamity, but even a national disgrace had been sustained, by this unfortunate battle of Chillianwallah. It was a positive defeat, and that too from an Indian army scarcely more numerous than our own. In this point of view, it would tend more to destroy our prestige in the East, than even the disastrous campaign of Afghanistan. While the public at home was incensed and mortified, the government was compelled to act with stern promptitude; and accordingly Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, whom the universal acclamation called for on this trying occasion, was immediately appointed to repair to India as commander-in-chief of the forces, and member extraordinary of the council of India. So high was the confidence reposed in his military talents, and the terror of his name among the Indian nations, that it was hoped his arrival there would at once recal victory to our standard, whatever mischances might happen during the interval. Fortunately, however, an event followed close upon that of Chillianwallah, by which the reputation lost in the latter instance was amply retrieved.

This was a second encounter with the Sikhs, in which they were completely defeated. To the number of 60,000, and with fifty-nine pieces of artillery, they had pitched their camp between the Chenab and the Jhelum, at a place called Goojerat, confident in their numbers and late success, and eager for another trial. And for this they had not long to wait, as Lord Gough on the 20th of February had come up with them, though his army did not muster more than 25,000. His late disaster had taught him caution; and the enemy was now to be overcome by the superiority of European strategy, instead

of a mere hand-to-hand encounter, in which the Sikhs would have the benefit of superior numbers. The engagement commenced early on the morning of the 21st by a cannonade so close, heavy, and destructive, that Lord Gough described it as exceeding all of the kind he had ever witnessed. The Sikhs indeed bore up



LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LORD GOUGH.
From an engraving by J. R. Jackson.

against it bravely, and answered it promptly with their artillery; but the iron shower that made huge gaps in their ranks obliged them reluctantly to fall back. The British advanced, and carried the key of the enemy's position; their artillery moved forward with great rapidity; and the unintermitting cannonade that continued to play upon the Sikhs, drove them from every position, and compelled them to a retreat, which was speedily changed into a headlong flight. Such was the victory of Goojerat, won by British cannon directed by science and skill, and which was cheaply won by the victors, who had only ninety-two killed and 682 wounded. So total indeed was the defeat of the Sikhs, that all thought of further resistance was abandoned; and accordingly, Shere Sing, Chuttur Sing, and the other insurgent chiefs, repaired to the British camp, and there surrendered themselves and their broken army to the conquerors, along with the guns and other trophies they had captured at Chillianwallah. Soon after, the fortress of Attock was recovered by the British, who crossed the Indus, and drove a body of Afghans, who had come to the aid of the Sikhs, through the Khyber Pass towards Cabool. By a proclamation of the Governor-general of India it was announced, that the kingdom of the Punjab was at an end; that all its territories were

now a portion of the British empire in India; and while every class were summoned to obedience, they were warned, that any fresh outbreak would be punished with prompt and most rigorous severity.

In proportion to the despondency that had been felt at home by the disheartening tidings of our disasters at Chillianwallah, was the exultation that welcomed the splendid victory of Goojerat. All fears for our Indian empire were silenced, and Lord Gough, so lately the object of public blame, was now the popular hero of the day. But an official testimony of the importance of the event was given by parliament on the 24th of April, when it was introduced before both houses. Its celebration was recommended by a day of general thanksgiving, and a vote of thanks was passed to Lord Gough and the officers and army engaged in the recent operations of the Punjab.

The free-trade principle, which was now in full operation, was attended with such results as satisfied its most sanguine advocates. A diminution of pauperism, a greater abundance among the lower classes of the means of subsistence, and an increase in the value of our exports to the amount of £10,000,000 sterling, were unmistakeable symptoms of the wisdom of this great political experiment. But, on the other hand, the depression of the agricultural interest, and the difficulties in which agriculturists were involved in consequence of the reduced prices of their produce, formed a serious counterpoise to the mercantile prosperity of the country. These circumstances were thus noticed in the royal speech read by the lord-chancellor, when parliament was opened by commission on the 31st of January, 1850:—"Her majesty has great satisfaction in congratulating you on the improved condition of commerce and manufactures. It is with regret that her majesty has observed the complaints which in many parts of the kingdom have proceeded from the owners and occupiers of land. Her majesty greatly laments that any portion of her subjects should be suffering distress; but it is a source of sincere gratification to her majesty to witness the increased enjoyment of the necessities and comforts of life which cheapness and plenty have bestowed upon the great body of her people."

The opportunity of remonstrance against the fruits of free trade, as exemplified in our agricultural depression, was not lost sight of by the protectionists; and accordingly, when the royal address was moved in the House of Lords, it was met with a formidable opposition. It had lightly touched the prevalent evil, and proposed no remedy; and in an amendment it was proposed to add, that these agricultural evils were mainly owing "to recent legislative enactments,

aggravated by the pressure of local taxation." The address without the amendment was passed in the lords by a majority of forty-nine. In the commons the subject was taken up with considerable keenness, where the principle of free trade was decried as the great source of our agricultural grievances, and a reconsideration of the whole matter was seriously proposed. It was answered, however, that these grievances were only temporary, not permanent; that our agriculture as yet was only in a transition state, in which the evils of the experiment had first to be encountered; and that with improved modes of cultivation, we should soon be able to keep our ground against the cheapness of foreign markets. The royal address was carried in the commons by 311 against 192.

On the re-assembling of parliament, the claims of the agricultural classes were brought before the house by Mr. D'Israeli, on the 19th of February. He stated that the prospects of the agriculturists were daily becoming darker; that the value of the fee-simple of the soil was deteriorating, and the factitious employment of the people in rural districts diminishing. The only sure remedy for this, he alleged, was the re-establishment of those protective laws which had lately been abrogated. But as the government now stood committed to free trade, so that such a change was hopeless, he would propose instead, the remission of that local taxation which weighed heaviest upon the agricultural classes. He would propose therefore the following resolutions:—
1. That the poor-law establishment charges in the United Kingdom (about £1,500,000) should be transferred to the general revenue.
2. That certain miscellaneous rates which, generally speaking, it was convenient to raise by the machinery of the poor law, but which had nothing to do with the maintenance of the poor, such as registration of births and deaths, preparation of jury-lists, &c., should also be defrayed by the consolidated fund.
3. That the charge for the casual poor throughout the United Kingdom should likewise be transferred to the general revenue.

Against these proposals, and the statements by which they were enforced, the arguments of the free-trade party were numerous and cogent. It was alleged, that it involved the question of whether £18,000,000 or £20,000,000 should be transferred from the land to the consolidated fund. It was but part of a great measure that would be certain to follow, affecting our whole fiscal system, and involving a revival of the policy of the last five or six years. And, after all, what relief would the present measure accomplish, even if it were conceded? It was also stated, that considerable agricultural distress had per-

vaded other countries of Europe, where prices had been depressed notwithstanding protection, and with the advantage of free importation into England. Besides, it appeared that during the last year we had imported 5,600,000 qrs. of foreign wheat, which had chiefly been consumed by those who lived by labour; and that from such an augmented demand, our own produce had the best chance of success. Even let the £2,000,000 also of taxation be transferred according to the proposal of Mr. D'Israeli, could it be justly assumed that there would always be an annual surplus to meet the demand? And even if there should be such a surplus, would it not be better to devote it to the remission or mitigation of taxes that oppressed the industry of the country, than to bestow it upon real property? How strong the protectionist party still was, and with what reluctance these arguments were received, was shown on the division of the house, when the motion was negatived by a majority of only 21, 252 votes being in its favour, and 273 against it.

The necessary but often vexatious subject of parliamentary reform was the next subject of deliberation, in consequence of a motion of Mr. Joseph Hume to the following effect:—"That leave be granted to bring in a bill to amend the national representation, by extending the elective franchise, so that every man of full age, and not subject to any mental or legal disability, who shall have been the resident occupier of a house, or part of a house as a lodger, for twelve months, and shall have been duly rated to the poor of that parish for that time, shall be registered as an elector, and be entitled to vote for a representative in parliament; also, by enacting that votes shall be taken by ballot; that the duration of parliaments shall not exceed three years; and that the proportion of representatives be made more consistent with the amount of population and property." In favour of his motion, Mr. Hume argued that it would raise the number of single voters from 800,000 to quadruple that amount; and that the concessions in the elective franchise lately granted to Ireland and the colonies gave a fair opportunity for his proposed change. At a subsequent stage of the discussion, Mr. Hume completely outstripped his motion; for he confessed that he would have no objection to extend the right of voting even to females, and to substitute for an hereditary House of Lords an elective second chamber. This was certainly driving the car of national reform too fast, and the best result in such a case could only be an absolute stoppage. The feeling of the house at such a startling attempt of progress was manifested in the division, when the motion was negatived by 242 against 96.

The welfare of our colonies was the subject that occupied the most important place in the proceedings of this session. Their claims to self-government had already been considered, and to some extent complied with; and as several of these colonies had ripened with unexampled rapidity, and grown almost into full strength, it was felt that the time had arrived when they might safely be intrusted to their own management. The subject had also been recommended in the royal speech; and at the commencement of the session, ministers had announced their intention of embodying their views in an act of parliament applicable to our Australian settlements. These views were now stated before the House of Commons by Lord John Russell on the 8th of February.

After a brief sketch of the history of our colonies, and a statement of their population, wealth, and resources, his lordship observed that, in consequence of our recent legislation, and especially that on the navigation laws, the question had arisen, whether it was worth while to retain our colonial empire. It was evidently, however, our bounden duty to maintain the colonies which had been placed under our charge, and govern them for their benefit. They were the sources of our wealth in peace, and our strength in war; but if they were abandoned, several of them would revert to those countries by which they had originally been founded. Thus, the Mauritius would return to France, and the Cape of Good Hope to Holland. Another scheme proposed had been, to free the colonial legislation in respect to local laws, and subject it to the imperial sanction for all others; but no such distinction could be drawn, as had been illustrated by the case of Canada. After adverting to the governments established in Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, from which appeals that were to be decided by the colonial secretary were seldom transmitted, and to the form of government which had been resolved for the Cape of Good Hope, in which representative institutions were to be introduced, Lord John proceeded to that part of his bill which regarded Australia, being the same as he had proposed during the former year. "It goes not," he said, "on the principle of having a council and assembly [these were for the Cape of Good Hope], in imitation of the government of this country, which has been usually the form most palatable and popular in our colonies; but it is proposed that there should be but one council—a council of which two-thirds shall be formed of representatives elected by the people, and one-third named by the governor. The reason for adopting this proposal is, that after a great deal of deliberation, that plan was adopted some years ago, and, I think, was finally enacted by parliament

in 1842; and since that time has been found so acceptable to the people of New South Wales that, upon the whole, as far as we could ascertain their sentiments, they appear to prefer that form of popular government to that which is more in analogy with the government of this country." After dissenting cries of "No" and "Hear," the premier thus continued:—"But when we propose that this shall be the form of government for New South Wales, I should add, that we propose likewise to give the colonists the power of altering their own constitution in that respect; and that, if it should be their opinion that they had better resort to a government by legislative council and assembly, there would be no veto, no restriction on the part of the crown against the adoption of that course. Last year we proposed that the customs duties which now prevail in New South Wales should be enacted by parliament for the whole of the Australian colonies, and should be binding till they were altered by the proper authorities. We have thought that, although it is a most desirable object that the customs duties should not vary in the different Australian colonies, it is not advisable to enact that by authority of parliament, but that it is better to leave them to settle for themselves whether they will not adopt a similar tariff for all the various parts of Australia." He explained that, as these colonies would have their own councils, it would be sufficient for an assembly of these councils, on the application of two colonies, to establish a tariff for the whole; and that, by the same authority the price of waste lands should be settled, on condition of making their price uniform throughout the whole of Australia. The trying question of transportation to these colonies was hastily disposed of, with the declaration that convicts should only be sent, and in small numbers, to such colonists as were willing to receive them, but that none should be imposed against the will of the people. Such was the general colonial aversion to this kind of labour, that another punishment than transportation must be adopted for our criminals. As for emigration, it might still be left to spontaneous choice; late experience having shown that private benevolence and enterprise were sufficient for the increase of old colonies and the establishment of new. Anticipating the period when some of our colonies would so increase as to feel themselves strong enough to maintain their own independence in unity and alliance with England, Lord John Russell concluded with the following generous sentiment:—"I do not think that that time is yet approaching. But let us make them, as far as possible, fit to govern themselves; let us give them, as far as we can, the capacity of ruling their own affairs; let them increase in wealth and population; and

whatever may happen, we of this great empire shall have the consolation of saying that we have contributed to the happiness of the world."

This important bill for the government of the Australian colonies having passed, after a brief debate, the second reading was fixed for the 18th of February. The chief subject of disputation and demur on this occasion was that of government by a single chamber instead of a double one; though where the aristocratic element of an upper house could have been found in Australia would have puzzled every dissident of this stamp. Another objection was, that instead of planting liberal institutions in these colonies at once, we left them to the agony of working out a matured scheme of government for themselves. It was also repeatedly asserted and denied, that this kind of constitution was the one most in accordance with the present wishes of the Australians; who, having the permission, only wanted to have time and experience for developing it according to future wants and contingencies. The bill was read a second time; and, in its progress through committee, various alterations and amendments were proposed, chiefly in relation to the government of the Australian colonies by a single chamber, but these, in every case, were rejected by large majorities. The earnestness with which every point was considered, weighed, and contested, was an honourable attestation to the growing importance of Australia, as well as to the general desire felt at home of qualifying its colonies for independence and self-government.

The bill passed the third reading in the House of Commons on the 13th of May, and on the 31st its second reading was moved in the House of Lords by Earl Grey. And here, as in the commons, the single chamber system met with the chief share of opposition. It was stigmatized as "novel, unnecessary, mischievous"—as a sort of political go-cart, which the colonies were to have as a machine of practice for their limbs and members, by which, when they had learned to walk, they would knock away the whole present system of legislature. Another difficulty which had also been started in the other house, was not of a political but a religious character. What was to be the condition of the Church of England in these colonies? The Presbyterians, the Roman Catholics, and the dissenting bodies carried with them to these shores the principle of self-government, and the full power of synodical action. But such was not the case with the clergy of the Church of England, who, even at the antipodes, were recognized as subject to the see of Canterbury; and thus it endured all the restrictions, without enjoying the advantages of the mother church. The bill, with a few amendments, was returned to the House of Commons

for consideration on the 1st of August, which amendments were agreed to, and the Australian colonies were thus in a great measure consigned to their own guardianship.

At an early period of this session, our foreign policy in relation to Greece formed the subject of an important discussion in parliament. For a course of years our merchants had possessed certain claims upon the Greek government, the justice of which had been recognized, and satisfaction promised; but notwithstanding these promises, it was at last evident that the government of Otho had no intention to fulfil them; for they had been evaded from the beginning, and at last flatly refused. In consequence of this refusal, Admiral Sir William Parker, who was in the Greek waters, had been directed to proceed to Athens to enforce these demands, which he had done by blockading the Piræus. The public feeling in England was roused by the intelligence. Independently of the classical associations by which Greece must always be endeared to every European people, it was deemed ungenerous and unfair to take advantage of the weakness of a country still struggling into a new existence, and with which we were at peace. So loud was the popular indignation, that on the 4th of February, soon after the tidings had arrived, the subject was brought before the House of Lords by Lord Stanley. He detailed the circumstances as they were generally reported, and demanded an explanation. This was given by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who softened some of the reports and contradicted others, until the blockade itself was almost reduced to a friendly visit and polite hint on the part of the British admiral. The explanation, however, was not reckoned satisfactory; and it was alleged in answer, that although we had guaranteed with the other powers the integrity of Greece, we had by our late claim demanded the cession of the Greek islands of Elaphonisi and Sapienza, and had done this against the remonstrances of the French and Russian governments, who had offered their mediation and been refused. A misunderstanding with these formidable powers might lead to a fresh war, even though the islands in question were so worthless that, as Lord Brougham asserted, one of them supported three goats, and the other only a single hare.

On the subject being introduced into the commons, and full information demanded, the explanation given by the secretary of foreign affairs reduced the grievances complained of to the case of two British subjects, who had been forcibly deprived of their property at the instance of the Greek government, and from whom compensation had been withheld. As for Elaphonisi and Sapienza, these islands, it was asserted, were in-

cluded in the Ionian state in the year 1800 by the Porte. Each explanation seemed only to complicate the difficulties of the question, and deepen the popular resentment; and at last the public was startled to learn that on the 15th of May, the anniversary of our sovereign's birthday, the French ambassador had left London for Paris, while the Russian ambassador had withheld his presence from the official dinner. Was there then to be war at last? and upon such a paltry occasion? So strong was the general feeling against the ministry, that it seemed as if the hours of Lord John Russell's administration were numbered. At last, the whole subject of the ministerial policy in regard to Greece having been laid before the two houses, was commented upon with terrible eloquence and invective by Lord Stanley, and the whole condemned as a series of selfish blunders and short-sighted policy. We had been bullying a poor little kingdom of only fourteen years' standing. We had been playing a game in that country merely to strengthen ourselves against French ascendancy; and the claims which we had been enforcing against it for pretended injuries, had been unjust and extravagant, as well as in behalf of persons who were entitled to no such interference. The order to take forcible possession of the island of Sapienza, in which Britain had no right to act independently of France and Russia, had not been rescinded, and had only not been executed, because Admiral Parker and Mr. Wyse, our envoy, had more discretion than our foreign secretary who had issued it. In the meantime, the noble and dignified conduct of the Greek government, who were unable to resist, had won for them the sympathy of Europe. In conclusion, he thought that he had made out the points stated in his motion; and if the ministry had been guilty of injustice, if they had made extravagant demands, if they had oppressed the weak and disgusted the strong, it became that house to show that the government of England was not England, and he called on the house to vindicate the authority of a great nation prostituted by an attempt to enforce unjust demands upon a weak and defenceless state. Notwithstanding the palliations which were adduced in justification of ministers, the division of the lords on the question was an emphatic condemnation of the proceedings of government by a majority of 37 votes, or 169 against 132.

It was fortunate for Lord John Russell's administration that these views were not shared in by the commons, before whom the decision of the lords was introduced on the 20th of June, only two days after. As a proper commencement, Lord John was asked whether he would adopt any special course of conduct in consequence of the resolution passed by the House of Lords.

In a full explanatory speech, his lordship justified the proceedings that had occasioned such stir; and with regard to the question whether he would resign, he declared that there was no necessity for such a step, and in justification, he quoted instances, in which British premiers under similar circumstances had seen it right to retain, instead of abandoning, the reins of government. He also justified not only himself, but his colleague, Lord Palmerston, who had come in for a double share of the public vituperation. "I can only say," he added at the conclusion of his speech, "that we shall continue in that course which we have hitherto followed with respect to our foreign policy. So long as we continue the government of this country, I can answer for my noble friend, that he will act, not as minister of Austria, or of Russia, or of France, or of any other country, but as minister of England. The honour of England, and the interests of England—such are the matters which are within our keeping; and it is to those interests and to that honour that our conduct will in future be, as it has hitherto been, directed." These declarations were loudly cheered from every part of the house. On this occasion, the defence of Lord John and his colleagues came from a quarter the more available as it was least expected, even from Mr. Roebuck, who had hitherto shown no very amicable spirit toward the present ministry. In the present case, after justifying the right of a ministry to appeal from a condemnation of the House of Lords to a verdict of the House of Commons, he gave notice of the resolution which he meant to move on the following day, to this effect:—"That the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of her majesty's government are such as were required to preserve untarnished the honour and dignity of this country, and, in times of unexampled difficulty, the best calculated to maintain peace between England and the various nations of the world."

The debate which followed upon this motion was continued during four nights, and characterized by a crowd of speeches remarkable not only for their ardour, but their earnest and impassioned eloquence. The continuance of peace, the honour of England, the privileges of the House of Commons, and the stability of government were all felt to be at stake, so that the original Greek question was at length merely regarded as the starting-point of controversy. The statements of Mr. Roebuck went to show that Turkey had been bullied by Russia and Austria for the extradition of the Hungarian refugees; that France had repeatedly sent out her fleets to foreign ports for the hostile redress of grievances, notwithstanding the offered mediation of England; and that England in the case of Greece had,

even at the worst, done nothing more than these complaining countries had committed against other states. Coming closer upon the *origo mali*, he then showed that Athens had become the focus of intrigues against the interests of England; and that the individual injuries complained of were deeds of tyrannical oppression and injustice which had been inflicted upon British subjects, and in which we were therefore bound to interfere. They were not singular cases also, but merely part and parcel of a course of similar offences which had been pursued for several years. And our interference at last—it was a merciful mode of proceeding by a strong state against a weak; for it was by a blockade, instead of an express declaration of war. The injured had appealed to England, and we were told that compliance with such appeals was against international law; but we knew well what pernicious consequences might be deduced in despotic countries from such an interpretation. It was also said, that the cases of Mr. Finlay and M. Pacifico were isolated cases; but there were also other cases; and if we once relaxed, in the case of half-civilized nations, the rules by which the subjects of this country are guarded abroad, there would be no safety for English commerce.

These arguments of Mr. Roebuck will sufficiently explain the course of the debate on this occasion, without entering into details. The result was a complete reversal of the sentence of the House of Lords, there being for the motion 310 votes, while only 264 were against it, thus giving a majority of 46 in favour of government. Considering the wonderful changes that have since taken place, it is as well that this result was attained. The guaranteeing powers that were at issue on this question, were soon afterwards to be in deadly combat against the whole course of Russian intrigue in the East, with France and England united to oppose it. Even already there were gloomy symptoms of this terrible consummation, arising out of the late affairs of Hungary—the occupation of the Danubian principalities by a Russian army, under the pretext of suppressing insurrection—and the arrogant demands of the czar upon the Porte for the surrender or banishment of the Hungarian exiles. These matters were brought before parliament at an early period of the session by Lord Dudley Stuart, who moved for certain papers upon the subject, to form the ground of a parliamentary inquiry. His motion was afterwards withdrawn; but the statements which it occasioned deepened the public aversion to northern ambition and tyranny, and helped to prepare the way for those great events which were hastening to their crisis.

On the 19th of March an important discussion occurred on the slave-trade, which, notwith-

standing the pecuniary sacrifices of Britain for its suppression, followed as they were by those armaments that were maintained to watch every outlet and inlet of the evil, continued still to flourish among the slave-holding foreign colonies in alarming abundance. It was stated that in 1847, the exports of slaves from Africa had amounted to 84,000, and were annually on the increase, notwithstanding our blockade system, maintained at an expense of £700,000 per annum. Under all these circumstances, it was moved by Mr. Hutt, the member for Gateshead, that the crown should be addressed to direct that negotiations should be forthwith entered into, for the purpose of releasing this country from all treaty engagements with foreign states for maintaining armed vessels on the coast of Africa to suppress the traffic in slaves. To this it was answered, that the blockade, inefficient though in many cases it was, and must still continue to be, had been productive of great benefit to the cause of humanity. It had made the transportation of slaves more difficult than ever, as was manifested by the greatly increased price that had to be paid for them in the slave markets of Cuba and Brazil. It had also been the means of implanting the seeds of civilization and humanity in Africa; and even for the continuing of such a desirable improvement, a continuance of the blockade was necessary. But besides, these ships were necessary for the maintenance of our factories and legitimate traffic on the African coast, and for compelling Spain and Brazil to fulfil their engagements by which they had agreed to abandon this infamous trade in human flesh

The character and honour of our country was also at stake; and by withdrawing our ships, we would proclaim to the world, that henceforth the slave-trade might prevail over every sea without let or hinderance. These representations had their full effect, so that on a division of the house, Mr. Hutt's motion was negatived by a majority of 232 against 154.

It was while the political business of this year was at its height, that the voice of the most eloquent of our British political orators was no longer heard; the senate was no longer to be controlled or directed in its counsels by his commanding intellect and persuasive words. Sir Robert Peel had delivered his memorable speech, which was destined to be his last, on the affairs of Greece and in justification of the ministry, in the House of Commons, and was taking an airing on horseback, when the animal he rode suddenly shied near the wicket-gate leading into the Green Park, and threw him violently to the ground. The injuries he sustained on this occasion were beyond medical aid, and he expired in his house at Whitehall Gardens, on the 2d of July, four days after the accident. The remains of the great statesman were conveyed to his mansion of Drayton Manor, and interred on the 9th at the parish church of Drayton Bassett, while the whole nation bewailed his premature departure. In him not only the country lost a most able and upright statesman, but private worth and talent a liberal patron, the destitute a benefactor, and the oppressed a champion. Equally with his talents, Britain will continue to hallow the remembrance of the virtues of Sir Robert Peel.



DRAYTON MANOR, the Residence of Sir Robert Peel

CHAPTER XIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1850—1851.

VICTORIA.

Irish affairs—Loan of money granted to Ireland—Proposal to extend the elective franchise in Ireland—It is carried—Irish riot of Dolly's Brae—Its origin and causes—Its sanguinary and disgraceful character—The lieutenant of the county and several magistrates dismissed from office—The subject investigated in the House of Lords—Decision of the lords—Satisfactory nature of the financial statement for the year—Question about the disposal of the surplus—Demands for retrenchment in the government expenditure—Public salaries reduced—Prospect of the removal of the window-tax—Factory act of 1847—Its terms eluded by the mill-owners—Its rules for the amelioration of labour improved—Baron Rothschild's application for his seat in the House of Commons—He refuses to take the oath of abjuration—The controversy of Jewish disabilities opened afresh—The discussion postponed—Inefficiency of past concessions to Popery—Papal decree for the establishment of an episcopal hierarchy in England—Cardinal Wiseman, by the pope's authority, appointed Archbishop of Westminster—Pastoral address of the new Popish metropolitan—Indignation of all Protestant parties at these aggressions—Lord John Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham on the subject—Dr. Wiseman's ineffectual apology—Notice of these Papal aggressions in the royal speech—Bill prepared to prevent the assumption of Popish episcopal titles from English dioceses or districts—Arguments adduced in parliament for and against the bill—It is introduced into parliament—Interruption to the discussion by the demands of the protectionists—Motion for the relief of the agricultural classes—Statement of their grievances—The motion negatived by a small majority—Motion carried for the extension of the franchise—Growing dissatisfaction with Lord John Russell's government—He resigns and is recalled—Consideration of the ecclesiastical titles bill, with modifications, resumed—It is still obnoxious to a large party in parliament—Chief arguments for and against it in the debate—Obstacles interposed to the progress of the bill—A large body of Roman Catholic representatives leave the house—The bill passed—Unsatisfactory nature of the victory—Particulars of the bill when established as act of parliament.



HE turmoil and perplexity of Irish affairs constituted, as they were wont, a large portion of the business of this session. The first of these referred to the ministerial proposition for advances to relieve the distressed Irish unions. It was stated by Lord John Russell that, in consequence of the change from subsistence on mere potato land by the labouring classes to that derived from wages, the pressure of this transition state had fallen upon the landed proprietors, who therefore needed temporary relief from the legislature. He hoped that this change would be greatly for the better; but in the meantime, it would be necessary to aid the impoverished unions by a loan of £300,000. This would only raise the loans advanced over ten years, that still remained to be paid, to the amount of £4,783,000—a debt the repayment of which was to be extended to a period of forty years, subject to the same conditions of interest or no interest as at present. Against this proposal it was alleged, that what was called a loan should be termed a *grant*, as the money would never be repaid. This objection, however, had now lost all its original force, and a bill founded upon the resolution was afterwards brought in and passed with little opposition.

The next Irish measure was one for the extension of the elective franchise for the counties and boroughs. This proposal, although considered necessary on account of the reduction of electors

in Ireland by the impoverished state of the tenantry and other causes, had been brought forward during several previous sessions, but always without effect. Sir William Somerville, secretary for Ireland, now moved to bring in the government bill, by which the franchise was to be extended to all occupiers of land to the amount of £8 per annum. This concession was objected to as being too much compared with the elective franchise of England—as too little compared with the privileges we had granted even to the Hottentots—as a strengthening of the democratic element—as a weakening of the leasehold suffrage. The bill was generally confessed to be both good and necessary; and although several attempts were made to alter or amend it, the third reading was successfully carried in the commons by a majority of 254 against 186. It experienced a keener opposition in the lords, where the £8 qualification was thought too little, and where it was proposed to raise it to £12 or even to £15. An amendment proposing the last-mentioned rate was carried against the ministers by a majority of seventy-two to fifty; and another, in which the drawing up of the election lists was subjected to the approval of the unions instead of the county clerks of the peace, as in the original proposal, was carried by fifty-three against thirty-nine. These were ominous symptoms of want of confidence on the part of the upper house towards the government that might well have made Lord John Russell and his coadjutors

quake; and upon the bill being sent back with these important alterations, the discussion was opened anew in the House of Commons, and with redoubled keenness. At last the commons yielded to three amendments proposed by the lords, and compromised the amount of franchise right by a twelve-pound qualification. With these concessions, the bill, on being sent back to the upper house, was passed, but with much demur and reluctance.

The measure that came next in connection with Irish affairs was the abolition of the office of lord-lieutenant; but although there appeared 295 votes for the second reading against 70, the bill was postponed at this favourable stage, owing to the great pressure of other business, and the lateness of the session.

So early as the 18th of February, the affairs of Ireland had been the subject of frequent consideration, as it was at that date that the unfortunate conflict at Dolly's Brae was discussed in the House of Lords. It was an event only too characteristic of the country, and the political and religious hatred by which it continued to be rent asunder. As the act making party processions illegal had just expired, a band of Orangemen resolved to improve the golden opportunity by holding their favourite anniversary of the battle of the Boyne, with an armed display that should bid defiance to their enemies, and perhaps produce the luxury of a faction fight. For this purpose, also, they resolved to pass in their route a steep ridge called Dolly's Brae, near Castlewellan, which at such a season had been usually occupied by the Ribandmen from an early period. The pretext of the Orangemen was, that they were desirous of congratulating the aged Earl of Roden, the lord-lieutenant of the county, on his birthday, and that the pass in question lay on their way to Tollymore Park, the residence of his lordship. There was indeed another road skirting the base of the hill, which had been constructed to avoid the steepness of the old one, but chiefly to prevent hostile meetings between the two parties; but this was only an additional temptation to take the old established path. On, therefore, by this Thermopylæ of Dolly's Brae marched the Orange party to the number of 1500 strong, with flags and music, and found, as they had expected, the pass well occupied by a formidable party of armed Ribandmen. An encounter would have been inevitable but for the presence of a strong body of soldiers and police, and the remonstrances of the priests; and a truce was struck, by which the Riband party agreed not to fire a shot, provided they were unassailed. Through the press, therefore, the procession marched without a blow; and on reaching Tollymore Park, and presenting their

congratulations to the earl, they were regaled with all the fervour of Irish hospitality. Unfortunately, however, on their return, and just when they had passed the hostile encampment, a random squib thrown by an unknown hand lighted among the ranks of the Ribandmen: and taking this as a signal of battle, the latter fired an indiscriminate volley not only at the procession, but the priests, soldiers, and policemen who were stationed near the spot. A pell-mell fight immediately followed, in which the Orangemen defeated their adversaries, and were said to have used their victory with great cruelty. As it was, four of the Riband party were killed, about thirty or forty wounded, and several houses sacked and destroyed. The county magistrates endeavoured to stifle inquiry into this disgraceful outrage, but government would not be so satisfied; and after a keen scrutiny, the Earl of Roden was dismissed from the lieutenancy, as well as several magistrates from the commission, while stringent measures were adopted for the prevention of all such deeds in time to come.

This unhappy affair, involving as it did the deposition of a worthy and popular nobleman from office, was now made the subject of investigation in the House of Lords. It was introduced by Lord Stanley, as an opportunity for examining into the ministerial policy manifested in the government of Ireland; and for this purpose he moved for copies of certain correspondence between the chief magistrate of Armagh and the executive government in June and July, 1846, and also for a variety of papers relating to the events which took place in this Castlewellan affray. The indirect approbation given by the ruling party to Orange meetings and processions, and the arbitrary dismissal of Lord Roden and the magistrates, formed the chief topics of his animadversions. On the other hand, the Earl of Clarendon, who had come over from Ireland and taken his place in the house to answer in person every charge, showed that the magistrates had deserved their dismissal by not preventing the procession from returning by the way of Dolly's Brae, when a collision was apprehended. About the procession itself, which was not essentially illegal, every precaution had been adopted by government to prevent any outbreak from taking place. As for the removal of Lord Roden from office, the Earl of Clarendon, after alluding to the valuable public services of the noble lord, and the warm friendship that had subsisted between them, thus proceeded to justify himself:—"I knew how much his dismissal would be resented by his numerous friends, and the unpopularity I should earn for myself, even among those who were not his friends, throughout the north of Ireland. I felt and I

foresaw all that: but still there was one feeling superior even to that—a feeling of duty; a feeling from which I did not venture to shrink, and by which I need not assure your lordships I was alone actuated in the course that I adopted. Ever since the government of Ireland was confided to my care, my great object has been to render the law a reality—to inspire all classes of the community with confidence in the impartial administration of justice—to convince them that before the law all men were equal; and that, whether high or low, rich or poor, the same justice should be meted out to all. And I should have felt ashamed of myself, and unworthy the confidence of my sovereign, if I had decided in a manner different with respect to the noble earl to that in which I should have decided in the case of any other man; or if I had allowed for one moment any personal consideration to interfere with what I believed the justice of the case required.”

The discussion of this difficult question terminated in a cordiality of agreement not often witnessed when Irish affairs were the subject. It was generally felt that the Dolly's Brae procession had only become illegal through its consequences—that the Earl of Roden had committed an error of judgment in so far countenancing it, and must quietly underlie the penalty—and that the Earl of Clarendon had discharged the duties of a wise ruler and upright judge, both in his plans to prevent an outbreak, and the punishment of those through whose imprudence it had occurred. In these circumstances, the motion of Lord Stanley for the production of the Irish documents was agreed to without a division.

The financial statement for the year, which was laid before the committee of ways and means in the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood, the chancellor of exchequer, gave great satisfaction, as it showed that for 1850-51 there would be a surplus of £1,500,000 over the expenditure. To dispose of this surplus was now the question, and the chancellor proposed that its paramount application should be to the reduction of our debt. This was the more necessary, as during the last twenty years we had borrowed to the amount of £35,000,000, of which our increased revenue had as yet paid off only £8,000,000. Next to this, an abatement of taxes on landed property, chiefly in stamp duties, should be effected; a repeal of the duty on bricks; and advances furnished for drainage and land improvements. These proposals threatened to wake into fresh vigour the protectionist controversy, from the confession of agricultural weakness and distress which they were supposed to imply; and during the course of discussion the government sustained a defeat, by the reduction

of the duty on loans to 1s. in fifty pounds, instead of 2s. 6d. as the chancellor had proposed. Sir Charles Wood then attempted a compromise in the other reductions, in which he was successful, with no greater loss to the revenue than £500,000 per annum.

These abatements emboldened further demands, which had for their object the reduction of public burdens and retrenchment of expenditure—claims that had never ceased to be urged since the commencement of our mercantile depressions, as well as the withdrawal of agricultural protection. The movement to that effect by the opponents of government was anticipated by Lord John Russell himself, who brought in a bill for the reduction of the salary of the lord chief-justice of the common pleas, and for an inquiry into the salaries and emoluments of offices held during pleasure by members of parliament. To these were also added the salaries of judicial offices in the superior courts, the retiring pensions of the judges, and the expense of diplomatic establishments. It was a sweeping measure of economy, by which he hoped to clear away the opposition that had been gathering against his administration. Even this, however, was not enough for the friends of retrenchment, and Mr. Hume declared that the three points embraced by Lord John's motion would not touch one-tenth of the unnecessary expenditure; but it was carried notwithstanding by a majority of ninety-one. It was also moved by Mr. Horsman that the inquiry should be extended to the incomes of ecclesiastical dignitaries; but this dangerous proposal, which might have awoken the Sacheverell cry of “The church is in danger,” was speedily negatived by 208 to 95. Other financial motions followed, which had for their object the reduction of the public expenditure, and for their supporters both the free-trade and the landed interests, the former represented by Mr. Cobden, and the latter by Mr. Henry Drummond; but the motion of the former was negatived by a majority of 183, and of the latter by thirty-four. Mr. Drummond's, which was thus let down so gently, was, that “whereas the present system of taxation depresses all classes by diminishing the funds for the employment of productive labour, adequate means should be forthwith adopted to reduce the expenditure.” This he proposed to effect by diminishing the salaries of all servants of the crown, and by removing every impediment in the way of the cultivator of the soil. A still more hopeful prospect of the final repeal of the window-tax was afforded during the session, although it was introduced after the financial arrangements of the year had been determined. Since 1835, it was stated, five chancellors of the exchequer had promised to “consider” the sub-

ject, while not one of them had *considered* in accordance with the public wish. It was also declared that, by the removal of this unpopular impost, £1,800,000 of taxes would be got rid of. The motion was suppressed by a scanty minority of three, seventy-seven being in its favour, and only eighty against it. Among the other proposals for the repeal of taxes, one upon the malt-tax was introduced towards the end of the session, but negatived by the large majority of 247 against 123.

The working of the act passed in 1847, for the regulation of labour in factories, an act of which Lord Ashley was the honoured founder, and over which he had watched with paternal care, was brought under the attention of parliament by his lordship on the 14th of March. By the terms of the act, ten hours were to be the period of the labour of women and young persons in factories, to date from the time when they came to work. But several devices had been used by the employers to elude an act that bore so hard upon their interests, the chief of these being a system of relays, by which the perpetual motion of a factory might be kept up, to the subversion of that improvement in the health, morals, and education of the young for which the act had been designed. After stating the benefits it had produced, where it had been honestly observed, and denouncing the plan of shifts and relays by which it was counteracted, his lordship concluded with a solemn appeal, in the name of Almighty God, to the justice and honour of parliament in behalf of the temporal and eternal welfare of thousands which would be affected by their decision. From such a man, an appeal like this was something else than a mere oratorical invocation; the subject was taken up with the attention it merited, and the second reading of the bill was passed without discussion, the final decision being postponed till after Easter. On the 3d of May, Sir George Grey announced the intended course of government upon the subject. In common with Lord Ashley he felt the difficulty of adhering to the present range of fifteen hours a day, within which women and young persons might be employed for ten hours. He therefore would propose a new limitation, by which the entire time of employment should be defined. As the case at present stood, the factory might work between the hours of half-past five in the morning and half-past eight in the evening, the ten hours to be included within that time. He now proposed to limit this working to between six in the morning and six in the evening, deducting an hour and a half for meals, thus making the working time for all hands ten and a half hours daily. On Saturdays, however, he would take the eight hours from six till two,

omitting half an hour for breakfast. In this way, the fifty-eight hours per week would be extended to sixty. Although two hours were thus added, Lord Ashley assented to the amend-



LORD ASHLEY.—From a portrait by Sir W C Ross R.A.

ment, thinking it more likely to produce a beneficial result than the original bill. In this form it finally passed, notwithstanding various amendments proposed in both houses.

The closing scene of this session, previous to the prorogation of parliament, was the attempt of Baron Rothschild, the Jewish member-elect for the city of London, to assume his seat in the House of Commons. Weary of the long delay, his supporters had now resolved to take the question by storm; and for this purpose they accompanied him on the morning of the 26th of July to the house, where he presented himself at the table, and requested the oaths to be tendered. The clerk proceeded to do so accordingly, when the baron, in a clear distinct voice, exclaimed, "I desire to be sworn on the Old Testament." "I protest against that!" cried Sir Robert Inglis, in a voice that trembled with agitation; and amidst a storm of cheers and counter-cheers, he moved the resolution:—"That from the earliest times of a Christian legislature, no man has ever been permitted to take part in it, except under the sanction of a Christian oath; and Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild having requested to take the oath on the Old Testament, and having in consequence been desired to withdraw, this house refuses to alter the form of taking the oath." The debate of the admissibility of a Jew was awakened afresh, and with all the fervour which such a sudden apparition was fitted to excite. It was adjourned to the 29th, and on the question being then put by the speaker

to the baron, why he demanded to be sworn upon the Old Testament, the latter of course replied, "Because that is the form of swearing which I declare to be most binding upon my conscience," after which he retired. Mr. Hume then moved as an amendment to the motion of Sir R. H. Inglis, "That the Baron de Rothschild having presented himself at the table, and having requested to be sworn on the Old Testament, declaring that form to be most binding on his conscience, the clerk be directed to swear him on the Old Testament accordingly." This motion was carried by the large majority of 113 against 59, and on the next day, Mr. Rothschild was called to be sworn before the house. With the Old Testament in his hand he took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, repeating after each the usual solemn attestation, "So help me God." But when the oath of abjuration followed, and the words, "upon the faith of a true Christian," should have closed it, he said, "I omit these words as not binding on my conscience, and hastily passed on to the final "So help me God." The discussion was opened afresh, and it was attempted to be proven that the abjuration oath itself was superfluous—that even if retained, the baron's form of taking it was sufficient—that in either case, he was entitled to take his seat without further opposition. At length the difficult knot was attempted to be cut by the attorney-general, who proposed the two following resolutions:—

1. "That the Baron Lionel de Rothschild is not entitled to vote in this house, or to sit in this house during any debate, until he shall take the oath of abjuration in the form appointed by law."

2. "That this house will, at the earliest opportunity in the next session of parliament, take into its serious consideration the form of the oath of abjuration, with a view to relieve her majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion." Both of these resolutions were carried, the former by a majority of seventy-two, and the latter by one of thirty-six; and thus the difficulty, which was too much for the present hour, was postponed to a later period.

Passing over the minor events of this year, we must now hasten to the most important movement of the present day in Britain, whether viewed in its religious or political bearing. We refer to that daring aggression of Popery by which the Roman see revived its ancient claim to the homage and submission of our country, and the still more daring pertinacity with which a party in England endeavoured to establish the claim.

The concession of equal rights and privileges to the Roman Catholics by their admission to

seats in parliament—a concession from which so much had been hoped even by the most rigid Protestants—was soon found to be anything than a source of concord and contentment. The fact had been strangely lost sight of, that a church which claims all by right divine will never rest satisfied with a part, and that each concession will be only viewed as a step in advance to the possession of the whole. The recovery of her lost kingdoms was not merely the inspiration of ambition and self-interest on the part of the Romish see, but of conscientiousness also, believing, as she does and must, that there can be no salvation beyond her pale. Trusting, therefore, that Britain, by granting the Catholic claims, had voluntarily abandoned its old-established distinction as the head of Protestantism, and thrown open its gates for conciliation with Rome, the Vatican resolved to secure an immediate entrance, and not only so, but to assume immediate possession. A Papal brief to that effect was drawn up, with a loftiness of assumption which Hildebrand might have envied, constituting an episcopal hierarchy over England and Wales, instead of those vicars apostolic by whom the affairs of their church had hitherto been quietly managed in England. At the head of this hierarchy was placed Dr. Wiseman, lately an unnoticed priest, but now elevated into a cardinal, and constituted Archbishop of Westminster; and under his rule were placed twelve episcopal sees, into which the country was now parcelled out by pontifical bounty. Such was the nature of this strange brief, which, two months after the close of the session, and in the midst of profound peace and unsuspecting security, was published in England. The public rubbed their eyes, and could scarcely believe that they were awake. Was this in very truth the middle of the nineteenth century, or was the Reformation itself a dream? Or had the holy conclave itself committed so great a blunder as to confound Englishmen with Spaniards, and the meridian of London with that of Madrid?

A short time sufficed to convince them that this astounding brief was no pasquinade, but a veritable manifesto, for the cardinal-archbishop and new metropolitan of England was impatient to be up and doing. He accordingly addressed a pastoral to his flock in the fullest style of inflation, as "given out of the Flaminian gate of Rome, this 7th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1850," and signed, "Nicholas, Cardinal-archbishop of Westminster." In this arrogant manifesto, after gladdening them with the assurance that through the "generous and wise counsels of the supreme ruler of the Church of Christ," even that "loving father" the pope, the "greatest of blessings has just been bestowed upon our country, by the restoration of its true Catholic

hierarchical government, in communion with the see of St. Peter;" "the great work, then, is complete," he afterwards adds in a sort of poetical rapture; "what you have long desired and prayed for is granted. Your beloved country has received a place among the fair churches, which, normally constituted, form the splendid aggregate of Catholic communion; Catholic England has been restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament, from which its light had long vanished, and begins now anew its course of regularly adjusted action round the centre of unity, the source of jurisdiction, of light, and of vigour." His own appointment as superintendent of this glorious millennium for England he also describes with great unction, not forgetting his "cardinalitial hat;" and he arrogantly proclaims, in a style unheard by English ears for centuries, "so that at present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern, and shall still continue to govern the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex, as ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as administrator with ordinary jurisdiction." It is worthy of observation, that throughout the whole of this bombastic pastoral, the very existence of a Protestant sovereign, parliament, church, and people are utterly ignored and set aside, as things non-existent or at least unworthy of mention; he sees no authority in England but that of the pope, no church but that of Rome, and no people but Papists, with Cardinal Wiseman for their head.

It was now full time not only for the church dignitaries who were thus dethroned, but the Protestantism which was unchurched, and the national independence which was insulted, to express their sentiments upon this act of monstrous usurpation; and, accordingly, all parties, whether of high or low church, or dissent, and all political classes, whether Whig, Tory, or Republican, laid aside their feuds for the time, to oppose this common enemy. As Lord John Russell's administration had of late been somewhat unpopular, the present opportunity of winning back the public esteem was not to be neglected, more especially as the sentiments of government upon the subject, announced through its premier, were anxiously expected. His letter addressed to the Bishop of Durham, which was published on the 4th of November, was all that an English and Protestant heart could have desired; and it regained for him the confidence of all classes. He characterized this proceeding of Rome as an insolent and insidious aggression; as an assumption of superiority even beyond that which it had dared to claim in Roman Catholic times. Still, however, his alarm was

not equal to his indignation; for he thought that the foreign enemy was too weak to be dangerous to Protestant England. But the chief peril was to be found among ourselves; and he thus adverted to that singular half-way resting-place towards Popery which, under the name of Puseyism, has become so fashionable in the present day: "There is a danger, however, which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign—clergymen of our own church who have subscribed the thirty-nine articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the queen's supremacy, have been the most forward in leading their flocks, step by step, to the very verge of the precipice. The honour paid to saints, the claim of infallibility for the church, the superstitious use of the sign of the cross, the muttering of the liturgy so as to disguise the language in which it is written, the recommendation of auricular confession, and the administration of penance and absolution—all these things are pointed out by clergymen of the Church of England as worthy of adoption, and are now openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese. What, then, is the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power, compared to the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself?"

It was evident that here the matter could not rest. Alarmed, indeed, at the loud and universal indignation, and feeling when too late that the mine which had been preparing for years had been prematurely kindled, Dr. Wiseman endeavoured to repair the blunder which both himself and his church had committed, by a long and bland apology, addressed to the English nation at large. But he had too deeply committed himself to be extricated by any apology however ingeniously worded. Intoxicated with extravagant hope, Rome herself had blabbed, and revealed her dangerous purposes. The attention of parliament was called to the subject, by a paragraph in the royal address, delivered by her majesty in person to both houses, to the following effect:—"The recent assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles conferred by a foreign power has excited strong feelings in this country; and large bodies of my subjects have presented addresses to me, expressing attachment to the throne, and praying that such assumptions should be resisted. I have assured them of my resolution to maintain the rights of my crown, and the independence of the nation against all encroachment, from whatever quarter it may proceed. I have, at the same time, expressed my earnest desire and firm determination, under God's blessing, to maintain unimpaired the religious liberty which is so justly prized by the people of this country. It will

be for you to consider the measure which will be laid before you on this subject."

This promised measure was laid before parliament by Lord John Russell on the 7th of February, 1851. In moving for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles, his lordship adverted to the excitement and alarm which the recent Papal aggression had produced in Britain, as well as the arrogant assumption of authority with which it had inspired the Romish priesthood of Ireland. He showed that this aggression, also, on the part of the pope upon England, was of a still more arbitrary character than that which had been attempted even with Roman Catholic countries—of France and Austria for instance, where the sanction or *placet* of the sovereign was indispensable to the validity of high spiritual appointments. Indeed, into no Roman Catholic country would a Papal bull be permitted to enter without the sanction of some civil authority, and even upon the weakest of these governments no such insult would have been attempted as that which the pontiff had offered to the Queen of England. Here was an assumption of territorial power, whether backed by authority to enforce it or not. His lordship stated, that the legal advisers of the crown had been consulted as to the existing law, but they were of opinion that neither by the common nor statute law could the mere assumption of titles be prosecuted as an offence; and that, although the introduction of bulls or writings from Rome was illegal, and subjected the party to penalty, yet the law had been so long in disuse, that a prosecution on that ground would probably fail. Amidst these and other difficulties, and with reference to the control which the new Roman Catholic prelates would obtain over large endowments in the hands of Roman Catholic trustees in this country, the government had proposed, in the first place, to prevent the assumption of any title, not only from any diocese now existing, but from any territory or place in any part of the United Kingdom; and to restrain parties from obtaining, by virtue of such titles, any control over trust property.

The debate that followed this announcement of the bill was conducted with all the earnestness which the subject demanded, and was protracted throughout four nights by successive adjournments. We can only afford a brief allusion to the principal arguments on each side of the question. Against the bill it was alleged, that the facts and principles by which it was supported had been derived from Roman Catholic states, and applied to one that was not Roman Catholic; and that, in the meantime, the chief case in point had been omitted—the example of the United States of America, which, though

governed by our institutions, and speaking our language, were not afraid of the pope. And why legislate against one class of ecclesiastics only?—a class which, in Ireland, had been recognized by their territorial titles even in acts of parliament. If Dr. Wiseman were to call himself Archbishop *in* Westminster instead of Archbishop of Westminster, the proposed act could not touch him. Extend this bill to Ireland, and there the religious agitation it would stir up would be of the most mischievous character. The question, it was alleged, was simply, Whether the Roman Catholic prelates should be nominated at all: if the pope must not nominate, and if the state stood aloof, the sovereign protesting against the religion of one-third of her subjects, was not this tyranny? And here Ireland, it was stated, formed the strongest argument of the opponents of the bill; and the only answer given to the measure in that country would be—"We defy you to carry it into effect." In such a discussion it was impossible that the great antagonist of Romanism, the Church of England, should escape not only a side-blow but a home-thrust. How, it was asked, had our legislation acted with regard to the Roman Catholic religion in England? According to the letter of Lord John Russell to the Bishop of Durham, the Church of England, which had been called the bulwark of Protestantism, was a kind of manufactory of home-papery. Notwithstanding the power and influence of the episcopacy in England, and its revenues, the depth of which the plummet of inquiry had never sounded, not only had the Church of England not saved the country from Popery, but it was said to be deeply infected with it; yet it was the ascendancy of this church that the bill of the noble lord was intended to bolster up, and which he believed would be impotent for the object in view.

Such were the chief arguments against the introduction of the bill. On the other hand it was declared, that the question now at issue was, Whether ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome should be allowed to occupy a position in this realm which they had never held in their most palmy days? The question did not affect the Church of England merely: it affected dissenters of all denominations, and touched the civil and religious liberties of Roman Catholics themselves. It might be said that the temporal power of the pope was weak; but his spiritual power was vast. It had been alleged that we were about to encroach upon the act of 1829, by which government had entered into a legislative compact with the Roman Catholics of the United Kingdom; but the present was not a question of taking anything from the Roman Catholics, but of allowing them to take something from us. The testi-

mony of Dr. Wiseman himself was quoted, who had declared that the object of the hierarchy was to obtain synodical action, which was repugnant to the rights of the crown and to the liberties of the people, and by which the Roman Catholic laity would be subject to the canon law for the first time in England—a law which declared that the laws of the state were subordinate to those of the church. It had been said that all this had been only a dispute about names; but there was an essential difference between a vicar apostolic and a bishop of a diocese, as regarded ecclesiastical distinguished from spiritual jurisdiction. The erection of sees, also, was an act of sovereign right. In England no attempt had ever been made to erect a see, except by royal authority; nor had the pope ever been allowed to erect a see in any continental state. It was also declared again and again, that the strong and general feeling which had called forth this discussion—a feeling in which the more reflective of the Roman Catholics of England participated, and which they had expressed in energetic protests against the Papal brief—was not to be stigmatized as a mere outburst of bigotry. On the contrary, it was a national demonstration against an attempt to force upon us a foreign yoke which our ancestors had successfully resisted.

With regard to the general character and expected results of the bill, these were sufficiently explained by the attorney-general. The offence to be remedied was the introduction of a bull into England, permitting certain persons to assume the titles of bishops with territorial jurisdictions; and to this the remedy was fully proportioned. As for the insult inflicted by Rome, that had been sufficiently requited by the general indignation of the country; and with the spiritual effects of the bull the house had nothing to do. All that was needful to be done, therefore, was to arrest the temporal power of these territorial bishops, so as to prevent them from interfering with the rights of British subjects. The bill, therefore, in the first place extended the provisions of the Roman Catholic relief act, which imposed a penalty of £100 upon the assumption of the title of any existing see to that of *any title whatever* from any place in the United Kingdom. But still more effectually to prevent the assumption of territorial titles, it would make every act done in virtue of such titles absolutely void; and moreover, to hinder parties from making gifts to persons assuming such titles, the bill would declare the endowment of such pretended sees illegal, and the gifts would be forfeited to the crown. By thus preventing persons from assuming territorial titles, and by preventing the existence of the dioceses or sees themselves, the bill would effectually remedy the mischief complained of.

By such statements it was attempted to reconcile the objections of the two parties now at issue; the one complaining that the bill was an infringement of the principles of religious liberty, and the other, that it was of too lenient a character, as compared with the trespass committed and the danger sought to be averted. On the 14th of February, the house was brought to a division, when 395 votes were given for the introduction of the bill, and only 63 against it.

Thus far had the initiatory step in this important measure proceeded, when events threatened a complete change in the ministry, notwithstanding their successful majority upon the ecclesiastical titles bill. This change, in the first instance was menaced from the protectionist party, and the motion of their leader, Mr. D'Israeli, at the beginning of the session to the following effect:—"That the severe distress which continues to exist among the owners and occupiers of land, lamented in her majesty's speech, renders it the duty of the government to introduce without delay measures for their effectual relief." The passage in the royal speech, after alluding to the prosperous state of our manufactures and commerce, was as follows:—"I have to lament, however, the difficulties which are still felt by that important body among my people who are owners and occupiers of land. But it is my confident hope that the prosperous condition of other classes of my subjects will have a favourable effect in diminishing those difficulties, and promoting the interests of agriculture."

The arguments in favour of the agricultural interests were filled with the usual statements of the sufferings of our farmers and landowners, from the disproportionate load of taxation imposed upon them, in consequence of which they could not compete with the foreign producer. The great mass of our general taxation, it was stated, was supplied from three sources—external imposts, inland revenue, and local contributions. Nearly one-half of the first was raised by not permitting the cultivators of the soil to produce a particular crop, or by loading it with a peculiar impost; two-thirds of the inland revenue were raised by a colossal tax upon one crop of the British agriculturists; while of the £12,000,000 of local contributions, £7,000,000 were paid by them, and the whole was levied upon a very limited class. This statement of the leader of the agriculturists, which was characterized as "hotch-potch" by the chancellor of the exchequer, was answered by the latter, who went over every item of taxation, and endeavoured to show the groundlessness of the complaint. On the division of the house, the motion was lost by 281 votes against 267; but this small majority of 14 in favour of government showed the insecure tenure

of Lord John Russell's administration, as well as the strength of the recoil with which the interests of free trade were threatened.

A still more direct and formidable opposition to ministers was made on the 20th of February, when Mr. Locke King, member for East Surrey, moved to bring in a bill to make the franchise in counties in England and Wales the same as in boroughs—that is, the occupation of a tenement of the value of £10 a year. This, it was sarcastically alleged, would pave the way for the great and comprehensive measure of reform with which the house was to be favoured by Lord John Russell when the “proper time” should have arrived. In favour of the motion it was also stated, that there had been, since 1843, an annual decrease in the number of county electors to the number of 22,666 in seven years, while during the same period there had been an increase in the boroughs of 50,000. Lord John Russell, whose co-operation was invoked on this occasion, as the advocate of free trade and liberal measures, was obliged to confess the justice of the proposed measure; but he thought the time unsuited for the experiment. On a former occasion he had acknowledged, he said, that he thought some extension of the franchise desirable; and he still considered it desirable that a measure should be introduced for a further extension of the suffrage. But there were reasons, general and particular, why it was not advisable to bring in such a measure this session, though there would be no reason why it should not be brought before the house at the commencement of the next. The motion was carried by 100 against 52.

The dissatisfaction of parliament against the government, manifested by so large a majority, had been brought up to full opposition heat by the financial statement of the chancellor of exchequer in the committee of ways and means, just three days previous. The probable surplus of this year, ending on the 5th of April, would be £2,521,000. But the question of what taxes might be safely modified or repealed in consequence of this increase became the subject of parliamentary contention, and the chancellor's proposal on this head was met with a murmur of dissatisfaction, all parties being more or less displeased. Some complained of the proposed continuation of the income-tax; and others were indignant that the window-tax, instead of being totally repealed, was only to be shifted from one part of the building to another. The hop-growers were to be left without redress, and the agriculturists to be mocked with a stinted relief. It was evident from the proceedings of the last three days, that the dissatisfaction against the Whig cabinet, which had been growing for some time past, had reached the height, and that the

confidence of parliament was now withdrawn from it. On the 22d, therefore, Lord John and the members of his administration waited upon her majesty, and tendered their resignation.

A new cabinet must now be formed: but by whom? and from what materials? Lord Stanley was immediately sent for by her majesty, and desired to construct a government; but the task of building up, especially at such a period, was more difficult than that of throwing down. His lordship was not prepared to form one. Others were then applied to, but were found in the same dilemma. As a last resource, Lord John Russell was recalled to the royal presence, and commissioned to reconstruct a cabinet, to which he assented, and asked the house to adjourn until the 28th for that purpose. As it was found that no single party was strong enough to carry on the government, and that no parties could be brought to coalesce for the purpose, the former administration, after their short retirement, were continued in office.

The great obstacle which our statesmen had lately encountered in the formation of a ministry, arose from the ecclesiastical titles bill, that still awaited a settlement. The opposition against it in parliament was so strong, while the public voice was so decisive in its favour, that, let the end be what it might, no one seemed willing either to encounter the difficulty or undergo the responsibility. Settled however it must be, and that without further delay; and accordingly, it was reintroduced on the 7th, but with sundry modifications, which had been devised during the interval. These, on the order for the second reading, were stated by Sir George Grey. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, as distinguished from those of England and Scotland, the bill as it now stood would, without intending it, interfere with the purely spiritual practices of Irish Roman Catholic prelates in reference to ordination and collation of priests, and in regard to bequests and practices that had been long sanctioned; and on this account, the government had agreed to omit the second and third clauses altogether. It was indignantly objected by several members, that the bill thus curtailed would be no bill at all—a disgrace to the legislature, and a ground of discontent to the country. Sir George Grey's motion, however, was agreed to, and on the 14th of March the debate on the second reading commenced. But even in spite of the heavy abatements made on the bill, it was still so obnoxious, that its advocates could scarcely bear up against the storm, and seven nights of fierce debate were spent before the second reading was carried, which was done by 438 against 95.

In a matter of such paramount importance, the arguments upon either side were worthy of the

consideration they demanded. Should this measure become law, and be enforced, we were told that we should soon see a crowd of English exiled Roman Catholic prelates upon the shores of Belgium, Holland, and France. And would it suit the views of Englishmen to have complaints of their persecuting spirit thus dinned into foreign ears, and odious comparisons drawn between their illiberality and the toleration of the Continent? A long list of examples was rehearsed, to show that important ecclesiastical as well as lay functionaries, in official documents, had used the territorial titles of the Roman Catholic bishops in reference to the incumbents of those sees. The pride of Protestantism was also appealed to, with the assurance that no threat was held out by the Church of Rome against our civil and religious liberty, and that even at the worst the Church of England had nothing to fear.

For the bill it was alleged, that the Roman Catholics had no right to establish their hierarchy in England, merely because the state had granted them the free and unfettered exercise of their religion. But the means adopted for this purpose were a breach of our municipal and constitutional law; and were a violation of the public law of Europe, of the sovereignty of our state, and of our national independence. It was monstrous and intolerable, therefore, to declare, that the government and parliament of this country must submit to such measures, because some people thought that the Roman Catholic church would be better governed by archbishops and bishops than by vicars apostolical. This establishment of an hierarchy, also, had something more than a spiritual scope and effect. If any town or place were appointed to be an episcopal see, it became *ipso facto* a city; and was not this on the part of the pope an act of territorial sovereignty? If the Roman Catholics had wanted important changes, they should have come to parliament for them, and pursued their objects by legal and constitutional means, and not by what the nation regarded as an insult. In the mean time, it was not worth while for a great country like this to enter into hostilities with the Roman pontiff. The present bill would be enough for the emergency. By its preventive power, the Roman Catholics could not have episcopal jurisdiction; they could not introduce canon law; they could not assemble in synod to frustrate, perchance, the decrees of the imperial parliament, unless there were bishops with those territorial titles, which the bill would prohibit them from assuming.

In answer to those who were dissatisfied with the limitations of the bill, as well as those who thought it too stringent, especially for Ireland,

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the attorney-general explained its legal bearings, and showed how far it was intended to operate, and would most probably operate. It would not affect liberty of conscience, or interfere with spiritual action on any Roman Catholic in the country. The canon law, as attempted to be established in our country by the Papal rescript, was not the law of England; but the English law would take cognizance of that part of it which concerns the matter in hand, as a fact to be proved by witnesses of competent character; and when the fact was once proved, the law would not inquire whether it was right or reasonable, but would adopt the fact, and act on it. There were rich ecclesiastical benefices in this country belonging to the Roman Catholics, to which their bishops had always claimed the right of appointment—a claim, however, which had always hitherto been successfully resisted by the laity. The prelates of the Roman Catholic church being simply bishops, and not having any territorial dioceses, could not enforce that claim; but by the canon law they would have the right, if their dioceses were made territorial, to appoint under certain circumstances and conditions the priests to these benefices. Such would be the consequences of the Papal brief, which this bill was calculated to prevent. These bishops, though thus debarred from the authority granted to them by the canon law, would still be able to exercise all their purely spiritual functions as before. The measure, as a whole, might check the first step towards giving the Romish church in England a predominance over that in Ireland; but it would not injure religious liberty, and ought not to injure the friendly relations with Ireland which all Englishmen desired to maintain.

In its progress through committee, the ecclesiastical titles bill was at every step the subject of a fresh controversy: at every point a stand was made against the measure; while the amendments proposed and negatived surpassed all former precedent. On the part of the apologists and adherents of Popery, it was a campaign in which they hoped to wear out the stronger party by obstacles and delays. This contest did not terminate till the 27th of June, when the result was brought before the house; and on that occasion an unexpected event occurred, which nonplussed the government and occasioned an important modification of the bill. On its preamble being voted as it originally stood, and the fact of this decision being announced, about seventy members, chiefly Roman Catholic representatives of Irish counties and boroughs, rose in a body, and marched out of the house, amidst peals of laughter. It was no laughing matter, however, to Lord John Russell and his administration, whom this secession threatened with heavy loss,

if not positive overthrow, although he referred to it with the coolness of a practised strategist. He called it a "significant and ostentatious retirement," and supposed it meant that these members would take no part in the proceedings. But they would be taking part, by the very act of retirement: they would be consenting parties to the decision of the house; and they would be responsible for the insertion of these amendments by their aid.

These amendments to which his lordship alluded, had been proposed by Sir Frederick Thesiger, and it was in consequence of these that the Roman Catholic members had made their famous exodus. The object of these proposals was an amendment of the first declaratory clause, so that it should apply to all Papal rescripts, and not merely to that which established the hierarchy—to give the prosecuting power to any individual, with the sanction of the crown officers—and to make penal the introduction of bulls. All three were carried. At the third reading of the bill, which occurred on the 4th of July, Lord John Russell endeavoured to persuade the house to reverse these decisions, but was unsuccessful. And still, the Irish Roman Catholic members kept aloof, and took no part in the proceedings. For this third reading, many a speech had been prepared on either side, and a long debate was expected; but on the speaker putting the question, "That this bill do now pass," not a member rose: on putting it again, there was the same dead silence; and on the division being taken, there were 263 for the motion, and only 46 against it. There had been no fight, because there was no opposition; and the assailing party appear to have been stunned by the mere *vis inertiae* so unexpectedly assumed by their adversaries.

In this way, a life-and-death contest that had continued nearly five long months, and wound up public expectation to the uttermost, was suddenly terminated. It had ended in a victory which was feared to be no victory at all, as not a blow had been struck, or token of resistance offered. After having passed the commons, the bill was brought into the lords; but there, a brief discussion sufficed, as the subject had already been so thoroughly sifted. The second reading was passed by a majority of 265 against 38; and on the 29th of July, the third reading in the lords was ended, and the bill committed to the royal approval. Thus sanctioned, on the 1st of August, 1851, under the designation of "An act to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom," this act of 14 and 15 Vict. c. 49, after stating

the offence which had occasioned its enactment, thus decrees:—

"I. All such briefs, rescripts, or letters apostolical, and all and every the jurisdiction, authority, pre-eminence, or title conferred, or pretended to be conferred thereby, are and shall be, and be deemed unlawful and void.

"II. And be it enacted, that if, after the passing of this act, any person shall obtain, or cause to be procured from the bishop or see of Rome, or shall publish or put in use within any part of the United Kingdom, any such bull, brief, rescript, or letters apostolical, or any other instrument or writing, for the purpose of constituting such archbishops or bishops of such pretended provinces, sees, or dioceses within the United Kingdom; or if any person, other than a person thereunto authorized by law in respect of an archbishopric, bishopric, or deanery of the united Church of England and Ireland, assume or use the name, style, or title of archbishop, bishop, or dean of any city, town, or place, or of any territory or district (under any designation or description whatsoever), in the United Kingdom, whether such city, town, or place, or such territory or district, be or be not the see or the province, or co-extensive with the province, of any archbishop, or the see or the diocese, or co-extensive with the diocese of any bishop, or the seat or place of the church of any dean, or co-extensive with any deanery of the said united church; the person so offending shall for every such offence forfeit and pay the sum of £100, to be recovered as penalties imposed by the recited act, may be recovered under the provisions thereof, or by action of debt at the suit of any person in one of her majesty's superior courts of law, with the consent of her majesty's attorney-general in England and Ireland, or her majesty's advocate in Scotland, as the case may be.

"III. This act shall not extend or apply to the assumption or use by any bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Scotland, exercising episcopal functions within some district or place in Scotland of any name, style, or title in respect of such district or place; but nothing herein contained shall be taken to give any right to any such bishop to assume or use any name, style, or title which he is not now by law entitled to assume or use.

"IV. Be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to annul, repeal, or in any manner affect any provision contained in an act passed in the eighth year of the reign of her present majesty, intituled, 'An act for the more effectual application of charitable donations and bequests in Ireland.'

CHAPTER XIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1851—1853.

VICTORIA.

Necessity of re-constructing the budget—The window-tax modified—Proposal to limit the continuation of the income-tax—Mr. Hume's proposal to continue it only one year—Financial difficulties—Mr. D'Israeli's motion for developing the protectionist instead of the government system of finance—Particulars of the proposal and its author's explanations—Answer of the chancellor of exchequer—The motion negatived—Proposals for other reductions in taxation—Re-assembling of parliament in 1852—Causes of Lord Palmerston's removal from office—The premier explains his pacific plan of policy—Necessity for the means of national defence—Parliamentary reform recommended in the royal speech—Lord John Russell's bill on the subject—The militia bill—Its essential points—It is introduced by the premier—Lord Palmerston's proposed amendment—He demands a regular instead of a local militia—Lord John Russell out-voted—The ministers resign—The Derby administration succeeds—The Earl of Derby announces his principles of government—His cautious enunciations—A petition on free trade to ascertain his views on the subject—Another for a similar purpose about the dissolution of parliament—The Earl of Derby refuses to commit himself—The militia bill re-introduced—Its essential points—Inadequate military force in Britain in the event of an invasion—Statement of the government plan of militia defence—Objections brought against it—The militia bill passed through the commons—It is brought into the lords—The Duke of Wellington's speech on the subject of our national defence—He recommends the bill—It is passed—Motions for parliamentary reform—Motion upon bribery and corruption in parliamentary elections—Our Australasian colonies—A representative government formed for New Zealand—Its details—Work effected during this session by the Derby administration—Parliament dissolved and a new one assembled—Death of the Duke of Wellington—Notice of the event in the royal speech—Motion for the further extension of free-trade immunities—Middle course proposed by Lord Palmerston—His proposal ratified—Prince Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor of France—His *coup d'état* of December, 1851—Secrecy with which it was conducted—Its rapid and complete success—He is appointed permanent and irresponsible president—He is afterwards elected emperor by the national suffrage—Apprehensions of Britain at these changes—Pacific professions of the new emperor—Precautions adopted against the chance of a French invasion—The Derby ministry overthrown upon the finance question—They resign.



HE disapprobation with which the financial statement of the chancellor of the exchequer had been received, and the subsequent resignation and recal of the Whig ministry, demanded a reconstruction of the budget, and accordingly it was submitted to the house on the 5th of April, with several important and popular amendments. The chief of these was the window-tax, an impost which not only weighed heavily upon the poorer classes, by confining them to ill-ventilated and darkened habitations, but even induced many of the better classes, especially in the country, to build up every window in their mansions except such as were found absolutely necessary. The chancellor, in his first financial statement of this session, had proposed a compromise, by which a tax upon houses should be substituted in its room, according to the principle of the value of the house; but this proposal, which merely shifted the demand to a different pocket of the tax-payer, without bringing the means of improvement in health and morals to the homes of the poor, was received with marked disapprobation. Sir Charles Wood now proposed a milder alternative. As the window duty was £1 856 000 while the surplus was

only £1,892,000, he proposed a uniform rate of ninepence in the pound upon dwelling-houses, and sixpence upon shops, irrespective of the number of windows or openings they might contain; while houses not exceeding £20 in annual value were to be exempted altogether. In this way the tax would be reduced from £1,856,000 to £720,000. The final result would be, that of the 3,500,000 houses in the kingdom, 3,100,000 would be exempt, and the tax levied only on 400,000 of the most valuable houses.

The income-tax came next into consideration. This Sir Charles acknowledged had at first been imposed to meet a deficiency; but it had been afterwards continued to furnish means for the removal of impolitic restrictions on industry and commerce. On the resolution to continue it being announced, a debate arose in consequence of the following motion of Mr. Herries:—"That the income and property tax, and the stamp duties in Ireland, were granted for limited periods, and to meet temporary exigencies; and that it is expedient to adhere to the declared intentions of parliament; and in order to secure their speedy cessation, to limit the renewal of any portion of those taxes to such an amount as may suffice to provide for the expenditure sanctioned by parlia-

mont, and for the maintenance of public credit." The usual objections that the tax, by its three-year continuations, threatened to become a financial fixture—that it was so dependent upon the true returns of annual income that rogues eluded it and honest men bore the burden—and that its inquisitorial character was still more odious than the pecuniary infliction, continued to be urged against it. On a division, the resolution of Mr. Herries was negatived by 278 against 230; and the second reading of the income-tax bill was moved for the 28th of April. On that occasion, a motion was made that the consideration of the bill should be postponed till that day six months; but Sir Charles Wood reminded the house, that if it should be thrown out there would be a deficiency of £1,000,000 this year, and £3,500,000 the next.

On the bill going into committee on the 2d of May, Mr. Hume moved an important amendment, to the effect that the grant should be limited to one year, with the object of having the whole question deliberately considered in a select committee. His principle was that direct is preferable to indirect taxation; and in support of this, he brought forward a dogged array of facts and arithmetical figures which no tropes and metaphors could overturn. By the present mode of taxation, he stated, sixty-seven per cent. is levied upon the necessities of life, eleven per cent. is paid for stamps, eight per cent. for assessed taxes, ten per cent. for the property-tax, one and a half per cent. for the post-office, and the rest for smaller matters. As indirect taxation thus pressed with unfair weight upon the working-classes, the whole question of taxation must be re-considered. By direct taxation between £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 might be saved, and several taxes might be relieved with a view to their removal. After a very close debate, in which Lord John Russell and his supporters endeavoured to quash the motion, it was carried by 244 against 230; and the income-tax was limited to a duration of one year.

A few days after, Lord John Russell announced his difficulties, and his views regarding the late decision. The trying question that now remained was, what course the government should take in order to sustain public credit, and provide for the expenditure of the country. The window-tax had been exchanged for an equitable house-tax, and the duties on timber and coffee were to be reduced; but during the present inquiry there ought to be no further alterations on the income-tax during the year, nor any diminution of the means of supporting public credit, and the responsibilities to which the house had pledged itself. To this, it was answered by Mr. D'Israeli, on the part of Mr. Hume, that the house having

now determined that the income-tax should last only one year, he did not consider members bound by anything that had passed previously with respect to the other financial propositions of the government, which had proceeded under the impression that the income-tax was to last for a much longer period. These he would have the right to consider as new propositions made under greatly altered circumstances. As for the income-tax, those who opposed it only wished, not that there should be an immediate or a very speedy termination, but a slow and gradual extinction. And since this very slow progress was an inevitable necessity, was it not a duty to make the tax itself more equitable?

Mr. Hume, after the victory he had gained over the government, proceeded to form his proposed select committee, but found such difficulties as had not previously entered even into his habits of careful calculation. When the season of action had arrived, his keenest supporters shrank from the responsibility, some with the complaint that his measure had gone too far, and others, that it had not gone far enough, while not a few had thought that it would never come to a committee at all. At length, however, and by dint of great exertion, a committee was formed, and for a twelvemonth at least the income-tax was left to an undisturbed existence.

On the 30th of June, Mr. D'Israeli brought forward a motion for the purpose of developing the protectionist system of finance, in distinction to that of the government, and of affording opportunity for a comprehensive discussion of their merits. His motion was embodied in the three following resolutions:—

"That, according to an estimate of the probable future produce of the existing taxes, submitted to this house by the chancellor of the exchequer, it appears that a surplus revenue may be expected in the present year of about £2,000,000.

"That in the revenue so estimated, is included a sum exceeding £5,000,000 derived from the tax upon income, respecting which an inquiry has been directed to be made by a committee of this house, on the result of whose labours may depend the future renewal or modification of that important impost.

"That in this provisional state of the financial arrangements of the country, it appears to this house to be most consistent with a due regard to the maintenance of public credit and the exigencies of the public service, not to make any material sacrifice of public income in effecting such changes as may be deemed advisable in other branches of taxation."

In the speech with which these proposals were followed, Mr. D'Israeli complained, that though

there was to be a surplus of about £2,000,000, it was only assumed in the expectation that the income-tax should be renewed not merely for three years, but an indefinite period beyond them. It was now evident that the present ministry intended to continue it as long as they held office; and from their tenacity in this respect, he thought that the prospect of relief was indeed a remote one. As for the abatements that had been made in taxation, they had been mere compromises of little value. As for the agricultural distress, it still remained unrelieved. Taking in review the other financial propositions of the session, Mr. D'Israeli observed, that a deficiency of £5,000,000 would be occasioned by the threatened extinction of the income-tax; and if this measure should be accomplished, how was the deficiency to be met?—it must be either by reducing expenditure or increasing taxation. The first could not be done, and the last had been rendered hopeless, by the recent abatement of £2,000,000 of taxes. He and his friends were willing to accede to a total repeal of the window-tax, but only on condition that the house-tax should be transformed into a complete commutation. As to the timber duty, he hoped they would not persist in their impolitic proposition, but would permit the British shipbuilder to build his ships in bond. Such was the gist of a speech that occupied two hours in its delivery. In reply, the chancellor of the exchequer declared that he could extract no practical suggestion from it, except the concluding one—that it should be allowed to build ships in bond. Mr. D'Israeli's motion had said, Repeal no taxes; but his speech said, Repeal the window-tax unconditionally; and then, after the surplus was thus disposed of, his (Mr. D'Israeli's) speech had concluded with reflections on the necessity of upholding public credit, couched in high-flown language about the empire of the Cæsars with its triple crown, the mines of Golconda, pillared palanquins, and other things having as little to do with the question. The surplus of this year did not depend upon the income-tax: it was independently of it that the repeal of the more urgent burdens had been proposed; while the repeal of others would depend upon the settlement of the question, whether the income-tax was to be continued or not. Mr. D'Israeli's resolutions were negatived by 242 against 129.

In the reductions of this year upon the customs duties were those on timber and coffee, which were brought down to half their previous amount. A proposal was made for the repeal of the malt-tax; but as this yielded a revenue of £5,400,000, the loss of which would be ruinous to the revenue after the late concessions, the motion was negatived by 258 against 122. After this defeat, the

advocates for wholesome drink for the working-classes, instead of gin and foreign spirits, moved for a repeal of half the amount of the tax upon beer, but were in this instance also defeated by



THE RIGHT HON B D'ISRAELI
From a print by Zobel, after the portrait by F Grant, R.A.

a large majority. The same fate attended a motion for the remission of the duty on hops. Another motion respecting the mode of levying duty on home-made spirits taken out of bond, although ultimately lost, produced a discouraging defeat to ministers, as on its first proposal the votes of the ministers and opposition were equal, so that the question was adjourned only by the casting vote of the speaker.

Such were the chief events of a session which, with the exception of the Papal aggression, and the ecclesiastical titles bill founded upon it, presented scarcely any event of historical importance. But the great event of public interest, the crowning achievement of 1851, was not only unconnected with parliamentary proceedings, but sufficient to make amends for their poverty. We allude to the opening of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park for the exhibition of the industry of all nations on the 1st of May, of which an account will be given in that department of our history to which such an event more properly belongs. Parliament was prorogued by her majesty in person on the 8th of August.

At the re-assembling of the houses, which occurred on the 3d of February, 1852, there were several indications that the present ministry, notwithstanding that retentiveness with which they had been twitted by their opponents, held office by a precarious tenure. Not the least of these symptoms was the removal from office of Lord Palmerston, who was one of the chief sup-

porters of the government; and the causes of this removal became the earliest subject of inquiry. This explanation was given by Lord John Russell; and it appeared from it, that the offence of the secretary for foreign affairs (Lord Palmerston) had chiefly consisted in approving of Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, by which he had overthrown the republican party in France, and paved the way for the establishment of the empire. This, Lord John alleged, was not only putting himself in the place of the crown, but giving the moral approbation of England to the acts of the president, in direct opposition to our system of pacific policy towards France. Under these circumstances, he felt he had no alternative, while prime minister, than to advise Lord Palmerston to resign his seals of office.

Lord John then adverted to the present state of France, in its relation to the peace and safety of England, and thought it would be advisable, while maintaining our friendly relations with France, notwithstanding the late changes, to propose some augmentation of the estimates. This was no more than a necessary precaution which every prudent state ought to adopt. "It is impossible not to see," he said, "that, in the great changes which have taken place in the world within these few years, among other arts the art of war has been improved, and that it is necessary when there is, as there always is, a possibility of war, to be prepared for our defence. But, really, to see some of the letters which have been published, and to hear some of the language that has been used, it would seem that these two great nations, so wealthy, so civilized, so enlightened, were going to butcher one another, merely to see what would be the effect of percussion-shells and needle-guns. I trust these fears are only temporary; I am convinced the solid and deliberate opinion of this country and of this house is for peace—for the continuance of the most permanent and solid peace." His lordship then adverted to the terrible revolutionary year 1848, and the changes it wrought in Tuscany, Austria, Hesse, and other states, where democratic constitutions were proclaimed, and when many in that house expressed their joy at the tidings. But these democratic governments had one and all of them been strangled in their birth, and the rule of absolute power had been restored. "Now, sir," his lordship asked, "is there no moral to be drawn from this? Does it not show, in the first place, that we should not judge hastily or rashly of events occurring in foreign countries? Does it not show, likewise, that, with respect to ourselves, though it was thought we had not the same degree of liberty as some of those states, we have done wisely to adhere to our ancient institutions? . . . I trust, therefore, that we shall,

with regard to our own country, continue in the path of peaceable and safe reform, rather than, by the adoption of anything discordant with our institutions, run the risk of losing the very liberty for which we make the change. But as to foreign countries, there is this to be said, that while we do not interfere with their domestic concerns—while we abstain from any intemperate judgment on their internal affairs—yet, there is one result which comes home to us, and imposes upon us a duty from which we cannot flinch. All these various governments of foreign states, as each gets uppermost, send their enemies and opponents out of the country; and the consequence is, that we have many who are seeking refuge in England. In giving them hospitality we are but pursuing the ancient and known policy of this country; we are but doing that which was celebrated two centuries ago." In concluding this explanation of his pacific and conciliatory plan of policy, the wisdom of which a short time sufficed to demonstrate, the premier emphatically wound up the conclusion: "I must again repeat, that in any measures we have to take—that in any measures which we may have to submit to this house—it shall be our object not to increase that unreasonable panic, but to alleviate it. It is my persuasion that it is wise at all times to take precautions against contingent and possible danger; but, at the same time, I say, there is no reason to suppose that any danger threatens us—that there is, in fact, no dispute between us and any other power. I have the happiness to say, that the relations of peace exist between this country and foreign nations in the fullest degree. I trust they may continue to do so; and while I deplore events which have passed on the continent of Europe—events which, I fear, were but the too certain consequences of the revolution of 1848—I do trust that by peace and civilization, by the intelligence which is daily pouring in on us, by the inventions made to improve the condition of mankind, liberty shall be at length introduced and established, and that, with religion, it shall govern the hearts of men, and produce happier days to mankind."

After an explanatory speech from Lord Palmerston upon the subject of his retirement, the attention of the house was directed to the great periodical question of parliamentary reform. This had been called for in the following paragraphs of the royal speech at the opening of the session:—"It appears to me that this is a fitting time for calmly considering whether it may not be advisable to make such amendments in the act of the late reign, relating to the representation of the commons in parliament, as may be deemed calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law is founded.

"I have the fullest confidence that in any such consideration you will firmly adhere to the acknowledged principles of the constitution, by which the prerogatives of the crown, the authority of both Houses of Parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people, are equally secured."

In accordance with this intimation of the purpose of the government, Lord John Russell announced, on the 9th of February, his intended bills for further parliamentary reform. He proposed to disfranchise the smaller nomination boroughs in cases of proved corruption, and to make a considerable change in the mode of inquiry into cases of corruption. He also proposed to extend the general franchise by lowering the established £10 to a £5 qualification for households, and to give the county franchise to persons living without the borough who paid 40s. annually of assessed taxes. Upon the qualification for members, he proposed that the oaths taken at the table of the house should be altered, the chief of these alterations being the omission of the words "on the faith of a true Christian." On a change of offices held under the crown, vacation of the seat and re-election were not to be required. And lastly, although he did not propose to alter the county franchise in Ireland, he wished to reduce that for cities and boroughs from £8 to £5.

After some discussion, in which it was manifest that the subject of parliamentary reform for the present had a very inferior degree of interest—that some other measure occupied the thoughts of the house—leave was given to bring in this reform bill at the specified period of three weeks afterwards. During the interval, the militia bill was brought in, by which the overthrow of the ministry was occasioned.

This bill was explained by Lord John Russell in a committee of the whole house, on the 16th of February. It was a matter of vital importance, as it concerned the national defence at a time when war, and even invasion, might have been apprehended, in consequence of the recent political changes in France. These were fully stated by his lordship as the causes of his present proposal, and he alluded to the facility with which Britain might now be invaded, from the changes produced by steam navigation. After stating the necessity of increasing our standing army, and concentrating our troops that were scattered over the colonies, his lordship announced the design of the ministry to establish a local in preference to a regular militia. The plan was as follows:—Two-thirds of the officers were to be appointed by the lord-lieutenants, one field-officer in each corps, and the others to be appointed by the crown. A qualification for officers of a certain amount of landed property was to be dispensed

with. Of the men, it was proposed that instead of limiting the standard to 18 and 30 years of age, as under the old local militia act, the limits of the ballot should, in the first year be from 20 to 23 years of age, and in the second, from 20 to 25; but any persons between 20 and 30 might volunteer, who should serve one year less than those drawn by ballot. Lord John then proceeded to detail the manner in which this militia army was to be combined. In the first year it was proposed that its number should not be less than 70,000 men, its expenses to be less than £200,000; in the second year the number should be raised to 100,000 men, and afterwards to 150,000, with proportionally increased expenses. In conclusion, he declared that, from the present aspect of affairs, it was evident some such force was needed; and he expressed his confidence that, whether his measure was accepted or not, he had laid the foundation of a force for the defence of the country.

The necessity of a national defence was felt by the dullest and advocated by the most economical, and therefore the house was at one upon this point. But was a militia the most effectual of defences? and was the present form of preparing it the best? Upon these points Lord Palmerston spoke fully. He first adverted to the suggestion of Mr. Cobden, that our navy was sufficient for the purpose, and he showed that upon any point of our coast, whose full extent it was impossible to cover, a hostile army might be landed. A land force, therefore, like the present, was the best—one dormant in peace, but ready to act with regular troops in time of war; but he thought it would be better to retain the plan of the old regular militia, and that the word "local" should be left out of the bill, which was also susceptible of other important improvements.

Leave being given to bring in the bill, Lord John Russell proposed it with several modifications. Substitutes were to be allowed, but only taken out of the same lists of the year and county, by which strict personal service would be avoided on the one hand, and the evasions attendant upon hiring substitutes on the other. Her majesty should be empowered to call out the force not only in the case of actual, but even of apprehended invasion; and it should be retained embodied not six weeks, but six months after the enemy had left our shores, with a further liability to be kept on foot for twelve months. Lord Palmerston then rose to propose his amendment, of which he had previously given notice. He thought there was an essential difference between the title of the bill and its purport; it confounded the essential distinction between a general and local militia. The danger of an invasion was most imminent at the breaking out of a war, and how

was this to be met? by having in time of peace a considerable force, organized, drilled, armed, and equipped, which could be raised at the shortest possible notice. But a local militia was not such a force. What the country wanted was a regular militia—a force that had existed nearly two centuries, instead of a local militia, which was only an occasional force for a particular emergency. He therefore proposed to insert the word “consolidate,” and omit the word “local” in the title and language of the bill. To this, Lord John Russell replied, that after some months of consultation, the government had come to the conclusion that the plan they had proposed was the best; but if the house decided to leave out the word “local,” all he could say was, that the chairman of the committee and Lord Palmerston must bring in the bill. Upon a division taking place, Lord John was outvoted by 135 against 126. He then declared, according to his pledge, that as the government had been defeated in bringing in the bill according to their own form, he must decline the responsibility of the measure. He had now been told by their decision that the house had no confidence in the government, and he moved, that the chairman and Lord Palmerston be ordered to bring in the militia bill. A scene of noisy confusion followed this display of pouting politics, and the necessary result followed: the ministers resigned office, and the Russell administration was ended. To the Earl of Derby was intrusted the task of forming a new administration, in which he succeeded. Much anxiety was felt to learn the course which the new premier meant to pursue in the present crisis both of foreign and domestic troubles; and this the earl announced in the House of Lords on the 27th of February. He was firmly bent on maintaining the blessings of universal peace, without either an ostentatious display of naval and military preparation, or a vain hope of disarming the world by casting down all our own defences. He would carefully avoid interference with other countries in the form of government they might be pleased to adopt, and would recognize it, even though it should be an absolute red republic. But while acting on these conciliatory principles, he would be anxious to put the country in a safe



THE EARL OF DERBY.—From a portrait by W. Derby

position against hostile aggression, and on this head he was glad to state, that our navy was never in a better condition than at present. As for home defence, he avowed his preference to the “old constitutional force.” With regard to his principles in commerce and finance, he spoke with necessary caution; and upon the terrible question of protection, which was certain to be brought forward as the test of the new administration, he expressed himself in such terms as sufficed to keep both parties in doubt; that, he said, referring to the question of a tax on food, “could only be solved by the intelligent portion of the community;” and it was not the intention of the government to make any proposition on the subject at present. The house then adjourned to the 12th of March.

On the re-assembling of parliament, the gage of battle was thrown down. This was in the form of a petition from certain inhabitants of the West Riding of Yorkshire, praying for a definite answer as to whether free trade was to be maintained or abandoned. But although conjured to announce the intentions of government on this sub-

ject, the Earl of Derby still maintained his cautious oracular obscurity. All he would divulge was, that this question could only be solved by a general election, an event which the formation of the present government would materially accelerate; and that such a step as the re-imposition of a duty on corn could only be taken after careful deliberation, and then, not by a bare majority, but after an expression of very general concurrence on the part of the country. Although these answers were deliberated in both houses, and were interpreted by each party according to its hopes or fears, no further satisfaction was vouchsafed for the present. Another trial was made to ascertain the purposes of the new ministry, by the question, at what period they intended to advise the crown to dissolve the parliament. But here also there was no definite answer. The Earl of Derby contented himself with stating, that he saw no good reason for an immediate dissolution; that the attempt to govern the country by a minority was sanctioned by example so late as that of Sir Robert Peel, but that he had no hesitation in declaring his opinion,

that the next autumn ought not to pass without calling a new parliament for the expression of the national feeling as to the principles on which the government of the country should be conducted.

After this difficult ordeal had been endured repeatedly by the new premier, without committing himself either upon his commercial or protectionist intentions, the serious business of the session commenced with the militia bill, which was introduced on the 29th of March, by Mr. Spencer Walpole, the home secretary. He stated that this country, in its means of defence at least, should be on an equality with other nations; but that such was not the case at present. There were 100,000 men for the army, 30,000 in India, 15,000 pensioners, 13,500 yeomanry, in all 160,000 men. But what number of men remained out of these for our own defences? Even this was not a quarter of the army of Russia, not a half of the army of Prussia, not one-third of the army of France, and very little more than the army of Belgium. But while the British empire comprehends one-sixth of the population, and one-eighth of the habitable surface of the globe, we could not bring 25,000 soldiers on any one point in England, and that then, the rest of the country, the metropolis itself, and the queen's palace, would be left to the defence of pensioners and police. Even our fleet, too, would be insufficient to prevent invasion, as the only ships at present in commission were nine vessels of war, five frigates, one sloop, nine steamers propelled by screw, and eight steamers propelled by paddle. Mr. Walpole then detailed the government plan of the militia defence, which consisted of the following particulars:—1. To raise, if possible, without abandoning the ballot, a force of 80,000 volunteers, 50,000 being raised for the first, and 30,000 for the second year, the period of service to be five years. 2. To raise these men by bounties of £3 or £4. 3. To dispense with the property qualifications hitherto required of all officers under the rank of major. 4. The number of days' training in the year to be twenty-one, the crown having the power to extend it to seven weeks, or reduce it to three days. Lastly, to make no alteration in the existing law about the embodying of the men. As to the expense of this national array, Mr. Walpole stated that £1,200,000 would be required for bounty and equipment; but if spread over five years, it would be about £240,000 per annum, except for the first year, when the cost of equipment and clothing would raise it to £400,000. These troops being a national defence, the expenses already mentioned should be borne by the public purse, except in those districts which could not provide their proper quota.

This simple and lucid statement, even though it had been tenfold more worthy of acceptance, could not have escaped from cavil; it was the measure of a new administration whose course of action had hitherto been provokingly concealed, and for whose halting, therefore, many were on the watch. The bill passed the first stage however, and on the second reading, which occurred on the 23d of April, the debate of two nights only served to strengthen the government, by exposing the rancorous temper and weak arguments of the opposition. It was alleged, that our military contingents in the colonies could be so pared down and lessened, as to furnish 15,000 good trained soldiers for home service, with a saving of from £200,000 to £300,000—that the militia force proposed to be raised would cost too much—that it would be impracticable to raise the men without ballot—that no plan of foreign invasion could be devised against us which our diplomatic agents would be unable to detect—and that this militia system, founded on the old plan, was unsuitable to the new emergencies of modern warfare, should the apprehended evil actually occur. The second reading was passed by 355 to 165, a result that showed in a wonderful degree the confidence that had already been won by the new cabinet. The third reading, notwithstanding the objections and amendments, which were continued to the close, was passed by 187 to 142.

In the House of Lords, where the subject was introduced on the 15th of June, the most prominent speaker in the debate was the Duke of Wellington; and upon a question on which he was so completely at home, and so well entitled to speak with authority, he made one of those last public addresses, which the nation would do well to lay to heart. It was like the testament of the heroic Bruce of Scotland, which he delivered upon his death-bed, and by which the land was often defended long after he had passed away. "I am certainly the last man," he said, "to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined, or with undisciplined or half-disciplined troops. The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops, you are acting with a certain degree of confidence that what they are ordered to perform they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence; on the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to do. But we must look a little at the state in which we stand at the present moment. This country is at peace with the whole world, except in certain parts, or on the frontiers of its own distant dominions, with which operations of war are carried on by means of our peace

establishment. I say that peace establishment ought to have been effectually provided for long ago. If it had been, we should not have needed now to be told, as we have been by the noble marquis (Lansdowne) about the number of days and weeks it will take to train the militia recruits, or about the futility of expecting anything to the purpose from troops with their three weeks, or their six weeks, or what time it may be, of training. We have never, up to this moment, maintained a proper peace establishment—that is the real truth; and we are now in that position in which we find ourselves forced to form a peace establishment such as this country requires. I tell you, that for the last ten years you have never had in your army more men than enough to relieve the sentries on duty of your stations in the different parts of the world: such is the state of your peace establishment at the present time, such has been the state of your peace establishment for the last ten years. . . . We are still at peace with all the world; let us, then, have a peace establishment—our constitutional peace establishment; and, when you have got that, see what you will do next. The noble marquis says, he thinks he should prefer an army of reserve. An army of reserve! What is an army of reserve? Is it an army to cost less than £40 each man all round? If he thinks that possible, I tell him that we can have no such thing. But what I desire—and I believe it is a desire the most moderate that can be formed—is, that you shall give us, in the first instance, the old constitutional peace establishment. When we have got that, then you may do what you please. The noble marquis says, very truly, that these 50,000, or 80,000, or 150,000 militiamen won't be fit for service in six months, or twelve months, or eighteen months: but I say they will be fit, at all events, for some service; and certainly they will enable us to employ in the field others who are fit for service; and in time they will themselves become fit for service. In the last war we had in service several regiments of English militia, and they were in as high a state of discipline, and as fit for service, as any men I ever saw in my life. It was quite impossible to have a body of troops in higher order, or in higher discipline, or more fit for discipline, than those bodies of British militia were at the commencement of the present century up to 1810; they were as fine a corps as ever were seen; and I say, no doubt these bodies of 50,000 or 80,000 men, whatever the number may be, will be so too, in the course of time. Everything has its beginning, and this is a commencement. You must make a beginning here, and it will take some months before you can form reserve regiments. . . . If you begin with the forma-

tion of corps under this act of parliament, they will in time become what their predecessors in the militia were; and if ever they do become what the former militia were, you may rely on it they will perform all the services they may be required to perform. I recommend you to adopt this measure, as the commencement of a completion of the peace establishment. It will give you a constitutional force. It will not be at first or for some time everything we could desire, but by degrees it will become what you want—an efficient auxiliary force to the regular army." Such was the advice of the highest of all military experience, and the bill passed into law without further difficulty.

During this session, the subject of parliamentary reform was again brought up in a variety of forms, but with little or no immediate result. The first motion on the subject was made by that indefatigable reformer, Joseph Hume, who moved for leave to bring in a bill to extend the elective franchise in England and Wales, so that every ratepayer of age, a resident in his parish for twelve months, and free from mental or legal disability, should be entitled to vote for a representative in parliament—that votes should be taken by ballot; and that the duration of parliament should not exceed three years. His proposal fared as it had done before, being rejected by an immense majority. Another, re-introduced by Mr. Locke King, for the assimilation of the county to the borough franchise, was lost by a majority against it of fifty-three. A more fortunate measure was that proposed by Lord Brougham at an early part of the session in the House of Lords, to reduce the fifty days required to elapse between a dissolution and the meeting of a new parliament to thirty-five days. A bill to this effect was passed without opposition.

A more important subject than any of these—that of election bribery and corruption—was now brought before parliament; and it soon appeared that the application was by no means premature. An appeal of this nature near the close of the last session had been made against St. Albans; and the appointment of a commission of inquiry was followed by the discovery of such a system of bribery which had prevailed for generations in this effete moth-eaten borough, that it was forthwith disfranchised, and struck out of the election list. But the same inquiry showed that the purchasable men of Verulam were not the only trespassers in this respect: other boroughs were equally corrupt and rotten; and during the present session, an act was passed extending similar commissions to every other place in which the evil was reported to exist. The dismay which this law excited in several quarters fully evinced the

necessity for its enactment. By the disfranchisement of St. Albans and also of Sudbury, four seats in parliament were annihilated; and as it was judged necessary to keep up the full number of the national representation, the government wished to create four others in their room. To this effect Mr. D'Israeli moved, that two new members should be added to the West Riding of Yorkshire, and two to the southern division of Lancashire—and this to be done before the dissolution of the present parliament. In this proposal, however, the government was defeated by a majority of eighty-six.

The growing importance of our Australasian colonies, and the propriety of giving them a representative constitution in conformity with that of the mother country, had met with a ready acquiescence; and it was now the turn of New Zealand to have her claims on this head fully considered. This lately occupied settlement of British enterprise had received in 1846 a *pro tempore* constitution which would expire in 1853, and it was needful for so important a colony that a new and more ample constitution should be in readiness to replace the old. Some difficulty, however, was found in adapting it to the anomalous character of this settlement, where the natives not only greatly outnumbered the British settlers, but were rapidly advancing in civilization and political consequence. To this also was to be added the geographical character of the two islands of which New Zealand is composed, and the manner in which it had been colonized by the detached British communities from every part of the United Kingdom. The task was undertaken by Sir John Pakington, the new secretary for the colonial department, and was executed in such a manner as to give general satisfaction, so that the bill for the New Zealand constitution passed easily through both houses. A scheme of such difficult legislation is worthy of some detail. It was proposed that New Zealand should be considered as one colony, but be divided into seven provinces, each governed by a superintendent appointed by the governor-in-chief, with a salary of £500 per annum. Each superintendent was to have a legislative council of not fewer than nine members, to be entirely elective; while the qualification of the electors, whether settlers or natives, was to consist of either a freehold worth £50, or a house—if in the town, worth £10 a year, and if in the country, worth £5—or household property with an unexpired term of three years, worth £10 a year. Whether the members of these provincial councils should be salaried was a question left to the central legislature. Fourteen subjects were specified upon which these councils were to be prohibited from legislating. At the end of every four years, new councils

were to be elected. The central legislature was to consist of the governor-in-chief as head, and two chambers; the members of the upper chamber to be appointed by the crown during pleasure, and those of the lower to be elective, the privilege of election being held on the same terms as that for the provincial councils. The number of members for the upper chamber was to be not less than ten, nor more than fifteen, at the discretion of the governor-in-chief; for the lower chamber, not less than twenty-five, nor more than forty. This central parliament was to have a five years' duration, and its enactments were to overrule those of the provincial legislatures. A civil list was to be established, of which £12,000 a year was to be reserved for the salaries of the superintendents, and £7000 a year for native purposes. Finally, the local legislature should have full power, from time to time, to enact changes in the constitution, with consent of the crown.

Such were the chief proceedings of the session previous to the dissolution of parliament; and although it was alleged that the Derby administration had done little more than carrying through those measures that had already been prepared to their hand, it was still felt that much business had been transacted, and transacted ably as well as successfully. Besides those changes, several improvements were effected in the courts of law and equity, the common law courts, the county courts, and the court of chancery, by which their processes were simplified, and their vexatious delays abbreviated. Several sanitary regulations were also passed for supplying the metropolis with water, and abolishing the practice of intramural interments. On the 1st of July, parliament was prorogued by her majesty in person, previous to its dissolution, which was announced the day after.

The first meeting of the new parliament occurred on the 4th of November, when the Hon. Charles Shaw Lefevre was elected speaker of the House of Commons, and the royal speech was delivered on the 11th; but in the House of Lords one place was vacant which it may take centuries to fill. We allude to the death of the Duke of Wellington, at Walmer Castle, on the 14th of September. His grace was already in his eighty-fourth year—and with what important events both in war and politics had that long-extended life been crowded! This bereavement formed the first announcement, the commencing mournful note of her majesty's address; and the following words, in which it was intimated, were something far beyond the language of established usage or political compliment:—"I cannot meet you for the first time after the dissolution of parliament, without expressing my deep sorrow, in

which I am sure you will participate, that your deliberations can no longer be aided by the counsels of that illustrious man whose great achievements have exalted the name of England, and in whose loyalty and patriotism the interests

of my throne and of my people ever found an unflinching support. I rely with confidence on your desire to join with me in taking such steps as may mark your sense of the irreparable loss which the country has sustained by the death of



WALMER CASTLE, Coast of Kent.—From a view by S. Read

Arthur, Duke of Wellington." It was the touching spectacle of the sovereign of the realm bewailing the decease of the best support of her throne—of the hero whose firm unswerving loyalty had been so tenderly mixed with an almost paternal affection. The deep grief of all parties and classes throughout the nation—the eulogiums in parliament—the funeral of the illustrious deceased, in which the whole country bewailed their loss as one of the greatest of national calamities—and the monuments which have been erected to his memory, attest the cordiality with which the royal advice was received, and the unanimous enthusiasm with which it was fulfilled.

But there were stern political questions at hand to dry up the public tears, and introduce other feelings than those of funereal sorrow. The smothered indignation which the doubtful language of the cabinet had excited about their intentions upon free trade and finance broke out afresh, and the combat was opened anew. This conflict was commenced on the 23d of November, by Mr. C. Villiers, who proposed his resolutions in the House of Commons to the following effect:—"That it is the opinion of this house, that the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corns; and that that act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure. That it is the opinion of this house, that the maintenance and further extension of the policy of free trade, as opposed to that of protection, will best enable the property and industry of the nation to bear the burdens to which they are exposed,

and will most contribute to the general prosperity, welfare, and contentment of the people. That this house is ready to take into its consideration any measures consistent with the principles of these resolutions which may be laid before it by her majesty's ministers." If taunts not only bitter, but in many cases justly merited, could have extracted a distinct avowal from ministers of their future intentions about protection, the speech of Mr. Villiers might have shaken them from their ambiguity, and made them speak plainly out. On the other hand, it was objected by Lord Palmerston, that the present resolutions were too humbling, and that if eagerly pressed, they would probably be rejected. What he desired therefore was a middle course, embodied in the following amendment:—

"That it is the opinion of this house, that the improved condition of the country, and especially of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for purposes of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people.

"That it is the opinion of this house, that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people.

"That this house will be ready to take into consideration any measure consistent with these principles, which, in pursuance of her majesty's gracious speech and recommendation, may be

laid before it." After a long debate, in which two adjournments occurred, these resolutions were agreed to by a majority of 468 to 53, the only alteration made in them being these words in the second, "without inflicting on any important interest," which were interposed after the words, "prudently extended." In this way, the policy of free trade received the full sanction of the House of Commons; and the Earl of Derby was encouraged to express his hope, that by this decision the question was finally set to rest. This hope was ratified by the decision of the lords, before whom the subject was brought on the 3d of December, and who agreed unanimously, that "this house adheres to the commercial system recently established, and would view with regret any attempt to disturb its operations, or impede its progress."

In the meantime, events had been occurring in France which were destined most materially to influence the political relations between that country and Great Britain. On the 6th of December, the astounding fact was announced in both Houses of Parliament, that Prince Louis Napoleon, late President of France, was now its emperor, and that he had been elected to this highest of places by the suffrages of 8,000,000 of voters, being almost the entire adult male population of the country. Accustomed as we had been to the strange and sudden mutations of the French government, so that we had ceased to wonder at them, this event so transcended all British calculation, that at first men could not believe the tale, notwithstanding the overwhelming huzzas of the election, and the substantial deeds of imperial power with which it was immediately followed.

We have already mentioned the singular manner in which this most incomprehensible of mankind succeeded, though with an inferior title, to almost all the kingly power of the deposed Louis Philippe. Invading France with nothing but his carpet-bag, he extinguished in a twinkling the strong rival claims of the two Bourbon families, and reduced to a mere question of days or hours his own final occupation of their throne. No one who had considered either the character of the nation, or the tendencies of the Celtic races, could believe that France would long remain a republic; with them, it must be at best a temporary expedient, either to recover from an universal anarchy or to avoid it. In a republic, every man must have a voice—and what would that be in France!! A republic indeed had succeeded the overthrow of monarchy, but all its subsequent proceedings only showed the restlessness of the people, their unfitness for representative government, their ignorance of what constitutes personal and individual liberty, and the in-

nate craving by which the Celt is distinguished for that patriarchal irresponsible rule and guidance which constitutes the chief element of his political being. The whole nation was soon weary of brawling senates, and divisive councils that ended in nothing, and this more especially when they had now a Napoleon at hand. And no one knew better than he the time when and the mode in which the opportunity should be seized. In his uncle's oracular language, the "pear was ripe," and he now proceeded to pluck it. Even his enemies too had prepared the way, by endeavouring to lessen his authority, and place the army under the control of the assembly. In this way, the assembly threw the army into the hands of the president, and sealed their own doom, which was to be effected by one of those dramatic movements so congenial to a French imagination—by a *coup d'état*. Accordingly, at day-break, on the 2d of December, 1851, those Parisians who were awake saw the city wall covered with papers, and on rubbing their eyes, they found that they were proclamations, dated from the palace of the Elysée, announcing to them that the assembly was dissolved, that the council of state was dissolved, that universal suffrage was re-established, and the state of siege decreed throughout the first military division. The new plan of government was then proposed; and that the people might know what it meant, as well as be enabled to guess its final purpose, it was recommended by the new Napoleon in the following language: "This system, created by the first consul in the beginning of the present century, has already given to France repose and prosperity. It guarantees them still. Such is my profound conviction. If you partake it, declare so by your suffrages. If, on the contrary, you prefer a government without force, monarchical or republican, borrowed from some chimerical future, reply in the negative. Thus, then, for the first time since 1804, you will vote with complete knowledge of the fact, and knowing for whom and for what you vote."

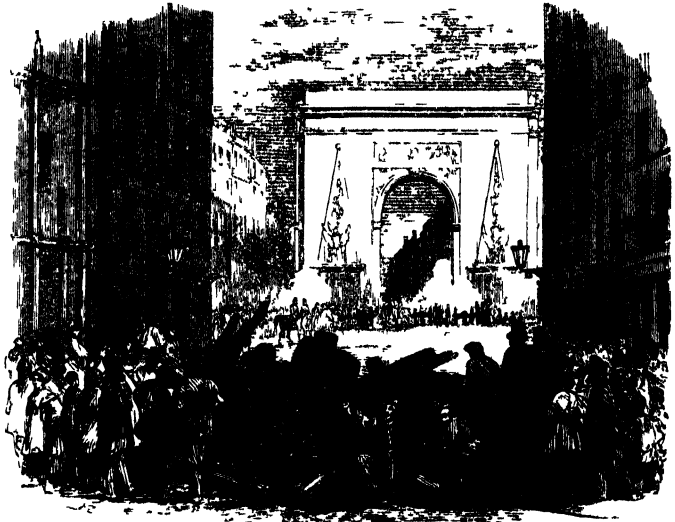
To this proclamation, which burst upon his friends and enemies like a thunderbolt, the president had made only three men privy; these were M. de St. Arnaud, minister of war; M. de Morny, representative of the people; and M. de Maupas, prefect of police, who were all ready to perform their assigned parts in this strange political drama. The bold proclamation was accompanied with still bolder action; for at a few minutes after six o'clock on the same morning, and even before the bill-stickers had commenced their office, the troops were placed at their posts, the agents of police were in motion; and at one and the same instant, over the whole city, every person whose resistance to the new state of things

was apprehended, was arrested, hurried from his bed into a carriage in waiting, and whirled away he knew not whither; so that in twenty minutes, Paris was utterly emptied of its choice republicans and agitators, some of them holding the highest distinction for their past services and influence. The assembly made a desperate rally to vindicate their authority, and met at an early hour in a different building, their own being occupied by soldiers; and there they declared Louis Napoleon Bonaparte a traitor, and deprived him of all authority as president of the republic; but in a few minutes after, they were marched as prisoners through the streets, and shut up in the barracks of the Quai d'Orsay. Thus the whole authority of France, which all Europe had recognized, was ignominiously cooped up in a barrack-yard. The members were offered their liberty, on condition of

offering no resistance to the president's measures; but although they refused these terms, they were all, with the exception of fourteen, set free a few days afterwards.

In this way, by a deed more deeply planned and more daringly and skilfully executed than anything which Napoleon the Great or Cromwell had attempted, France was revolutionized, and fitted for the rule of a master. During that day, Paris looked on stupefied and motionless, but on the morning of the 3d, the cry of "To arms!" was heard, the people began to muster for the fight, and street barricades were thrown up to the amount of several hundreds. Of these, the largest and strongest was at the Porte St. Denis, across the corner of the street of that name, skilfully constructed of huge paving-stones, beams of timber, and overturned waggons, and which was assailed by infantry, cuirassiers, and lancers, backed by a heavy cannonade, before it could be stormed. But skilled though the Parisians were in the war of civic insurrection, the troops had been so skilfully disposed, that every attempt at resistance was quelled almost as soon as it commenced. No scruples also withheld the soldiers from the full execution of their task, so that besides the deaths occasioned by actual conflict, citizens, whether singly or in groups, were fired at and struck down, wherever they presented a mark. After this, the last and most formidable source of resistance, the national guard, was dis-

banded; and that the sanctions of religion might be secured both for past and future proceedings, the Pantheon was restored to its original Christian destination as the church of St. Geneviève, by a decree of the already all-powerful president.



MONSTER BARRICADE AT THE PORTE ST. DENIS, PARIS.—Illustrated London News, 1851.

And now for the voting in of the new constitution, the terms of which were already understood both from past experience and recent proclamations! But what otherwise than a general assent could be expected, especially as the army had already proclaimed their choice, and were ready to maintain it? Even those, however, who were superior to such fears, were equally ready to vote for Louis Napoleon; and the reasons for this step, as announced by M. de Montalembert in his justification for taking it, might have been re-echoed by all the wise and reflective in France. "If Louis Napoleon were unknown," he thus wrote in his public declaration, "I would undoubtedly hesitate to confer on him such a force and such a responsibility. But without entering here into an appreciation of his policy for the last three years, I recall to mind the great religious acts which marked his government as long as the two powers agreed together—the liberty of instruction guaranteed; the pope restored by French arms; its councils, synods, and the plenitude of its dignity given back to the church; the number of its colleges, its communities, and works of charity gradually increased. I seek in vain elsewhere for a system or force able to guarantee to us the preservation and development of such benefits. I see only the gaping gulf of victorious socialism." The result of these mingled motives of fear and favour was shown in the great national poll, in which 7,439,219 votes were

in favour of the president, with increased power for ten years, while only 640,737 were against him.

On the establishment of the new government, unmistakeable symptoms appeared of the restoration of the old Napoleonic rule. The symbols of republicanism were to be removed, and condemned as treasonable and anarchical. The words *liberté, égalité, fraternité*, which figured on most of the public buildings, were therefore denounced by proclamation as incentives to public revolt, by reminding the people of successful insurrections, and ordered to be erased. In like manner, the trees of liberty, which were declared to be dried up and decayed sticks, were ordered to be cut down or rooted up. Certain living trees of liberty were in like manner disposed of, by several hundreds of obnoxious persons being banished to Cayenne or Algeria, or imprisoned in the fortress of Ham without the ceremony of a trial. But with all this severity, the general proceedings of the president were of such a popular character, that all lovers of order and settled government (and in France they now constituted an immense majority) thought that too much power could not be conferred on one who used it so benignantly and wisely. The effect of this feeling was shown with true French rapidity, and in a few months a general desire was felt to convert the president into an emperor. It seemed to them as if the mere name of Napoleon was insufficient, and of no meaning, unless coupled with the imperial title. At length all was in such readiness for the change, that a meeting of the senate was convoked in November, 1852, for the purpose of framing a *senatus consultum* for the empire; and there the president was proclaimed emperor, under the title of Napoleon III., and the imperial dignity made hereditary in his direct descendants, or failing issue, in the descendants of his uncle's brothers, whomsoever he might be pleased to adopt. The public voting for the empire, which commenced on the 21st of November, and was continued for several days, confirmed this decision of the senate by 7,824,189 votes, while only 253,145 were against it. Be it permanency what it may, no national choice could be more universally or distinctly intimated.

A new comet had thus risen in the political horizon of Europe "with fear of change perplexing monarchs;" and by no country was this apprehension more keenly felt than by Britain. It was remembered, that of all her military disasters, that

which rankled the most in French feeling was the defeat of Waterloo, and it was thought that the new emperor would be compelled to signalize his reign by an attempt to avenge it. One guarantee, indeed, the country had for a continued peace, in a speech of the emperor himself at his accession; he had declared that he was sovereign only by the voice of the people, and not by hereditary right to the throne; that he distinctly recognized all the governments that had existed in France since 1814; that he recognized the acts of these governments; and that he acknowledged the solidarity of his government as succeeding the others. These were guarantees, so far as they could go, of his purpose to continue those amicable relations which had subsisted so long between France and Britain; but who could tell what necessities might compel him to yield to those warlike impulses which were so congenial to the French character? Even the possibility of an invasion might now be more certain than before. It was not difficult therefore for the British parliament to agree to that proposal for strengthening our naval defences which had been made in the earlier part of the year. Accordingly, it was carried without a dissenting vote, that 6000 additional men should be employed in the sea service till the 31st of March, 1853; that a Channel fleet and a screw fleet should be established; and that £100,000 should be granted for the expenses of steam machinery. Additional estimates were also voted for the ordnance service.

The stability of the Derby administration was now to be tried upon the question of financial re-adjustment, upon which they could no longer maintain their cautious silence. Their plan was accordingly developed by Mr. D'Israeli, the chancellor of exchequer, on the 3d of December, in an eloquent speech of five hours' length. Into its long details, however, it is unnecessary to enter, as both plan and supporters were swamped in the attempt. The new chancellor had devoted himself heart and soul to the task, and had devised a financial scheme by which all former ones were to be surpassed as well as superseded; but it pleased no one and effected nothing. The debate was continued during four nights by successive adjournments, and the government was defeated by a majority of 305 against 286. Resignation after such a defeat was unavoidable, and accordingly, the Earl of Derby and his colleagues repaired to Osborne, and gave up their offices into her majesty's hands.

CHAPTER XV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1853.

VICTORIA.

Formation of a new administration—Re-assembling of parliament—Attack on the new ministry—Motion for a remonstrance against the religious persecutions in Tuscany—Discussion of our relations with France—The Maynooth question—Inquiry demanded into the education of Maynooth college—Motion on the subject negatived in the commons by an amendment—A committee of inquiry on Maynooth education appointed by the House of Lords—Reasons adduced for and against the inquiry—Canadian clergy reserves bill—Parliamentary debate on the subject—The bill passed—The Jewish disabilities bill—It is revived by the election of Mr. Salomons to a seat in parliament—Bill for the removal of disabilities lost in the lords—Government plan of education proposed by Lord John Russell—His detail of the plan and its advantages—Comprehensive character of the plan—Permission given for an educational bill to be introduced—Nothing further effected—Finance—Resolutions proposed by the chancellor of exchequer in connection with the national debt—Their introduction into parliament approved of—Success of the chancellor's financial exposition—Popular character of his plan of retrenchment—A stand made against the continuation of the income-tax—The chancellor's bill passed through the commons—Opposition to it from the lords on account of the income-tax—Various obstacles to the bill—It finally passes—Motion for the repeal of taxes on knowledge—One out of three resolutions carried—Increase of nunneries in England and Wales—Suspensions of their coercive character—Motion to facilitate the recovery of personal liberty among their inmates in certain cases—Statements of the despotic character of these institutions—The bill negatived—Counter-motion against the Protestant Established Church of Ireland—Fallacious arguments by which the motion is supported—Answer to these arguments by Lord John Russell—The bill rejected—Bill to alter and amend the laws of church rates—A counter-motion brought forward—Both are negatived—Registration of assurances bill—Its previous frequent failures—It passes a third reading, but is withdrawn—Charitable trusts bill passed—Question of the transportation of our convicts—Impossibility of finding a new penal settlement—Secondary punishments substituted for transportation—Attention of parliament called to India affairs—Statement of the defects of our India government—Bill introduced for their removal—Lord Macaulay's statement on India affairs—The bill passed.



NEW administration was formed by a combination of the Whig party and the followers of Sir Robert Peel, having at their head the Earl of Aberdeen as first lord of the treasury; Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer; with Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and the Duke of Newcastle for the home, foreign, and colonial secretaries, &c. The Earl of Aberdeen announced the line of policy he meant to follow, the principal particulars of which were, that he would endeavour to maintain the general peace of Europe without relaxing those defensive measures so recently adopted and too long neglected; and that at home, he would maintain and extend free-trade principles, and pursue the commercial and financial system of the late Sir Robert Peel. The measures of the government would be conservative as well as liberal, for both were essentially necessary in the present state of things.

The Christmas recess being ended, parliament re-assembled on the 10th of February. In the House of Lords, the signal of onset against the new ministry was given by the Earl of Derby, in a question with which he had often himself been assailed, but had found difficult or inconvenient to answer; he asked Lord Aberdeen, what measures were intended for the session, and

urged the premier to lay a statement of them before the house. To this the latter replied, that he had already stated the general principles on which government would proceed, and as for the particular measures, they would be announced in the House of Commons. This was accordingly done on the same day by Lord John Russell.

The first business into which parliament entered, was to discuss the propriety of a proposal made by Mr. Kinnaird to address the queen on the subject of the persecution of the Protestants in Tuscany. There, it was declared, a systematic course of religious persecution had been established; and the last instance of this nature, the imprisonment of the family of the Medici, had roused the resentment of Protestant Britain, so that the public demand for our government to interpose was both loud and influential. The motion of Mr. Kinnaird proposed a remonstrance on the part of Great Britain, in concert with the Protestant governments of Prussia and Holland, for putting a stop to this religious tyranny. The house was recommended to leave this question in the hands of government, which had already remonstrated on the subject; and accordingly the motion was withdrawn. Another subject of discussion, brought forward by Mr. D'Israeli, was that of our relations with France. There was still a profound peace between the two countries, while our

armaments were continuing to be increased; and he wished to have a frank explanation from government as to how its foreign policy in this important case was to be conducted. To this it was answered, that we were on terms of intimate friendship with France, and would not interfere with its domestic concerns; that the virulent language used by our platform orators against the emperor was highly reprehensible; and that the increase of our armaments was only a wise precaution, when we recollected on what slight occasions, at such a period as this, unexpected hostilities might occur. Here the discussion terminated.

After the late Papal aggression, it could not be expected that the Maynooth question, so often the subject of keen debate in both houses, would be allowed to pass over undisturbed. At one time the propriety of endowing the college, at another the character of its education, was the subject of angry question both within doors and without. On the 22d of February it was awakened into full vigour, by a motion of Mr. Spooner, for a committee of the whole house to consider the act relating to Maynooth College. He had previously overtured upon the subject; but his facts, he complained, while uncontradicted, had been met with abuse, and the imputation of selfish motives. He now demanded inquiry into the character of the books from which its teaching was derived, and the effects of that teaching; and he proceeded to show from the text-books that were used, and from recent proceedings of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, that the college had not corresponded to the expectations and intentions of the founders. The motion of Mr. Spooner was met by an amendment of Mr. Scholefield, in which he moved that the consideration of the committee should be extended to "all enactments now in force, whereby the revenue of the state is charged in aid of any ecclesiastical or religious purposes whatsoever, with a view to the repeal of such enactments." This counter-proposal, like a wedge, split the Protestantism of the house into its two antagonist divisions of state church and dissenterism, from whose contention Popery had ere now derived its strongest chance of safety. The debate was

continued by adjournment over the 24th of February, and the 2d of March; and the damaging effect of the amendment was conspicuous throughout, and resolved itself chiefly into the question whether churches should be endowed or not. The original motion was defeated by a division of 192 against 162, and the amendment upon which the debate was continued was negatived by 262 to 68.

The subject, thus set to rest in the House of Commons for a season, was taken up by the lords on the 18th of April, in consequence of the Earl of Winchelsea moving for a committee "to inquire into the system of education pursued at Maynooth." His lordship traced the late Papal insult to our sovereign, and indeed most of the evils of Popery, to the canon law, according to which the pope assumed temporal as well as spiritual authority over the subjects of other sovereigns; and he showed by extracts from books and documents on the Papacy, that the canon law, and the doctrines it inculcates, were taught at Maynooth. It was high



THE EARL OF ABERDEEN — From a portrait by Desmouins

time therefore, he thought, that such a system of education should be suppressed. Lord Aberdeen, who replied, observed that a commission had made in 1826 a full inquiry into the subject, followed by a most elaborate report; and that this had been thought sufficient to supersede the necessity of the present proposal: but as public opinion had demanded the inquiry, he would not check it, and he believed that it would redound to the advantage and credit of the college. But he objected to the proposed select committee, and desired a fair and impartial inquiry by able and independent men, on which account he would propose the following amendment, of which he had previously given notice:—"That an humble address be presented to her majesty, praying that her majesty will be graciously pleased to issue a commission to inquire into the management and government of the college of Maynooth, the discipline and the course of studies pursued therein; also into the effects produced by the increased grants conferred by parliament in 1845."

As dissenterism was not to be found in the British peerage, there was no word in the debate

about the disestablishment of churches, and the blessings of the voluntary principle. All was therefore left to the question, whether Popery should continue to enjoy its state endowments or be left to shift for itself. The chief arguments used in favour of the Maynooth grant were, that it went far to break the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, which had been so fertile in political contention—that the system of education pursued at Maynooth was precisely that which was necessary to form a Roman Catholic priest—and that the proposed inquiry would produce nothing but misunderstanding, mischief, and discord. On the other hand, it was alleged, that the grant had produced no improvement in the character of the Irish priesthood; that it trained a greater number of priests than were needed in the present reduced state of Irish Popery; and that the persons educated there would never rest until they had effected the overthrow of Protestantism. The nature of the inquiry was also a subject of debate, some preferring a committee, according to the original motion, and others a commission, according to Lord Aberdeen's amendment. Against the latter mode of inquiry it was objected by the Earl of Derby, that the persons composing it must derive their views from parties who were connected with the institution, in which case, even if they were perfectly impartial men, still they would give the house only partial evidence. The inquiry ought to be on oath; but commissioners would have no power to examine on oath, or to compel witnesses to answer. The original motion was thrown out by 110 against 53, and Lord Aberdeen's amendment adopted. In this way the Maynooth question was set aside for future altercation.

The Canadian clergy reserves bill was another Protestant question that had already occasioned much contention. When the province of Canada had been divided in 1791 into two parts, an act was passed, that whenever the crown should dispose of waste lands, one-seventh of their value should be reserved for the support of the Protestant clergy. But during the fifty years that succeeded, complaints had been made that this seventh had been unfairly distributed, and that the clergy of the established churches of England and Scotland had received the larger share. In consequence of the quarrels between the legislative council and the house of assembly which this subject of complaint occasioned, and their appeal to the home legislature, an act had been passed in 1840, when the upper and lower provinces were united. By this act it was decreed, that the one-fourth of the church land already sold should be considered as belonging to the churches of England and Scotland, in the proportion of two to one; that of the remaining

three-fourths, one-half should be considered as belonging to the churches of England and Scotland in the proportion of two to one; and with regard to the other half of the three-fourths, it should be left to the disposal of the Governor-general of Canada and the executive council, for the purposes of religious worship and education. But since 1840, the population of Canada had more than doubled, and the condition of the colony was materially altered. The bill, therefore, which was now introduced into the commons by Mr. F. Peel, was for the purpose of giving the Canadian legislature the power, if it thought fit, of altering the existing arrangement, the matter being not of imperial, but wholly and exclusively of colonial concern.

Leave being given to bring in this bill, an animated discussion followed, especially on the 4th of March, upon its second reading. On this occasion it was argued by its opponents, that these reserves had from the beginning been set apart and dedicated to the service of religion—the Protestant religion in Canada; and could not now be diverted from the purpose even by parliament itself, without committing a mortal sin. And granting that Canada possessed the right of self-control, still the act of the imperial parliament was binding upon it. With regard to the policy of the measure, that too was condemned; for if the loyal Upper Canadians should renounce their allegiance, and annex their country to the United States, the original grant would nevertheless be rigidly enforced by the American law. And would it be wise or prudent to show to loyal subjects of the British crown, who were attached to their church, that the monarchy of England disregarded obligations which a republic was willing to respect? Lastly, those pioneers of civilization, the Protestant missionaries of Canada, were supported by the fund which this bill would alienate from them, while the Canadian Roman Catholics themselves would deprecate the alienation, as such a measure would endanger their own endowments. To this it was answered, that the act of 1840 had not been received by the Canadians as a final measure, and that the words "Protestant clergy," in that of 1791, were not limited to the clergy of the Church of England. All questions affecting religious endowments in a colony were essentially local, and, according to the rules of our colonial policy, should be dealt with by the local legislature. And when we had given self-government to Canada, were we not to respect that right?

The second reading passed by a large majority, and the third came on upon the 11th of April. On this occasion, when Mr. Walpole moved to defer the reading for six months, the Roman Catholic interest in the question was brought

into full discussion. The house had been told, he said, that the great object of the measure was to give the Canadian legislature the fullest power over all matters of purely local concern. But when the bill was examined in committee, it appeared not to be confined to these matters: it extended to investments made in this country, and enabled the Canadian legislature to deal with these investments, although they affected no local interests;—and further, that endowments to Roman Catholics could not be touched without the authority of the imperial parliament, while endowments to Protestants in Canada could be dealt with and destroyed by a majority of the Canadian legislature alone. The third reading was carried by 288 to 208.

In the House of Lords, the second reading of the bill was moved on the 22d of April. The Bishop of Exeter moved an amendment “that the bill be not read for six months,” upon the plea that the bill could only pass, if parliament would reserve a guarantee that the clergy reserves should not be secularized; and he adduced a long array of precedents to prove that the imperial parliament has power to control the colonial parliaments. This amendment, however, was withdrawn in consequence of a proposal of the Earl of Derby, by which the mode of contest was altered. His lordship, instead of giving the bill a distinct negative, would content himself with moving in committee certain propositions that would give the Canadian legislature more extensive power than had been done by the act of 1791, but, at the same time, maintaining inviolate and for ever all the appropriations for the Church of Scotland or the Church of England. On this understanding the bill being read a second time without a division, the House of Lords went into committee, and the earl produced his promised proposals; which having been adopted, the bill passed its third reading on the 28th of the same month.

The question of Jewish disabilities with respect to the admission of that proscribed race into parliament, had neither slept nor slumbered since the exclusion of Baron Rothschild. On the contrary, a still more determined Hebrew than the baron, who had been elected member for Greenwich in 1851, had presented himself at the bar of the House of Commons to take the oaths of membership, and had resolutely refused to swallow the unpalatable test “on the faith of a true Christian.” This was Alderman Salomons, lord-mayor of London. But on being ordered to withdraw, he at first only retired below the bar; and on a future day, when the discussion was renewed, he boldly took his seat on the ministerial side of the house, from which it required the sergeant-at-arms to dislodge him.

He even voted twice upon the question of his own admission, and delivered a short speech before he was compelled to withdraw. It seemed impossible but that at some period, and that too not very remote, such increasing boldness and perseverance would achieve a full and free admission. This question of Jewish eligibility for membership was moved by Lord John Russell for the consideration of a committee of the whole house, on the 24th of February. In addition to his old arguments on the subject, his lordship pleaded, that although it was alleged that the Jews were meant to be divided from all other nations, yet it was not for us to carry out the decrees of the Almighty. There was no ground of objection but prejudice, and the plea that we were a Christian nation, and that ours was a Christian legislature. Should we not remain so in spite of the admission of a few Jews into that house? He therefore requested the honourable members to do away with the remaining disqualifications which attached to a class of British subjects upon whose loyalty they relied, and of whose co-operation they would be glad; and to remove them on the grounds of truth and justice alone. His appeal prevailed: the house went into committee, and the resolution was passed, “That it is expedient to remove all the civil disabilities at present existing, affecting her majesty’s subjects of the Jewish persuasion, in like manner, and with the exceptions as are provided with reference to her majesty’s subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion;” and a bill to this effect was ordered to be brought in.

The house was weary of this oft-repeated subject, in which nothing new could be adduced, and the debate went on languidly, and was listened to with impatience. The second reading was carried; and the third, with a haste that was complained of, was hurried on for the 15th of April, when it was also carried. The second reading was moved in the lords on the 29th by Lord Aberdeen, who gave a brief review of the whole ground of argument both religious and political; and he was answered by the Earl of Shaftesbury, who stated the principal objections that operated against the bill, and moved that it be read that day six months. During the debate, the Jews found effectual advocates in the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of St. David’s, the former asserting that the removal of their disabilities would be the triumph rather than the defeat of Christianity; while the latter adverted to the liberality of Jewish tolerance in the cause of Christian missions, and the building of churches. But the bill was lost in the second reading by 164 to 115, and the removal of these disabilities was reserved to a more convenient season which was certain to occur at last.

On the 4th of April, the government plan of education was brought forward by Lord John Russell. He commenced with a statement of the good that had been done by the establishment of public day-schools in opposition to those that were voluntary and secular. The total number of these day-schools, both public and private, now amounted to 44,898, at which 2,108,473 children of both sexes were educated. As for the voluntary and secular schools belonging to the different religious denominations, their number amounted to 19,856, with an attendance of 1,281,077 pupils. The weekly pence payment of these schools might be estimated at 500,000, or nearly one-half of the amount expended in their maintenance. Still the secular system of education was judged insufficient by government: it was felt desirable that Christianity, hitherto excluded from these schools, should be taught there; but the religious divisions of the country would prevent the imposition of a national rate for this purpose. It was thought, however, that corporate towns might obtain the means of supporting schools by rates, two-thirds of the town-council being agreed in imposing it. The rate thus raised should be applied, also, not to establish schools in substitution of the former ones, but in aid of the voluntary efforts of individuals, and of the school pence of the pupils. "We should propose," said his lordship, "some such scheme as this—that the rate might be applied to pay 2*d.* in the week for the scholars, provided 4*d.* or 5*d.* were contributed from other sources. We should propose, likewise, that the schools which should receive this assistance should be schools which, under the minutes of council, might receive assistance, and which consequently have for years received the sanction of parliament." This was a better plan than that which had lately failed at Manchester, of forming a plan for new schools, in which they had disagreed. To combine the *sine qua non* of religious instruction with the utmost liberty of conscience, "we intend," said his lordship, "that in these schools, the parent shall have the power of withdrawing his child from the religious instruction to which he might object; for it is obvious that the parent, on the one hand, would not send his child to a school where the religious instruction was repugnant to his feelings; and, on the other hand, the school which had a strict rule that every child must receive religious instruction, would refuse to receive the child of a parent objecting." As it would be necessary to make additional grants for building schools in poor localities, the following statement was made on this head:—"I should say that the country generally may be divided into places of three different conditions—1. Where the education is already sufficient in quantity and

quality; 2. Where it is not sufficient either in quantity or quality; and 3. Where the education is entirely deficient. The first class is already considerable, and is increasing; the third class is certainly not very large; but it is the second class which is the most important of the whole, and therefore requires the utmost aid and assistance."

These are but a few of the principal points which Lord John Russell detailed at length in the government plan of education. But the public charities in which education formed a part were also to be supervised, the schools of practical art assisted, and the system of the two universities improved. This last, however, was dangerous ground, and was not to be entered until the matter should have reached a more advanced stage of consideration. In the university of Oxford, it had been discovered by a commission of inquiry, that a material change was necessary in its government, and he stated that some such change had been determined. Having pointed out those time-honoured evils which needed reformation, Lord John thus concluded:—"I trust I have made it clear to the house that we shall not at the present time, or without giving full opportunity to the universities to consider what they themselves ought to do, propose to parliament any measure on the subject. At the same time we shall keep closely in view those objects in this matter which we deem essential. If the universities adopt these objects, and carry them into effect as far as they can, applying to parliament for the powers they may find requisite to the full development of those objects, the government will gladly concur in that result. If, on the other hand, the universities will not take this course—if prejudice shall prevent those having authority and influence there from making the alterations which are requisite—then it will be our duty as a government no longer to hesitate, but to bring in those measures which we deem called for by the necessities and expedencies of the case."

Having explained the government plan for the extension of education in England and Wales, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill to that effect. His details, which were luminous as well as long and complex, had arrested the attention of the house; and, in the debate that followed, the sentiments of the members were delivered for or against it in the most express terms. Of course it was thought by some not to meet all the requirements of the case—not to go far enough—while Mr. Hume and his party alleged that the object could not be accomplished until the system of secular education was adopted. One member advocated the necessity of *compulsory* education for the "savages" of society, while others deprecated the imposition

of a general rate, until the wish of corporate towns had been received. And why meddle with the universities? While the members who were connected with these venerable seats of learning stepped forward in their defence, there were others who thought that the schools of Eton, Westminster, and Winchester, and the university of Durham, of which no mention had been made, were fully as needful of reform as the colleges of Cambridge and Oxford. The more minute portions of this educational scheme were also the subjects of question and altercation; but, upon the whole, the necessity of a national plan was felt, while none better than the present could be proposed in its stead. Leave accordingly was given to bring in the bill; but, having accomplished thus much, government ventured no further into the measure. The plan waited, as even yet it must wait, for the succession of a wiser generation and the coming of a better day. It was not by an act of summary legislation that so vital a change could be accomplished.

During this session, the important operations of finance were commenced by Mr. Gladstone, the chancellor of the exchequer, with a series of resolutions which he proposed on the subject of the national debt. These, which were fifteen in number, were designed to effect, not only a present relief, but a permanent advantage, by an absolute saving of a quarter per cent. for ever upon the interest of public debt. It is enough to state for the feasibility of the plan that it was approved of by Joseph Hume and ridiculed by Benjamin D'Israeli, and that the resolutions one by one were agreed to.

The chancellor's financial exposition followed on the 18th of April, in a speech of remarkable power, that occupied five hours in the delivery. From the difference between the estimate of last year and the real returns, there was a surplus of £2,460,000; but, from the increased expenses, arising chiefly from public education, the defences of the country, and the militia, this sum would be reduced to about £700,000. After this statement he proceeded to a consideration of the taxes; and first in the list was the income-tax, that "colossal engine of finance" which, during the late war, had been the salvation of the country. After showing that from 1806 to 1815 it had raised £7,000,000 more than the charges occasioned by the government and war, he added those words, that may be regarded as a prophecy in stereotype, and which have now more weight than, perhaps, at that period he was able to surmise: "It affords to me the proof that if you do not destroy the efficacy of this engine—I do not now raise the question whether it is to be temporary or permanent, which I hold to be quite a different question, and I will go into that by and by—it

affords you the means, should, unhappily, hostilities again break out, of at once raising your army to 300,000, and your fleet to 100,000, with all your establishments in proportion. And much as may be said of the importance—in which I



THE RIGHT HON W E GLADSTONE
From a photograph by Maull and Polyblank

concur—of an army reserve and navy reserve, and of having your dockyards and your arsenals well stored, I say this fiscal reserve is no less important; for, if it be used aright, it is an engine to which you may resort, and with which, judiciously employed, if unhappily necessity arise—which may God, in his mercy, avert—with it judiciously employed, you may again, if need be, defy the world." The intention of government, after having made certain mitigations in the inequalities with which it bore upon different persons and properties, was to renew the tax for two years from April, 1853, at the present rate of 7*d.* in the pound; for two years more, from April, 1855, at 6*d.*; and for three years more, from April, 1857, at 5*d.*; so that the tax would expire on the 5th of April, 1860. Incomes between £100 and £150 were also to pay 5*d.* in the pound for the whole time the tax continued. It was also resolved to extend the tax to Ireland, which would yield an increase of £460,000 a year. Still further to equalize the burdens that pressed too heavily on intelligence and skill as compared with property, certain changes were to be made in the legacy duty, by introducing a duty into all successions whatever, which, by the year 1856–57, he calculated, would add £2,000,000 annually to the permanent revenue of the country. The changes contemplated upon other taxes were then announced. An addition of 1*s.* per gallon on Scotch spirits, and 8*d.* on Irish, was to be imposed, with a drawback for waste upon

spirits in bond. An increase was to be made on the licenses of brewers, dealers in tea and coffee, tobacco and soap, amounting in all to £113,000. And while Ireland was to be charged with the income-tax and the duty on spirits, it was to be relieved from the consolidated annuities, amounting to £4,500,000, which would cease from the date of the 29th of last September.

Against these proposals of increase the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to show an offset of contemplated reductions. There was to be an entire abolition of the duty on soap, that yielded to the revenue £1,111,000. The tax on life assurance was to be reduced from 2s. 6d. to 6d. per £100. Receipt-stamps were to be reduced to the uniform rate of a "penny-head stamp." The duty on apprentice indentures was to fall from 20s. to 2s. 6d. The charge upon annual certificates of metropolitan solicitors was to be reduced from £12 to £8, and of country solicitors from £9 to £6. The duty on advertisements in newspapers was to be reduced from 1s. 6d. to 6d., with a repeal of the 1d. and ½d. stamps on supplements used for advertisements. The duty on hackney carriages was to be reduced from 1s. 5d. to 1s. Similar reductions were to be made on taxed servants, private carriages, post-chaises for hire, horses, and dogs. Facilities were to be afforded for the redemption of the land-tax by a diminished percentage. Of the articles of food, including tea, 13 were to have their duties reduced immediately, 133 ultimately, and 123 to be freed from duty altogether. The effect of these changes in the customs duties, Mr. Gladstone calculated, would be a loss to the revenue for the current year of £1,338,000; but this, from the increased consumption, would soon diminish to £658,000. The total remissions in taxation for the present year would be £2,568,000, but there still would remain a surplus of £493,000. Seldom had the budget been louder cheered by the house, or more gladly welcomed by the whole country at large, which still continues to rejoice in the financial arrangements of this memorable year.

On the 25th of April the debate on the budget commenced; and, as the continuation of the income-tax to the year 1860 composed the foundation of the long list of concessions that were demanded, it was upon this important point that the discussion was waged. Could not those blessings be secured without the income-tax? was the question of one party. Could it not be further modified? was the demand of another. Could not its term be abbreviated? was queried by a third. The agriculturists complained that their interests had been sacrificed, and the Irish party that their country would be oppressed by the proposed measure. This last cry rose into an

absolute howl: Ireland would pay more than her share, if the income-tax should be imposed upon her at the last hour; it would drive her children into exile across the Atlantic; it was inconsistent with the act of union; it would injure her manufactures, which England had laboured to destroy from the time of "hook-nosed William" downwards. And what security had we, it was generally asked in the course of debate, that this income-tax would actually cease its existence in 1860? Such were the principal objections brought forward. The debate was continued during four nights; and the hottest opposition was from the Irish party, who made certain strange charges about bribery and corruption that for a time threw the house into an uproar. Still, the chief weight was on the ministerial side; and, after several amendments had been rejected, and five new clauses, proposed by Mr. Gladstone, been adopted, the third reading was carried on the 6th of June by 126 against 55.

On the 20th, the second reading of the bill was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Aberdeen. His lordship acknowledged the objectionable nature of the income-tax—of which, indeed, in the abstract, there could be no question—but it was impossible, he declared, to avoid its renewal without imposing other taxes still more objectionable. Even in its most obnoxious parts—the taxing of precarious incomes and realized property—it was impossible so to legislate as to give general satisfaction. The Earl of Derby declared the tax to be inevitable; but he objected to its principle, and he criticized the calculations of the budget as vague and fallacious. Lord Brougham not only condemned its principle, but saw no prospect of the extinction of this "execrable tax," either one year or seven years hence. The second reading, however, passed without a division, and the third was moved on the 27th of June, when Lord Brougham repeated his objections, with several additional arguments: he was constrained, however, to confess that, with all its evils, the tax was a matter of necessity, and could not be spared. The Irish claims to exemption were not lost sight of, and were brought forward by the Earl of Wicklow in favour of Irish landlords, who would have to pay tax on rents which they never received. In Ireland, he said, rent was not lost from insolvent, bankrupt, or absconding tenants, but from tenants who would neither pay nor abscond. These landlords, too, it was declared by the Marquis of Clanricarde, were not the disloyal agitators, but the very class who ought to be conciliated. The bill, however, was passed, and became law.

The income-tax being thus established, the other prominent departments of the chancellor's plan were successively taken up and dis-

cussed. And first of these was the succession duty, which was moved in the House of Commons, on the 10th of June, to be read for the second time. It extended not only to individuals, but to corporate bodies, who were to pay an annual tax for seven years, at the rate of 3*d*. in the pound upon their corporate property, with certain specified exceptions. The second reading passed, and on its going into committee, the chief resistance it experienced was from Sir John Pakington, who complained of the injury it would inflict not only on landholders, but small traders, owners of small estates, younger children, and unmarried daughters. An uncle or a cousin, he exclaimed, "aged thirty-nine, succeeding to an income of £100 a year, would have to pay £45; and a man succeeding to an income of £1000, would have to pay £450; and this latter with the income-tax besides! Such a proposal would not have been submitted to the house, if the burden had fallen upon existing owners of property." The third reading was introduced on the 18th of July; but a question involving so many personal interests had been obliged to fight its way, step by step, through every form of argument, remonstrance, and cavil, before it reached this stage. After numerous amendments had been rejected, it was finally carried in the commons by 176 to 102. In the lords, the second reading of the bill was moved on the 22d of July, by the Earl of Aberdeen; and the keenness of debate which it occasioned evinced the personal and vital importance which the aristocracy of Britain felt in it. It was called "absurd and cowardly," a "revival of the old Norman tax *in capite*," and "grossly unjust and unfair." There were many cases, it was alleged, in which persons had anticipated their successions to such an extent, as to have almost entirely squandered them; and in such cases, the government stepped in, because a man had been a spendthrift, and ruined him altogether. A person knowing that he was to succeed to property, might anticipate, and spend nine-tenths of its value; and when the remaining tenth would enable him to make a fair start in life, this new tax to be imposed would entirely swallow it up. As far as the right to spend in anticipation went, a perfect right to do so undoubtedly existed. The bishops were appealed to, and asked if they would be parties in these obnoxious regulations, while they were themselves exempt from their operation? It was replied, that this tax was neither a courting of popularity, nor the opposite: popularity for any tax was out of the question; all that could be done was to preserve it from dislike. As for the extreme cases of enormous hardship which had been quoted, the same might be said of any tax whatever. Opposite cases were also given

to show that the payment of the duty would not be onerous either on large or small successions, as it would be spread over eight half-yearly instalments, which on an estate worth £1000 a year, would amount to £150, or £37, 10*s*. per annum for four years. The tax, it was also alleged, was not aimed at a particular class, but at all classes; and the position of the owners of land would be strengthened by making them amenable to the same law as their fellow-subjects. The great families of the country did not owe their position to exemptions from burdens. Did the Duke of Norfolk owe his high position to having escaped the legacy duty? Why, the great families and landed proprietors would gain, in the prosperity of the country, infinitely more than they would be called on to pay. In spite of an immense amount of opposition, the bill passed its third reading through the House of Lords on the 28th of July.

The taxes upon knowledge were taken into consideration on the 14th of April, in consequence of three resolutions moved by Mr. Milner Gibson. The first was, that the advertisement duty be repealed; the second, that the imposition of stamp duties and other restrictions on the cheap periodical press is inexpedient, and that the law relative to taxes on newspapers is in an unsatisfactory state; the third resolution was, that the excise duty on paper materially obstructs good cheap literature, and that the maintenance of this tax as a permanent source of revenue would be impolitic, and would impede the progress of education. These three taxes he thus combined together, because they had been imposed at the same time, and because he judged them all equally subversive of the liberty of the press. It was acknowledged by the chancellor of the exchequer, that, irrespective of any profit they could yield to the revenue, these taxes had indeed been imposed at first to prevent free discussion, but as the necessity no longer existed, government in due time would provide for their removal. But in the meantime, he deprecated such a step, until substitutes were provided for the £1,400,000 which they added to the revenue. He thought the march of economy was already going too fast. During the eight weeks he had been in office, propositions had been made in that house for the repeal of duties to the amount of £7,000,000. The first of the proposed resolutions was carried against the government by a majority of 200 to 169, the other two were negatived. On the first resolution going into committee, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the advertisement duty be reduced to 6*d*.; upon which Mr. Milner Gibson moved as an amendment, that "All duties now chargeable on advertisements be repealed, in accordance with

a resolution of this house on the 14th of April last." The amendment was negatived by 109 to 99, and the original resolution by 68 against 63. Mr. Crawford in the course of debate, moved that a cypher (O) should be substituted for 6d., and in this odd and novel fashion the resolution was carried. Mr. Hume, whose ideas of financial etiquette it grievously startled, asked if the committee was justified in thus substituting O for 6, but was assured by the speaker that it was perfectly correct.

Along with the late portentous growth and boldness of Popery in England, the establishment of convents, so alien to every principle of British liberty, had excited the popular alarm. There were already seventy-five Roman Catholic nunneries in England and Wales, which were regarded as strongholds of Antichrist, places of illegal imprisonment, or an *imperium in imperio*, according to the mood of the onlooker; and from a certain individual case—that of Miss Talbot—which had been brought before parliament, a strong suspicion had arisen in the public mind, that these conventual seclusions had taken the place of the former mad-houses, in which people were immured unjustly, and against their will. It was necessary that the question should be set to rest; and, accordingly, on the 10th of May, Mr. Thomas Chambers moved for leave in the House of Commons to bring in a bill to facilitate the recovery of personal liberty in certain cases. In a calm speech he went over those reasons which showed that the general suspicion was by no means groundless. The inmates of these establishments, he observed, being subjected to an irresponsible power exercised in secret, were less under the protection of the law than factory children, parish apprentices, or lunatics. These institutions, also, were so affiliated with others abroad, that any inmate of an English convent might be transported beyond sea, by which all means of tracing her could be eluded. He therefore proposed that where any case of undue coercion was reasonably surmised, the secretary of state should be empowered to appoint one or more persons to repair, with a justice of the peace, to the convent, see the party, ascertain the facts, and, if necessary, put the ordinary law in force by a writ of *habeas corpus*. These statements, of course, were denied and ridiculed by the other party as atrocious libels, and Exeter Hall alarms. No convent, it was declared, could exist under such inspection, and therefore the proposal was tantamount to the question, whether convents should exist at all in this country? It was also alleged that the nuns were not prevented from seeing their friends; that conventual establishments were useful as dispensers of good education; and that if this proposal were passed, the

Irish Roman Catholic females would throw themselves upon the protection of France. The motion, however, was carried by 138 to 115. The second reading was moved on the 22d of June by Sir Robert Inglis, but after much clamour and confusion was negatived by 207 to 178.

On the 31st of May, this attack upon the convents was retaliated by a counter-movement against the Protestant and Established Church of Ireland. This was commenced by a motion of Mr. George Henry Moore for a select committee to inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland, in order to ascertain how far they are made applicable to the benefit of the Irish people. He complained that these revenues, although set apart for the education of the people and the maintenance of religion, had been diverted from that purpose to the benefit of the Protestants, who were but as one to five in the population of Ireland. But the policy of England was even more evil in principle, he asserted, than destructive in practice; for it contained the evils both of the voluntary and the endowment principles—endowing the religion of the rich, and handing over the religion of the poor to the voluntary principle. The motion was regarded as a proposal for the total destruction of the Church of Ireland, and was met accordingly by appeals to the act of union, the oaths of the members of parliament, and the national faith, which were all at stake in the preservation of Irish Protestantism. The opposite measure which had been dealt to Scotland, in the full establishment and endowment of her Presbyterianism, while there Episcopacy was left to its shifts, an argument of which the supporters of the motion had made a very adroit use, was answered by Lord John Russell. After adverting to the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy were under the direction of a foreign head, and aimed at a political power at variance with a due attachment to the crown of this country, the general cause of liberty, and the duties of a faithful subject, he said:—"I am convinced that if the Roman Catholic clergy had increased power given to them, and if they, as ecclesiastics, were to exercise greater control and greater political influence than they do now, that power would not be exercised in accordance with the general freedom that prevails in this country; and that neither in respect to political power nor upon other subjects would they favour that general freedom of discussion, and that activity and energy of the human mind, which belong to the spirit of the constitution of this country. I do not think that in that respect they are upon a par with the Presbyterians of Scotland. The Presbyterians of Scotland, the Wesleyans of this country, and the Established church of this country and of Scotland, all, no doubt, exercise a certain

influence over their congregations; but that influence which they thus exercise over their congregations must be compatible with a certain freedom of the mind—must be compatible with a certain spirit of inquiry, which the ministers of these churches do not dare to overstep, and if they did overstep it, that influence would be destroyed. I am obliged, then, to conclude—most unwillingly to conclude, but most decidedly—that the endowment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, in the place of the endowment of the Protestant church in that country, in connection with the state, is not an object which the parliament of this country ought to adopt or to sanction.” This was speaking boldly out, and the sentiments thus decidedly expressed were loudly cheered by the ministerial party. In full proportion, however, was the resentment they kindled in the opponents of the Irish church establishment; so that Mr. Keogh, the solicitor-general of Ireland, and Messrs. Monsell and Sadleir resigned their offices, but were soon after induced to resume them. As for the motion itself, it was rejected by the large majority of 240 against 98, and the Irish Protestant church seemed more firmly established than ever.

In the meantime, the affairs of the church at home were not overlooked, so that on the 26th of May, Dr. R. Phillimore moved for leave in the House of Commons to bring in a bill to alter and amend the laws of church-rates. By the law, as it now stood, it was made the bounden duty of every parishioner to contribute to the repair of the fabric of the parish church, and it could be enforced even by a minority of the rate-payers. He proposed, on the other hand, that all dissenters should be exempted from the payment of church-rates, by the simple process of stating in writing that they are dissenters from the Church of England, and handing that statement to the churchwardens. He also proposed that all persons thus exempted should have no right to compel any clergyman to perform any religious service over him or in his behalf, and that he should have no place in church-vestries, or a right to church-votes. With regard to churchmen, he proposed that the law should remain as it was, except that in the consistorial court decisions should be given summarily *visâ voce*, and that they should be appealed from only on a point of law. In anticipation of this movement, an amendment, which was in readiness, was moved by Sir W. Clay, that “this house do resolve itself into a committee, to consider whether church-rates should not be abolished, and provisions made for the charges to which such rates are at present applicable, from pew-rents, and from the increased value which inquiries instituted by authority of the crown have shown may be derived under

better management from church lands and property.” Both of these propositions were considered objectionable. Without church-rates, it was alleged, the principle of a religious establishment could not be maintained, nor the nationality of the church prevented from dwindling into sectarianism; while with regard to the objections of conscientious dissenters to contribute to the church-rates, they had purchased their property subject to these imposts, and fully aware that it was thus encumbered. Both were therefore negatived—the amendment by 207 to 185, and the original motion by 220 to 172.

In the measures of law reform brought forward this session, was one which had been introduced into parliament nine times within twenty-three years, and as often had failed. In 1851 it had been carried unanimously in the House of Lords, but was dropped by the change of government. This unlucky measure, called the registration of assurances bill, was now brought before the lords on the 3d of March by the lord-chancellor for a second reading, and its object was the registration of titles and of incumbrances, the register being full proof of all the facts stated therein; and no claims to be recognized against the purchaser unless thus registered. A plan so hostile to the “glorious uncertainty” of the law had hitherto found its chief antagonists in the solicitors. It now had for its chief advocates Lords John Campbell, Beaumont, and Brougham, and it was passed through the second and third readings, but did not become law, being subsequently withdrawn in the House of Commons.

The second reading of the charitable trusts bill was next moved in the lords on the 3d of May by the lord-chancellor, after a pause since 1851, during which several changes had been made in it. It was proposed that a board of superintendence, composed of the lord-president of the council, some other cabinet minister who should also be a member of the House of Commons, and two legal gentlemen of high attainments, should, as a branch of the government, superintend all the charities of the kingdom—and the multifarious duties of their high office were also specified with full legal precision. It passed the upper house; and in coming before the commons, Lord John Russell stated before the bill went into committee, a few alterations which had occurred in the course of previous discussions. These he now proposed, and the most important of them related to Roman Catholic charities, the placing of which under the management of that body without special provisions might affect their very existence. He therefore proposed their exclusion from the bill, but a separate provision to be made for them; and the exemption itself to be limited to the space of two years. He made this

proposal at the last hour, because he feared that the bill itself might be injurious to Roman Catholics in respect to their trusts; and he had been informed by a Roman Catholic barrister that many of their charities were void in law. His lordship's proposal was carried in the committee by eighty-seven to seventy-six, and after several new clauses added to the bill, it passed the third reading on the 8th of August, and soon after became law.

As Australia now repudiated the indignity of being a convict colony, and was too strong and wealthy to be threatened into obedience, the question of transportation and the disposal of our criminals had become one of the difficult political problems of the day. It was urgent also for an immediate solution, and was accordingly brought before the House of Lords on the 10th of May. The first motion on this subject, which was made by Earl Grey, and which still contemplated the idea of transportation being available for the uses of government as a means of punishment and riddance, was negative, and a bill introduced for altering the punishment of transportation on the 11th of July by the lord-chancellor. In consequence of the growing repugnance to convict labour through all our colonies, Western Australia was the only one still willing to tolerate the infliction of penal servitude. In this case, consideration was called to the number of criminals that might still be transported, and the crimes that were to be so punished. It was proposed, therefore, that a fourteen years' sentence should be the standard for the expatriated, and this only in the case of flagrant offenders; while of the remainder, those who should have been sentenced to seven years, were to be kept in penal servitude for four, those for ten years, to undergo a home bondage for six, &c. These secondary punishments, in lieu of transportation, were deplored as a grievous necessity, and it was anxiously asked if there was not still some odd nook in the vast Australian continent into which our ship-loads of crime might be conveniently emptied. None, however, could be discovered, and from sheer necessity the bill was passed a second and third time through the House of Lords. It was brought into the House of Commons in committee on the 9th of August, by Lord Palmerston, who advocated the proposed secondary punishment system as the only alternative that remained for us. He explained that after the specified number of years of home servitude had expired, the convict should obtain a ticket-of-leave that would return him to society, but liable to be revoked. Here a grave question must arise: How were these enfranchised convicts to be employed? His lordship stated that means would be found of giving them employment upon the public works apart from the convicts, at suitable wages, from which

occupation, without a stigma, they might glide into the ordinary avocations of honest industry. The charge of providing this additional accommodation would indeed be borne by the public; but this expense would be more than compensated by the annual saving of the former expenditure of transportation. Such were the palliatives of that most unwelcome ticket-of-leave system, without which no other remedy could be devised. The bill, therefore, met with no further opposition, and was passed through committee. On the order for the third reading, a puzzling question was put by Mr. Keating. The ticket-of-leave man would be *quasi* a free man, and capable of contracting obligations; and yet, he would be in the anomalous position of one liable to have his liberty abridged at the will of the secretary of state. Here we should have a new class of persons introduced into society. To this, it was answered by Lord Palmerston, that the difficulty had already been foreseen, and easily surmounted. The element of hope was to be kept alive in the heart of the convict, while the liability of having his ticket-of-leave recalled, would teach him habits of self-control, and prevent him from lapsing into crime. The bill passed through all its readings, and became law.

The affairs of India every year becoming more important, as well as more complex and difficult, were introduced into the House of Commons by Sir Charles Wood on the 3d of June. In a speech that lasted five hours (for long speeches had now become too much the order of the day), he went over the history of India for the last twenty years, and showed the evils of its government that still brooded unredressed over the large mass of our eastern kingdoms and principalities. These evils he comprised under three heads—viz., the maladministration of justice, the want of public works, and the tenures of lands. Much had been already accomplished for India; but still it did not follow that it possessed the best government that could be devised. As for that which now existed, it might be regarded under two different aspects—the home government and that of India; and the question which he brought forward was, whether this rule should continue in its double character, or be reduced to a single rule administered by a secretary of state. The ministerial measure which he proposed was to continue it in the latter character, but to abridge the patronage of the court of directors. Their power of nomination to office was to be extinguished, so that civil and scientific appointments should depend upon merit alone. Having entered into ample detail of the contemplated changes by which the first head of his proposal—the administration of justice—was to be better adjusted, and which formed the chief subject of

his speech, he alluded to the others, but chiefly for the purpose of showing how much in these departments had been done already, and how reasonably we might be satisfied with its amount.

The debate, which was adjourned to the 6th of June, was resumed by Mr. J. Phillimore, who made a fierce attack on the apologetic speech of Sir Charles Wood, and declared that our government in India could only be paralleled in the descriptions of that of Sicily under Verres in the orations of Cicero; and he condemned the power still left with the court of directors as being by far too great. In the course of debate, heavy complaints were made of the loose statements that were brought forward respecting India by those who had gleaned their information from old newspapers, pamphlets, and magazines, when all they required was but a little industry and application to explore fifty-three large folio volumes in which Indian proceedings were registered. Another adjournment of the debate to the 9th of June followed; and in the course of discussion, where so many personal feelings were at stake, our Indian government was alternately praised and reviled, and a change as keenly deprecated as it was earnestly urged. In speaking upon the subject, which he could in some measure do from personal experience, in consequence of his early residence in India, Mr. Joseph Hume protested against the bill as premature and unstatesmanlike, and that ought to be opposed at every stage. "No wise man," he exclaimed, "would propose such a measure; and if it be, as I believe it is, a mad act, then it is the act of a madman." This logical *sequitur* was received with peals of laughter, and leave was given to bring in the bill.

To enter into the debates that followed would far exceed our limits. There were so many opposite statements, so many assertions and contradictions, so many amendments and counter-amendments, that the head becomes giddy in their whirl; nothing, indeed, but a residence in India, or a deep personal interest in its bank-stock or snug appointments, could induce general readers to wade through the whole subject, or furnish them with a key to understand it. The gist of the matter was thus given by Mr. Macaulay:—He said he should vote for the second reading of the bill. . . . What the country had a right to expect from the government was, not a bill that should make such a reform as would render all future reforms superfluous, but a bill that would introduce present improvements, and leave a scope for further improvements when required; and such a bill was that under discussion. All acknowledged that, in some shape or other, a double government was

most suitable for India; and he thought that the changes proposed in the machinery at home—which absorbed too much attention—would impart to it a greater amount of vigour and ability. But India must be governed in India; whatever might be the instructions from home, the local authorities must exercise a discretion. As to patronage, if the governor-general were allowed to nominate the civil servants, the most monstrous age of jobbing the world had ever seen would commence. And because the plan proposed by the bill (he continued) would fill the service with fit and superior men by the plan of competition, he was earnestly desirous it should pass without delay. Alluding to the opportunity it also gave of admitting such natives into office as could successfully compete with European candidates, he thus concluded with the exposure of a fallacy that had too long prevailed among our statesmen: "We shall not secure or prolong our dominion in India by attempting to exclude the natives of that country from a share in its government, or by attempting to discourage their study of western learning; and I will only say further, that however that may be, I will never consent to keep them ignorant in order to keep them manageable, or to govern them in ignorance in order to govern them long."

On the 28th of July, the bill, after having undergone several amendments, was brought before the house for the third reading. On this occasion an important debate originated in a motion of Sir J. Pakington, for a clause prohibiting the manufacture of salt by the East India Company from and after the 1st of May, 1856, and providing that the manufacture and sale of that article in India should be absolutely free, subject only to such excise or other duties as might then, or from time to time, be levied upon it. This article, it was stated, so important a necessary of life in other countries, was essentially so in India as the chief food of the natives consisted of rice; but as matters now stood, the Hindoo had scarcely half the quantity of salt used by an European; that it was an inferior article, mixed with sand, dirt, and ashes, and cost one-sixth of the consumer's time and labour to get money to purchase it. This important motion, after an earnest debate, was carried against the government by 117 to 107. Several other amendments were also agreed to, and the bill was finally passed amidst the loud cheering of the ministerial party. In the lords, the bill also passed through the usual stages without alteration, except in the case of Sir J. Pakington's salt clause, which was struck out. In this form the bill was agreed to by the House of Commons, and afterwards became law.

CHAPTER XVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1853—1854.

VICTORIA.

Apprehensions of war from the aggressions of Russia in the East—Affairs in India—A fresh war commenced with the Burmese—Capture of Martaban by the British—Difficulties of the campaign—Rangoon unsuccessfully assailed by the British—They capture Prome—Their successful expedition against Pegu—The province of Pegu annexed to the British empire—Defeat of Mea-Toon, the Dacoit chief—Discontent of the natives of South Africa with the British government—Sir Harry Smith sent as governor to the Cape of Good Hope—His proceedings on assuming the government—His address to the Caffre chiefs—Commencement of war—Defeat of the British by the Caffres at Keiskamma—Unfavourable and destructive character of the war—The Caffres solicit peace—Terms on which it is granted—Shipwreck of the *Birkenhead* steamer on its way to the Caffre war—Fresh European war originating from Russia—Early designs of Russia on Turkey—Ground of quarrel in the claim of Russia to the guardianship of the holy sepulchre—Counter-claim of France—Inability of the Turkish sultan to satisfy the claimants—Hostile movements on the part of Russia and France—Unreasonable demands of Russia on the Porte—War commenced by Russia against Turkey—Unsuccessful attempt of the great powers to reconcile them—Turkish declaration of war against Russia—Interests of Britain in the quarrel—Discussions on the subject in the House of Lords—Precautions of the ministry to avoid hostilities and preserve peace—Lord John Russell's statement of the whole history of the controversy—Military preparations—Naval coast volunteers bill brought into parliament—Its terms—It is passed—Opening of parliament in January, 1854—General impatience for war—Discussion in the lords upon our long forbearance and the backwardness of ministers—Hume's approval of our expenditure for warlike operations—Question in parliament on the propriety of aiding Mahometan Turkey against Christian Russia—The subject explained and justified in the House of Lords—The combined fleets of Britain and France move forward to protect Constantinople—Movements of the Russian and Turkish armies—Early successes of the Turks—Attempts of the conference at Vienna to mediate—Russia rejects the mediation—Attack of the Russian upon the Turkish fleet at Sinope—The Turks overpowered and massacred—Indignation excited by the affair at Sinope—Letter of the Emperor Napoleon on the subject—The Emperor of Russia's justification of his proceedings—Proclamation of war against Russia by France—Similar proclamation of the British government.



AMIDST those great measures affecting the internal welfare of the country with which the British parliament was employed during a session of unwonted stir and occupation, one subject of apprehension not only overclouded the members, but the public mind at large. It was, that the forty years of international peace which Europe had enjoyed—an unprecedented duration in the history of the world—was drawing to a close at last; and that, true to their nature, men would resume their spirit of rivalry and contention, and war be renewed with a vigour all the more intense in consequence of so long a repose. These apprehensions arose from the East, where the movements of Russia seemed but the prelude of a fresh northern inundation by which Europe would ultimately be desolated, and compelled to commence her career anew. The demand on the part of the czar for the protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey, and subsequently his hostile advance upon the Turkish provinces to substantiate his claim, were each and all made the subject of parliamentary inquiry and discussion. Many, indeed, persevered in hoping to the last that peace would be maintained, and therefore the walls of both houses echoed repeatedly to

the assurance that there was no danger; many declared that Russia would stop short in her aggressions upon the worn-out Porte at the first note of an European remonstrance. But the czar persisted in spite of remonstrance; and Britain, from a friendly mediator, soon found herself converted into a principal in a contest as trying as any she has ever yet waged for her own personal liberties. This change, however, comes more properly under the history of the following year, from which the conflict dates its actual commencement.

It was perhaps as well for Britain, when such a war broke out so unexpectedly, that recent military events in the colonies had trained and furnished her for a conflict nearer home; and that these colonial campaigns having served such a purpose, had now been happily terminated, so that she might avail herself of her full resources.

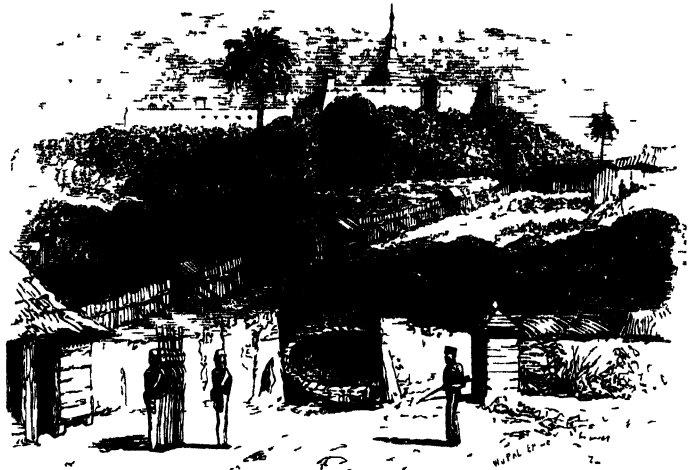
The chief of these disturbances was a second Burmese war. The humiliation which Burmah had sustained in her first trial of strength with the Anglo-Indian government had lasted its day; and the treaty of Yandaboo, by which she engaged to respect British rights and property, was becoming a dead letter. This was evident from the oppressions exercised by the native government upon our merchants at Rangoon, as well

as upon the British vessels that entered the port. On complaints of these injuries being transmitted to the governor-general, Commodore Lambert, with a war ship and two steamers, was sent to demand reparation; but although this was apparently given by displacing the offending governor of Rangoon and appointing a successor, the conduct of the new ruler to the British commodore was so unsatisfactory and insulting, that the latter proclaimed the mouths of the river in a state of blockade. This provoked shots from a Burmese battery, which, however, was quickly silenced; and on negotiations being renewed, the King of Ava refused the demands made upon him, which were, an apology for the insults offered to the British messengers, compensation

to the merchants for their losses, and an accredited agent of the British government to be permitted to reside at Rangoon, according to the terms of the treaty of Yandaboo. Harder terms were to be enforced by the cannon; and an armament of troops from the presidencies of Bengal and Madras under the command of Major-general Godwin, a veteran of the first Burmese war, were sent to Rangoon, who reached the mouth of the Irrawadi river, on which that city stands, on the 2d of April, 1852. As the Madras division had not yet arrived, General Godwin resolved to commence with the siege of Martaban; and on the 5th a tremendous cannonade was opened upon the town from the British ships, the troops were landed under its cover, and in a few minutes the walls, though defended by 5000 men, were scaled with but a trivial loss to the captors.

An eastern campaign had commenced once more in earnest, and one where the invaders had not merely to contend with want of roads and means for the transport of artillery, with thick jungles, a hot tropical sun, and long periods of incessant rain, but an intelligent, brave, high-spirited enemy, fully aware of British superiority, and yet ready to risk the encounter. On these accounts the progress of our troops, notwithstanding their bravery and the skill of their old commander, was so slow and precarious, that not a little discontent was expressed at headquarters. On the 11th, the attack on Rangoon was commenced from the shipping; but although the whole line of defences on the side of the river was destroyed, the fire of the Burmese in-

flicted a severe requital upon our sailors and marines. Matters were not greatly amended when the troops were landed; for they had not moved far when, to their astonishment, the enemy, in-



TEMPORARY STOCKADE, MARTABAN.—From a sketch by an Officer of the Indian Army

stead of ensconcing themselves behind their stockades as they had been wont, poured their skirmishers through the jungle upon the British flanks; and having become good shots, they rapidly picked off our men, whose dress exposed them to notice, while their own was obscured by the brushwood. The stockade from which these skirmishers issued was at length stormed, although with severe loss; but on advancing to Rangoon, our troops experienced a very different defence from that they had encountered at Martaban; and although, on the 27th of July, the governor-general himself, impatient at the length of the siege, arrived at Rangoon, hoping that his presence would accelerate the capture, the city still continued to hold out. The only counterpoise to this unsatisfactory progress was the capture of Prome, for which service a besieging force from the main army was embarked on the 25th of September. On the 10th of October the Burmese abandoned its defence, "leaving in our possession (writes General Godwin in his despatch) an entirely evacuated town overrun with thick and rank vegetation, and, I regret to add, abounding in swamps."

This was but a poor recompense for so much labour and loss; but in November, a successful expedition against Pegu was attended with more profitable results. The Burmese having taken forcible possession of the city against the will of the inhabitants, the British commander resolved to dislodge them; and for this purpose a flotilla under his command cast anchor, on the 20th, about two miles below Pegu. The landing was

made, the attack was commenced in gallant style, and 1000 British assailants succeeded in completely driving out the Burmese, who mustered from 4000 to 5000 men, strongly entrenched behind their ramparts. After the British force had been withdrawn, the Burmese endeavoured to recover the city, which necessitated the return of the captors; and on this occasion, after a single attack, the enemy, although very numerous and strongly posted, fled in all directions, and abandoned their purpose. The whole province of Pegu was thenceforth annexed, by a proclamation of the governor-general, to the British dominions in India.

After the capture of Prome and the annexation of Pegu, the war with Burmah may be said to have been closed. But the victors had still the task of suppressing those Dacoit chiefs who had appeared on the field during the disturbed state of the kingdom, and who plundered friend and enemy alike. The most conspicuous of these marauding chiefs, called Mea-Toon, was first assailed in his stronghold, about fifteen miles inland from Donnabew; but the small force of British who were sent on this expedition were repulsed with considerable loss. A still larger was then sent, consisting of sailors and marines and 350 sepoys; but they, too, fared as their predecessors had done, being utterly defeated, with the loss of their principal officers. As such an enemy could not be despised, that course was

King of Ava having agreed to those concessions which the governor-general demanded.

During this Burmese war, the British arms had been employed against an enemy in South Africa of a still more formidable description, as far as personal bulk, strength, and endurance were concerned, than the warriors of the East. These were the Caffres of the Cape of Good Hope, whose limits had been successively lessened by the increase of the British colonists, and by their own unsuccessful aggressions when the formidable growth of the settlement had provoked them into open warfare. Their boundary for many years had been the Great Fish River, but this had been afterwards carried backward to the river Kei, while the territory between it and the former limit, under the name of British Caffraria, but considered as a neutral ground, became a bone of contention between the Caffres and the colonists. These hostile demonstrations on the part of the former had become so formidable, that a governor of military talents was judged necessary for the Cape; and in 1850, Sir Harry Smith, the hero of Aliwal, was appointed to this office. One of his first proceedings was to repair to King William's Town, in the centre of British Caffraria, and summon a meeting of the Caffre chiefs, who repaired to him at the call. But Sandilli, the principal of these not only in power but in talent—a sort of Caffre Machiavelli, who, though young and lame, was re-

garded as an oracle by his countrymen—refused to comply with the summons. At this singular meeting, the proceedings of Sir Harry, if the colonial journals may be believed, were sufficiently *outré*. He carried a long stick surmounted by a brass knob, called the stick of peace, with which he illustrated his oratory, while his speech was a singular medley of Caffre and oriental eloquence. He railed at the chiefs for being such fools as to believe in a fool (Sandilli)—a boy-prophet, who “was all over grease, and as black as a coal.” Then flourishing his staff of peace, he exclaimed, “If you are not happy and want war, I will make war, and bring my troops from Cape Town in four days, as I came myself; and I will drive you all over the Kei, and get Krili to drive you to the Umzinvooho, and I will be there too—I was there once; you know it—and then get Faku to drive you farther; and then you will be scattered over the earth, as beasts of the field and vagabonds.

But the good I will protect and assist, and be their father. I will kill every one that will not fight on my side. There is a God above; he knows all things.” This speech, which might have produced marvellous effects upon a Hindoo audience, was utterly thrown away upon these stalwart



CAFFRE CHIEF OF THE ZULU TRIBE.
From Angas' Illustrations of the Caffres.

finally taken which should have been adopted at first; a large detachment, numbering about 1300, under the command of Sir John Cheape, was sent against the marauder, who was driven from his defences after a gallant resistance. On the defeat of Mea-Toon hostilities ceased, the

and cunning Caffres, who, while they listened with demure countenances, were no doubt laughing in the folds of their karosses at the governor's speech, so unlike the addresses of all former British rulers. They however shook hands with him in token of obedience, and then returned to their homes to mature the intended insurrection.

The train thus laid was kindled by the deposition of Sandilli; and Sir Harry had scarcely reached the seat of government when he was obliged once more to hurry to King William's Town. Finding that the Caffre chiefs would not undertake to capture Sandilli, the governor resolved to accomplish the feat by a surprisal; and for this purpose Colonel Mackinnon was sent from Fort Cox, on the 24th of December, 1850, at the head of 600 men. With this formidable force

the colonel proceeded up the valley of the Keiskamma, and through rugged defiles, until he entered a narrow rocky gorge, that seemed expressly made for the destruction of an invader; while his guides and advanced guard were ninety-two of the Caffre police armed and trained in British fashion, and whose fidelity under such tempting circumstances was implicitly trusted. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, when the British infantry had fully entered within the gorge, that an unexpected volley from an ambushed enemy came down thick upon them, and with deadly effect. To retreat in such a case was destruction, and the troops rushed forward under this dangerous fire until they cleared the gorge, and reached a missionary station three miles distant. Here, however, they were not safe, as the whole country round was in a state of insurrection; and Colonel Mackinnon was obliged to commence his retreat to Fort Cox by a circuitous route. But there also Sir Harry Smith himself was shut up without means of egress, the fort being closely blockaded by thousands of armed Caffres; and when Colonel Somerset advanced from Fort Hare to his relief, his troops were defeated and driven back by the Caffres, who now fought with muskets as well as assegais, and could wage a close hand-to-hand encounter with British soldiers as well as one of missiles. In this manner the war went on during the following year, with a succession of desperate skirmishes, by which our troops were thinned

and exhausted, whatever party prevailed; while the work of massacre, conflagration, and plunder, which the Caffre tribes carried on with equal cunning and daring, swept the whole range of



CAFFRES ATTACKING INFANTRY IN KEISKAMMA GORGE
From the Illustrated London News, 1851

frontier, and drove the British settlers across the boundary rivers, and into the settlements below, although these were scarcely places of safety any longer. To deepen the confusion, large bodies of Hottentots, under the leading of some deserters from the Cape corps, forsook their old allegiance to the British government, and made common cause with the now successful Caffres. In September, the following summary, published in a Cape journal, gives a melancholy account of the nature and effects of this war:—

"The ravages of the enemy continue to be most distressing. Having dispersed themselves over an intra-colonial zone, of a breadth varying from thirty to eighty miles, very little of farm stock or produce has escaped destruction. Beginning at Turka, where the Cradock district approaches British Caffraria, we may enumerate the various places as we proceed southward, by Somerset, Uitenhage, and eastward through Albany, till we arrive at Victoria, adjoining the posts maintained by his excellency in Caffraria; and everywhere the same melancholy tale of woe has to be repeated. Flocks carried off, homesteads burned to ashes, the most vigilant of the colonists barely escaping with their lives, the incautious everywhere shot down by parties in ambush—are, we regret to say, the general features of the narrative."

In this manner, a desultory but most harassing warfare of skirmishes and surprises was continued throughout the following year (1852), by

which not only the present prosperity of the Cape of Good Hope as a British colony was sorely diminished, but our future tenure made a matter of doubt and misgiving. We might slay the Caffres in hundreds, but when they requited the loss by tens or fives of British troops who perished in the struggle, the advantage was clearly on the side of the savages, whose numbers would have wasted us out in such a protracted campaigning. Besides, it was evident that the longer the contest was continued the enemy was daily becoming more skilful and daring, and therefore the better fitted for future resistance, even though the present insurrection should be put down. These considerations weighed with the reflective, and induced a desire for the pacification of South Africa, a measure which could now be accomplished with honour, in consequence of the able and successful administration of General Cathcart, who had succeeded Sir Harry Smith as governor and commander-in-chief. The overture came from Sandilli himself, the prime mover and chief support of the Caffre rebellion, who now humbly sued for peace and pardon, declaring that he had "no more strength to fight the English," that he had been driven from his country, and that he had complied with the governor's command by re-crossing the Kei. He now particularly wished to know what district would be assigned for the occupation of himself and his people. As the Amatolas and other districts formerly occupied by the principal insurgents were declared forfeited to the crown, it was necessary to drive Sandilli and his people farther back into the interior; and the country between the Kei and the great north road leading to the Windvogelberg, and bounded on the north by the Thomas river, and the south by the country of the chief Umhala, was assigned to him; this grace, however, was fettered by the conditions that he should surrender the muskets he had taken from the British, remain in allegiance to the Queen of England, and not trespass within the Amatolas, on pain of being dealt with by martial law. These hard terms were reluctantly accepted, and Sandilli and his numerous tribe retired to their new home, about 200 miles to the north of the old. How long this peace will continue, or under what plea or pretext it will be broken, no one can foresee; but that it will not long endure, seems an absolute certainty. A fearless, high-spirited, pastoral people like the Caffres, cannot be content with such narrow limits in the territory that was once their own, and even already they manifest rebellious symptoms, that only wait a fit opportunity for the outbreak. Should this occur, a fresh Caffre war will more than renew the difficulties and dangers of our South African colonists.

In a war that was otherwise so trivial and uneventful, one instance of heroism occurred which even the proud ages of chivalry could not parallel. It was exhibited in the shipwreck of the *Birkenhead*, a government iron steamer, on the 26th of February, 1852. This vessel was conveying detachments from several of our regiments to the seat of war, under Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Seton, of the 74th regiment of Highlanders (who had succeeded to the command on the death of Colonel Fordyce), and had proceeded on her voyage from Simon's Bay, when she suddenly struck upon a sunken rock near the shore, off Point Danger. The shock was so tremendous that the iron plates of the ship's bottom gave way, the cabin was quickly filled with water, and it was evident that in a few minutes more the vessel would be engulfed among the breakers. It was as yet only two o'clock in the morning, with no light but that of the stars; but in an instant the deck was crowded with the alarmed passengers, and, while death was imminent, only two of the ship's boats were available for service. To rush into the boats, at the risk of swamping them, would have been the impulse of the selfish; to fling themselves into the sea, in the hope of reaching the shore, but only to sink each other by their overcrowding, or perish among the breakers, and by the sharks that were on the alert, would have been the headlong attempt even of the bravest. But nothing of the kind in either way was done; and never was the power of military discipline, or the worth of fearless, unflinching courage, or the moral grandeur of self-sacrificing devotedness more conspicuously displayed than in this moment of terrible trial. At the word of Colonel Seton the soldiers drew up upon the reeling and loosening deck as if they had been upon parade; they obeyed his orders as calmly as if they had been executing the usual movements of the drill. The brave humane heart of the colonel was first directed to the safety of those who could least help themselves, and whose fate would otherwise have been certain—to the women, the children, and the sick on board—and they were carefully conveyed into the boats, which, in the first instance, were given up for their especial service; and, by this arrangement, all the helpless were saved without a single exception. And now only were the strong and vigorous to look to their own safety, after they had so nobly discharged their duty to others; and while several betook themselves to swimming, or committed themselves to pieces of floating timber, the vessel parted amid-ships, and went down with the greater part of the officers and soldiers, with whom self-preservation had been only the latest subject of anxiety. In this fatal catastrophe 357 officers and soldiers, and

60 seamen perished, while nearly 200 lives were saved—and this, too, in a crisis where, but for these arrangements, and the fidelity with which they were executed, nearly all might have been lost. These soldiers, also, be it observed, were not veterans, but for the most part young recruits, who had never been under fire; and yet they calmly stood in a breach more dismaying than that of Badajoz or St. Sebastian, and saw the boats, their last hope of safety, depart from them without a murmur. But what shall we say of the controlling might of that noble leader who directed their movements, and whom, even to the death, they were proud to obey? It was his last as well as his first field of action, if such it might be termed; but the event which bereaved the service of such an officer showed how much it had lost, and what a name he might have achieved for himself in the annals of modern warfare. We have been thus particular in the catastrophe of the *Birkenhead*, as it was a unique specimen of heroism, in which the coolest courage and intrepid daring were combined with the purest humanity and disinterestedness; and as such, it roused the emulation of our soldiers, and was the parent of similar achievements in the subsequent campaigns of the Crimea and India. As long as the British army nurses such a spirit as that which was shown upon the deck of the *Birkenhead*, and possesses such officers as Colonel Seton, our country, let the enemy be who they may, has nothing to fear.¹

We now turn our record to that momentous European war in which we were subsequently involved. In this case it came, not from France, whose revolutionary spirit in 1848 had filled us with apprehension, and against whose anticipated attacks we had been carefully arming, but from Russia, a country with which we had lived in friendship, and whose growing power we had fostered as a counterpoise to that of France. Little did our politicians foresee, even till the last hour, how diligently they would toil to undo their own work, and how cordially France and England would unite their banners in a common cause. But a new era in the history of human progress seems to have commenced, and to proceed by steps upon which the statesmanship de-

rived from the experience of the past is unable to calculate.

Since the days of Peter the Great, Russia had never ceased to turn a covetous eye towards Turkey: the possession of that country seemed to her nothing more than her birthright, as she was the great metropolitan head and representative of the Greek church; and, from the gradual decay of the Turkish power, it was thought only a question of time for the Russian dominion to be established upon the banks of the Hellespout, and the cross replaced upon the dome of Santa Sophia. When the opportunity had arrived, a cause of quarrel was not difficult to find; and Russia established her claim upon monks, relics, and shrines. Such pretensions are strange to the politicians of the nineteenth century; but the cause of quarrel was precisely fitted to the semi-barbarism of the Russian intellect, while it imparted to such an unjust aggression the sanctions of a holy war.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, the guardianship of the holy places in Palestine had been a ground of contention between the Greek and Latin churches, the former represented by the Czars of Russia, and the latter by the sovereigns of France. Independently of anything like religious feeling, a point of honour was at issue, in which neither party would yield to his rival; and, to complicate this singular debate, which was waged with a full amount of the *odium theologicum*, the umpire of the quarrel was necessarily a Mahometan—even the Sultan of Turkey, and august representative of the caliphs, in whose territories the places in question were situated, and without whose imperial *hatti-scheriff*, or imperial ordinance, the decrees of the contending sovereigns could have no effect. In 1850 this controversy had become so keen, especially about the possession of certain nooks and portions of the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, that the bewildered Turkish government knew not how to arbitrate, and endeavoured to preach peace to both parties, but in vain. When a joint commission from France and Russia had been unable to decide, the case was transferred to a Turkish special council of state, and the result was a *firman* of the sultan, in March, 1852, by which the different pieces of the church were apportioned among the rivals according to old treaty or tradition. Even this, however, was not enough; for, while a key to the church was granted to both parties, the Greek (or Russian) monks were offended, and claimed the sole possession of this precious key. And thus wrote the Russian ambassador, Count Neesselrode, upon this most momentous decision:—"The efforts of the French embassy have triumphed at Constan-

¹ A mural tablet was lately erected by government at Chelsea Hospital, bearing the following inscription:—"This monument is erected, by command of her Majesty Queen Victoria, to record the heroic constancy and unbroken discipline shown by Lieutenant-colonel Seton, 74th Highlanders, and the troops embarked under his command, on board the *Birkenhead*, when that vessel was wrecked off the Cape of Good Hope, on the 26th of February, 1852, and to preserve the memory of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, who perished on that occasion. Their names were as follows—(here the names of the officers, and the regiments to which the privates belonged, are given); in all, 357 officers and men. The names of the privates will be found on brass plates adjoining."

tinople. Not only has the firman, sanctioned by the sultan's hatti-scheriff, not been executed at Jerusalem, but it has been treated with derision by the sultan's ministers. To the indignation of the whole Greek population, the key of the church of Bethlehem has been made over to the Latins, so as publicly to demonstrate their religious supremacy in the East."

It is sufficiently evident that when the same privilege was conceded to both parties indifferently, no supremacy to either was conceded. But Nesselrode and his court thought differently; and with them less than all was nothing. To enforce the correctness of this conclusion, a Russian force was marched towards the frontier of Moldavia; while, on the other hand, the entrance of a French fleet into the Dardanelles was threatened, unless the Latin monks obtained the possession of the tomb of the Virgin one day exclusively for themselves. While the Turkish government was thus about to be crushed in the collision of two such powers, Prince Menschikoff arrived as Russian ambassador at Constantinople, and, from his arrogant tone, as well as secret proposals, it was evident that his mission aimed at something more than the possession of keys and holy sepulchres. It was nothing less than the full independence of the Greek church in Turkey—the establishment of an *imperium in imperio*, of which his imperial master would necessarily be the sovereign. Such a demand was inadmissible, and rejected accordingly, upon which Menschikoff left Constantinople in high dudgeon. To right itself in the estimation of Europe, which with Turkey was now a matter of some importance, an official note from its government to the different embassies announced the terms that had been proposed, and their decided refusal; and, in full apprehension of the consequences, notwithstanding the pacific assurances of the Emperor of Russia, the note thus concluded:—"Nevertheless, no direct assurance having been given to the Porte to the effect that there will be no war, and preparations going forward on a large scale, in the localities bordering on the Ottoman empire, the Porte, animated by no hostile intention, and as a simple measure of prudence, feels compelled to take measures of self-defence." To remove also every substantial ground of complaint from his Christian subjects, and their fellow-religionists of Europe, the sultan issued a firman at the end of May, 1853, by which the privileges of the Greek church in Turkey, so imperilled by late events as well as old abuses, were ratified and confirmed in the most express terms. Having performed this act of justice, the Turkish government prepared for war, which now seemed to be inevitable.

This event commenced in earnest on the 2d

and 3d of July, 1853, when two divisions of Russian troops crossed the Pruth, under the command of Prince Gortschakoff. In this way the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia were occupied by the enemy, and Turkey in self-defence provoked to resistance. In consequence of this Russian movement, a combined English and French fleet were sent to Besika Bay, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, for the purpose of watching those further movements in which both powers had so deep an interest; while, to put a stop to the war at the commencement, the representatives of the four great powers held a conference at Vienna, and drew up terms of agreement, which were submitted to both parties; but, while Russia offered to accede to them, the Turkish government refused, unless some alterations were made in the language in which its provisions were expressed. Although the negotiating powers were offended at the refusal, yet they were soon compelled to acknowledge that the Ottoman Porte was in the right. These terms were therefore modified according to the wish of the latter; but it was now the turn of the czar to reject them, which he accordingly did. It was evident that matters had gone too far to be settled by diplomatic arbitration. Besides, the arbitrators had already committed a diplomatic blunder, by producing a note which required such amendment, and thus affording to both rival parties a loophole of escape.

During this period of mingled negotiation and aggression, a peace party in Turkey, headed by Redschid Pacha, conscious of the now decayed state of their empire, and devout believers in the old prophecy that they were to be finally driven out of Constantinople, and sent back to the interior of Asia, were chiefly anxious to procrastinate the coming of the evil hour, and with this view, they were ready to purchase a continuance of peace, even at the price of submission. But the war party, which was now the popular cause, clamoured for hostilities with a vehemence that threatened to garnish the walls of the seraglio with the heads of all who gainsaid them. "You are now listening," they menacingly exclaimed in the council chamber, where they sought and compelled an audience,—“you are now listening to foreign and infidel ambassadors, who are the enemies of the faith: we are the children of the Prophet; we have an army, and that army cries out with us for war, to avenge the insults which the Giaours have heaped upon us.” Thus it was that the fanaticism of Christian Russia was to be met with the equal fervour of Moslem pride and intolerance, and on both sides the conflict was to be distinguished by the revolting characteristics of a religious warfare. The popular outcry bore down all opposition, and on the 5th of October,

1853, the Ottoman Porte published a formal declaration of war against Russia. In this note the real and political motive of the Russian invasion was stripped of its religious pretensions, and exposed throughout with Turkish brevity and simplicity. "Even supposing," it said, "that Russia had a subject of complaint in relation to the holy places, she ought to have circumscribed her actions and solicitations within the limits of this question alone, and ought not to have raised pretensions which the object of her complaints could not sustain. She ought not, moreover, to have taken measures of intimidation, such as sending her troops to the frontiers, and making naval preparations at Sebastopol, on the subject of a question which might have been settled amicably between the two powers. But it is evident that what has taken place is totally contrary to an intention of amicable settlement."

In the meantime, how had Britain been employed in an event upon which she had so much at stake? On the 25th of April, when the movements of the Emperor of Russia had excited public alarm, and occasioned an anxious inquiry, the Earl of Clarendon assured the lords in the upper house that Turkey had nothing to fear; that the mission of Prince Menschikoff was for the purpose of placing the matter of the holy shrines on a permanent footing; that the naval and military preparations of Russia had been greatly exaggerated; and that our government had full reliance on the pacific declarations of the czar. Finally, he assured the house that in relation to Turkey there was no danger of the peace of Europe being disturbed. On the 27th of May, when the mission of Menschikoff was better understood, and the designs of Russia were more clearly manifested, the question was again brought before both Houses of Parliament. But in reply, Lord Clarendon in the lords alluded to the reserve he must maintain while negotiations were actually pending, stated that Menschikoff's mission was not ended as yet, and declared that the ambassadors of France and England now at the Porte were completely at one in maintaining the tranquillity of Europe, by upholding the independence of the Turkish empire. A similar reply was given in the commons by Lord John Russell. Only three days later, when Menschikoff's hostile departure from Constantinople was known, and when war was almost certain to follow, the question in parliament now was as to the probability of the British fleet reaching the Dardanelles before that of Russia could arrive; and the apprehension of the members was quieted with the assurance that our ships would be at their station two days earlier than the Russian armament.

Events now crowded thick and fast; the elec-

tric wires of the telegraph were kept in incessant action, and the public mind of England in a state of constant excitement. But the march of the Russian troops across the Pruth, and the occupation of the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, with the manifesto of the czar announcing and justifying the measure, seemed to make all further hopes of peace a delusion; and on the 27th of June and 11th of July, ministers were urgently asked if these reports were true, and if government had been officially informed of them. But to these the answers were so vague and unsatisfactory, although the subject was repeatedly brought before both houses, that the general impatience could be restrained no longer, and an attempt was made to break the spell in which the government had enveloped the subject, by a demand for the documents in their possession; but to this stern ultimatum it was answered on the part of the ministers, that the production of these would be detrimental to the public service. As long indeed as the last lingering shadow of a hope of peace remained, every care had been taken to avoid hostilities, either by the production of a diplomatic note or verbal expression of feeling, for it was felt that if hostilities commenced, they would be nothing less than the beginning of a great European war. But in Britain such silence has its limits, and there are emergencies in which the most taciturn reserve in high places is compelled to speak out. A full revelation was therefore made on the 16th of August, in the House of Commons, according to his previous promise, by Lord John Russell. On entering office his attention had been called to the controversy respecting the holy places; and from the starting-point of Menschikoff's embassy, his lordship proceeded to recapitulate the negotiations upon the subject, until both the French and English government had been startled by the czar's new and extravagant demands. This alarm had been increased by the Russian preparations, both naval and military, for the invasion of the Danubian provinces, and therefore the French and British fleets had simultaneously entered the Dardanelles, for the protection of Turkey. Even at this stage, however, every effort had been made to prevent a declaration of war; and for this purpose, the note of Vienna had been drawn up, and subscribed by the four powers. That note had already been accepted by the czar; but even if it should be agreed to by the sultan also, there would still remain the question of the evacuation of the provinces, and unless Russia consented to abandon them, no settlement could be satisfactory. As to the means by which this object is to be obtained, and the mode of operation, these, his lordship said, must be left to our executive government.

As for the French and English fleets in Besika Bay, there they might be allowed to remain, without being considered as an equivalent to the military occupation of the provinces, until peace should be secured, and the Russian troops withdrawn. "I will only say further," he added in conclusion, "that this question of the maintenance of Turkey is one that must always require the attention—and I may say the vigilant attention—of any person holding in his hands the foreign affairs of this country. This, however, can only be secured by a constant union between England and France—by a thorough concert and constant communication between those two great powers." At the close of the long discussion which followed, Lord Palmerston expressed his conviction that Turkey had still within itself the elements of life and prosperity; and he believed that the course adopted by her majesty's government was a sound policy, deserving the approbation of the country, and which it would be the duty of every British government to pursue.

As it was now full time to be intent on military preparation, a government plan connected with this was brought before the House of Commons previous to the close of the session, by Sir James Graham, entitled "the naval coast volunteers bill." It was based upon the voluntary enlistment principle, instead of the compulsion practised in the sea-service, and calculated for the fishermen, bargemen, lightermen, and persons employed in the coasting service, who lived upon our shores. These men, Sir James stated, would not be unwilling in a time of peace to be trained for a short period in each year to the use of great guns—a service for which their nautical habits had in some measure already fitted them. These volunteer marines were to be enlisted on the same terms as were held out to landmen for the militia service, by a bounty of £6, the payment to be extended over such a period as the admiralty might think fit; and their pay while on duty was to be equal to that of an able seaman in the royal navy. Their period of enlistment was not to exceed five years; that of their training was to be twenty-eight days, to be conducted either ashore or afloat; and when at sea, they were not to be taken more than fifty leagues from the coast of Great Britain or Ireland, or one hundred in the case of actual service. Such were the principal features of the bill, by which, in a season of war or invasion, Sir James hoped that 18,000 or 20,000 men could be mustered for the defence of our shores—men in the prime of life, inspired with the national character of British seamen, and trained to the use of arms, who would prove a powerful auxiliary to our advantages of steam navigation. The bill passed without opposition

through both Houses of Parliament. On the 20th of August, the prorogation of parliament was performed by commission, and with the usual ceremonies. After an amount and variety of labour that was altogether unusual, in which 104 bills had passed into law, and only two been rejected, the close was in gloomy anticipations, not only of a deficient harvest over the whole of Europe, but a general war, of which the advancing shadows were at hand.

Under these melancholy auspices, the parliament was opened by her majesty in person on the 30th of January, 1854. In the royal speech much importance was attached to the efforts which government had made for the preservation of peace; but the necessary secrecy with which these had been accompanied, as well as the shifting uncertainty that still continued to attend them, had been productive of no small amount of public impatience and resentment. Since war appeared inevitable, the nation was eager to plunge into it at once, and learn the best or the worst that might follow. And this impatience found ample utterance in the House of Lords, when her majesty's address was under consideration. The Marquis of Clanricarde declared that he was sorry he could not agree in the expressions used in the speech with regard to the efforts of the government to preserve peace. These efforts, it seemed to him, had been so characterized by vacillation and inconsistency, that, in point of fact, neither parliament nor the world knew what the determination of the government really was. Warfare was talked of, but no one knew with whom we were at war. Nay, no one could say whether we were at war or not. But if public rumours were true, we were at war, and if so, why was the government afraid to state the fact? Another point of complaint, his lordship added, was, that no information on the eastern question had been afforded to the public, so that the inhabitants of other and unconstitutional countries were in a better position to form an opinion of the state of affairs than the people of constitutional England. It was impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that all this uncertainty was owing to the difference of opinion on the eastern question which prevailed in the cabinet; the result of which division was, that every step taken in the matter bore evidence of a compromise between the conflicting parties. The character of England had sank immeasurably among continental nations through the conduct of the government in this affair. The "sneer" went round that we were afraid. This expression by the noble marquiss of the popular feeling, called forth on the part of the Earl of Clarendon as full a justification of the ministers in the course of policy they had

hitherto seen fit to pursue. As they were responsible to parliament, they were not called upon to publish their acts before the legislature met, in imitation of those governments who had no parliament to which they owed responsibility. Revelations also might, on certain contingencies, have been inconvenient and damaging to the cause of peace. With regard to the taunt of cowardice which had been thrown out against the administration, this Lord Clarendon indignantly denied. What they had done was under a deep conviction of the value of peace, which they deemed worth any sacrifice except that of national honour. He illustrated this by a minute detail of the diplomatic tergiversations of Russia, through which our ministers, still hoping for a peaceful adjustment, had avoided committing this country to the perils and uncertainties of war, and by this pacific conduct they had placed the Emperor of Russia in an evil position, by making him the cause of aggression and sole author of the war. Moreover, this very delay had been serviceable to the Turks, who had thus obtained much valuable time for completing their warlike preparations; while it would justify the cause to the British public, should our going to war be inevitable. In the course of discussion in the lords, Earl Grey delivered a pertinent remark, which, had it been attended to at the time, and laid up for prompt accomplishment, might have averted much future disappointment and disaster. He was not quite satisfied that we should have interfered at all in the dispute between Russia and Turkey. If, however, as he feared, war was inevitable, it should be carried on with vigour and unanimity, and he trusted to find the defect in the naval and military services which long peace might have fostered, promptly removed, and young and intelligent officers appointed to the command.

The discussions both in the lords and the commons upon the approaching crisis, which every day appeared more inevitable, were both keen and frequent, but at each debate the asperity with which the delay of the ministers had been blamed, became more temperate, until it settled into a general conviction that they could scarcely have acted otherwise than they did; that, in fact, they had acted well and wisely, both for the honour and interests of the country. The strength of this conviction was remarkably manifested on the 22d of February, when the report from the committee of supply, communicating their votes of men and money, was brought before the House of Commons. On this occasion Mr. Joseph Hume, the keenest guardian of the public purse that ever kept watch upon the national treasury, opened the discussion, by observing that this was the first time since he had been in

parliament that he had not taken part in the question of voting the number of men for the public service. He deprecated the manner in which the government, and especially Lord Aberdeen, had been attacked, and expressed it as his opinion, that they had deserved the thanks of the country for having exhausted every effort for the preservation of peace. The official papers, he declared, as far as they went, showed that the past and the present administration had done everything in their power to keep aloof from the quarrel between the Latin and Greek churches, and to terminate the dispute between Russia and Turkey. They had been deceived by over-confidence. The shame, however, was not upon them, but upon the deceiver. Under the circumstances, he approved the increase of the navy, which he thought moderate, and considered that the measures taken by the government were fit and proper to protect the liberties of mankind against the encroachments of a barbarian power. Thus testified the venerable octogenarian whose cautious understanding so many years had only ripened into fuller maturity, and whose feelings had been mellowed when those of others are so often soured or dried up. After this, who could cry out against the expensiveness of warlike preparations, or preach peace upon the plea of economy?

Another important feature in the approaching contest, was a consideration of the question how far such countries as France and England could be justified in waging a war against Christian Russia, in support of Turkey and Mahometanism? The question thus stated had often been urged already, and it was necessary, both for the vindication of England and the satisfaction of the public mind, that it should be fairly met and dealt with. On this account, a motion was made in the House of Lords on the 10th of March, by the Earl of Shaftesbury, for papers respecting the condition of Christianity in Turkey. In common with the general desire of Christendom, he wished that both parties had been removed from their actual positions, yet still, being compelled to choose, he infinitely preferred the Turkish to the Russian civilization. He quoted authorities to show that while Protestantism was largely on the increase among the Turkish Christians, no difficulties were interposed by the Ottoman government to religious instruction; full permission was given to teach, and to print religious books, many of which were issued in the Turkish language. In Russia, on the contrary, his lordship showed that no religious movement was permitted; the Bible in the Russian tongue was prohibited, and even the importation of Hebrew Bibles; while as to Christian missions, these were also forbid by the Russian

government, even to the heathen who were under its dominion. With all this, the Greek priesthood were continually intriguing for the supremacy of their own church; the Russian consuls were employed in the same object, and while the result was tyranny and coercion, the British government was repeatedly compelled to interfere against the arrogant proceedings of these consular apostles. This, indeed, was the secret of the czar's proceedings; and the true meaning of Prince Menschikoff's note was, the exclusive aggrandizement of the Greek church in the Turkish dominions, by the extinction of every act in favour of Protestantism for the last twenty years; and during these twenty years Turkey had permitted more for the advancement of civilization than Russia during four hundred. These statements were cordially received by the house, and the motion was agreed to.

But even while these peaceful negotiations were pending, the war had already been commenced on the part of Russia, by her occupation of the Danubian provinces—an aggression which, in connection with the military events to which it led, will be detailed in the history of the Crimean campaign, of which it forms an important episode. And yet, even although hostilities had thus commenced in earnest, and such heavy blows been struck, the conference at Vienna had not ceased to mediate; and on the 5th of December, the following collective note was addressed to the Turkish government:—"The undersigned representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, assembled at a conference at Vienna, have received instructions to declare that their respective governments behold with profound regret the commencement of hostilities between Russia and the Porte, and desire exceedingly, by interposing between the belligerent powers, to prevent any fresh effusion of blood, and to put an end to a state of things which menaces seriously the peace of Europe. Russia having given an assurance that she was disposed to treat, and the undersigned not doubting that the Porte is animated by the same spirit, they request, in the name of their respective governments, to be informed on what conditions the Ottoman empire would consent to negotiate a treaty of peace."

The application, though so late, did not seem in vain: Turkey, as the power in greatest jeopardy, and that had most to lose, was willing to negotiate anew upon the *status quo*, when an event occurred which gave all further hope of peace to the winds. Irritated at the successes of the Turks on the Danube, and eager to recover her military *prestige*, Russia resolved to abandon her professions of a defensive warfare, for a blow that should recover her lost reputation, even

though it might bring the whole allied powers to her gates. The Asiatic coast of the Black Sea, to which the Turks had been sending reinforcements, was selected for the feat; and the harbour of Sinope, a town half-way between Trebizond and Constantinople, and about a hundred leagues from either, was the place where the storm was to burst. There the Turkish fleet, to the number of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two smaller vessels, were anchored, but in very unskilful order, in the harbour, when on the 30th of November the Russian fleet, consisting of six sail of the line, two sailing frigates, and three steamers, unexpectedly bore down upon them. An action immediately commenced; but although the Turks fought with their wonted obstinacy, their inferiority, not only in ships, men, and cannon, but also in position and nautical skill, made resistance so hopeless, that in an action which lasted two hours and a half, they lost 4000 men, while all their ships were destroyed or rendered useless except a Turkish steamer, which escaped under a heavy fire of broadsides, and carried the tidings to Constantinople.

By this horrible deed, which resembled a massacre and a butchery, rather than a battle, the Czar of Russia belied his professions, upon the strength of which the allied powers had continued in treaty: he had also grossly insulted England and France, whose combined fleets at that time were lying at anchor in the Bosphorus. A day's sail would have brought them to the scene of outrage, either to prevent or avenge it; but in the present state of affairs such a movement was impossible. "The object (wrote Lord Clarendon to the British minister at St. Petersburg) with which the combined fleets were sent to Constantinople was not to attack Russia, but to defend Turkey; and the English and French ambassadors were informed that the fleets were not to assume an aggressive position, but that they were to protect the Turkish territory from attack." This was on the understanding that whatever naval operations were undertaken would be confined to the Russian coasts of Asia, and a defensive warfare on the part of Russia; "but the sultan's squadron (Lord Clarendon continued) was destroyed while at anchor in a Turkish harbour, and where, consequently, the English and French fleets, if they had been present, would have protected it, and would have repelled the attack." After the battle, indeed, the suddenness of which took all by surprise, the allied fleet sent two frigates to report the motions of the enemy; but not a Russian ship was to be seen: at the close of the engagement they had hastily withdrawn and taken shelter in Sebastopol.

The event at Sinope, which excited equal indignation in France and England, drew those countries more closely together against their common enemy, and inspired them with a more ardent spirit of resistance. The first result of this was the entrance of their combined fleet into the Black Sea, for the purpose of active interference in any attack that might be made upon the ports and coasts of Turkey—a movement against which Russia absurdly cried out as an iniquitous interposition. It was justified, however, and that too by no less a diplomatist than Louis Napoleon himself, in an autograph letter to the czar. “The affair at Sinope (he wrote) was for us as painful as it was unexpected; for it matters little to us whether or not the Turks wished to convey munitions of war to the Russian territory. In fact, Russian ships attacked Turkish vessels in the waters of Turkey, while those vessels were riding quietly at anchor in a Turkish port. The Turkish vessels were destroyed, in spite of the assurance that there was no wish to commence an aggressive war, and in spite of the vicinity of our squadrons. It was no longer our policy which received a check, it was our military honour. . . . Out of this feeling arose the order given to our squadrons to enter the Black Sea, and to prevent by force, if necessary, the recurrence of a similar event.” The answer which the Emperor of Russia returned on the 9th of February was still unctuous with peaceful professions, and held out hopes of an amicable nego-

tiation, while he was making arrangements for a war at *outrance*. This was manifested by the fact, that only a day after his letter had been written, he issued a ukase for a military levy throughout his dominions, of nine men in every thousand of the adult male population. This order was speedily followed by a proclamation, in which the blame of all that was to follow was transferred to those who were thenceforth to be regarded as the chief enemies of Russia. After declaiming upon the moderation and justice of his demands, and his hopes that Turkey, if left to herself, would have acquiesced in them, the czar’s manifesto thus continued:—“His imperial majesty’s expectations have been disappointed. The English and French governments have sided with Turkey, and the appearance of the combined fleets off Constantinople has served as a further incentive to its obstinacy; and now both the western powers, without previously declaring war, have sent their fleets into the Black Sea, proclaiming their intention to protect the Turks, and to impede the free navigation of our vessels of war employed for the defence of our own coasts. After a course of proceeding so unheard-of amongst civilized nations, we recalled our embassies from England and France, and have now broken off all political intercourse with these powers.” The proclamation then appealing to the superstition of the people, proceeded to invest the approaching contest to which they were summoned with the character of a war in behalf of



STATE OF THE PORT OF SINOPE AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT BY THE RUSSIANS.—From a sketch by M. A. Durand Berger, engraved in L. Illustration, 1854

Christianity itself, against those godless infidels by whom it was assailed. “England and France,” it said, “have sided with the enemies of Christianity against Russia, combating for the orthodox faith. But Russia will not betray her holy mission. . . . With this hope, combating for our persecuted brethren, followers of the faith of Christ, with one accord let all Russia exclaim:—‘O Lord,

our Redeemer, whom shall we fear? may God be glorified, and his enemies be scattered.’”

Matters had now arrived at that point where a proclamation of war is inevitable: the hostile parties were already in full array, and standing front to front, so that nothing was needed but the signal of onset. It was first given by France, as the stronger and more interested party, on the

27th of March. On that day, a message from the emperor was conveyed to the *corps législatif*, announcing that as Russia had refused an answer to the summons of France and England, she was thereby placed, with respect to France, in a state

of war, and that the whole responsibility of it rested on Russia alone. This message was welcomed with enthusiastic cheers and cries of approbation. A similar communication was made to the French senate, and it received an equally



ENTRANCE TO THE BOSPHORUS FROM THE BLACK SEA.—From a sketch by James Newlands, C E

cordial welcome. France was now as eager for a war with Russia as ever she had been for the invasion of England, while of all the coadjutors she could have found, none was so welcome as her ancient enemy, whose valour she had so often tried, and upon whose steady co-operation she could place unhesitating reliance. In Paris, and over the whole empire, the military spirit of the people, so long suspended, was awakened into full life; and while they recognized in this union of the power of France and England the full realization of their great Napoleon's fondest wish, an additional promise of success seemed to be imparted by the fact that it was under Napoleon's nephew that this combination had been formed, and by whom its efforts would be mainly directed.

It was only the day after, that a similar proclamation of war against Russia was issued on the part of Great Britain. It was felt and acknowledged among us that forbearance had been exercised to the last; that delay had reached its utmost limit, and that fruitless negotiation must now be exchanged for decisive action. So eager indeed, for some time, had been the national feeling, that the caution and reluctance of our ministers had been blamed as lukewarmness, and sometimes reproached as cowardice or even something worse. It was therefore with no ordinary stir and excitement that the royal message to parliament was delivered by the lord-chancellor

in the following words. It will be observed that the chief purport of such a proclamation, conveyed in the expressive word *war*, is not once mentioned throughout—and yet how thoroughly all its stern realities are implied!—

“VICTORIA R.

“Her majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house that the negotiations in which her majesty, in concert with her allies, has for some time past been engaged with his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, have terminated, and that her majesty feels bound to afford active assistance to her ally the sultan against unprovoked aggression.

“Her majesty has given directions for laying before the house copies of such papers, in addition to those already communicated to parliament, as will afford the fullest information with regard to the subject of these negotiations. It is a consolation to her majesty to reflect that no endeavours have been wanting on her part to preserve to her subjects the blessings of peace.

“Her majesty's just expectations have been disappointed, and her majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and devotion of the House of Lords, and on the exertions of her brave and loyal subjects, to support her in her determination to employ the power and resources of the nation for protecting the dominions of the sultan against the encroachments of Russia.”

CHAPTER XVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854.

VICTORIA.

Origin and causes of the Crimean war—The czar's assumption of the protectorship of the Greek church in the Turkish empire—Dangerous character of this claim to Turkish independence—Insufficient grounds of the claim—Hostile manner in which it was adduced—The Russian army crosses the Pruth—It occupies Moldavia and Wallachia—The Vienna note refused by Turkey—The sultan proclaims war against Russia—First hostile movements of Omar Pacha in the principalities—He crosses the Danube—Reluctance of France and Britain to commence hostilities—Their decision confirmed by the massacre of Sinope—The French and English armies embarked for the contest—They are encamped at Gallipoli—Causes for the selection of this station—Opening of the campaign on the Danube—Victory of the Turks over the Russians at Citate—The Russians resolve to cross the Balkan—Their purpose frustrated—The allied army encamps at Varna—The allied fleet bombards Odessa—Destructive character of the bombardment—Attempt of the Russians to bombard Silistria—Gallant defence by the Turks—The British officers by whom they are headed—Unsuccessful attack of the Russians on Silistria—They are compelled to raise the siege—The Russians evacuate the principalities, and are replaced by an Austrian army—Sufferings of the allied army at Varna—Havoc produced among the troops by cholera—Destructive fire at Varna—Desolation of the surrounding country—The allied army passes over to the Crimea—Its landing—Its new encampment before Sebastopol—Symptoms of an approaching conflict between the allies and the Russians.



NOTWITHSTANDING the apparently frivolous character of the origin of this war, by which all Europe was kindled, there was a deeper significance in it than was implied by the mere possession of the keys of the holy sepulchre. This was evident to the statesmen of the different powers who either were engaged in the complex negotiations it occasioned, or who watched their character and bearings. The guardianship of the sepulchre, which the possession of these keys conferred, was something very different from a mere religious punctilio. It was supposed to invest with the rights of a protector over the Christians of his own church in the East the sovereign who held it; and this claim, if once allowed, would establish the Russian czar in the virtual sovereignty of European Turkey. This is apparent from a census that was taken in 1844. From this it appeared, that while the population of European Turkey amounted to 15,000,000, only 2,100,000 of these were of Turkish race, and not more than 4,550,000 in all were Mussulmans. Of the Christian part of the population, only 640,000 were Roman Catholics, while there were 10,000,000 belonging to the Greek church, who recognized the czar as their head, and regarded the sultan as little better than Antichrist. In Asiatic Turkey, indeed, the proportions were very different, there being 16,000,000 Mahometans to only 3,000,000 Christians of the Greek church, but the latter could be dangerous subjects, more especially when countenanced by the neighbourhood of a Russian army. It was therefore no trivial matter to Turkey whether these keys

were given to the custody of the Greek or the Latin church, whether they were held by the Emperor of France or of Russia. As yet, indeed, the *rayahs*, or Greek Christians of the Turkish empire, had shown no outward tokens of their sympathy with the designs of Russia; but in the midst of Mahometan intolerance and provocation, who could tell how long this forbearance might last? When the war broke out, the underhand proceedings of these rayahs against the allied armies, showed how completely their sympathies were enlisted on the side of the Russian sovereign.

As this claim of the czar to a protectorship in the empire of another power created an *imperium in imperio* which had a startling appearance to the rest of Europe, and was certain, on being put forth, to create much cavil and debate, some show of political right was necessary to fortify his assumption. For this purpose, therefore, he adduced the treaty of Kainardji, established between Russia and Turkey in 1774, by the 7th and 14th articles of which he laid claim to this unreasonable protectorship. But these articles, when examined, could bear no such interpretation. By the 7th article, nothing more is conceded than the following:—"The Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches; and also it allows the ministers of the imperial court of Russia to make, on all occasions, representations as well in favour of the new church at Constantinople, of which mention will be made in the 14th article, as in favour of those who officiate therein." And turning to this last-mentioned article, we find nothing more stated than this:—"It is per-

mitted to the high court of Russia, in addition to the chapel built in the house of the minister, to construct in the Galata quarter, in the street called Bey Oglu, a public church of the Greek rite, which shall be always under the protection of the ministers of that empire, and shielded from all obstruction and all damage." Here the Porte distinctly assumes for itself the protection of its Christian subjects, and allows to Russia nothing more than the right of having a chapel in the ambassador's house, and another in the city of Constantinople.

It was so early as the close of 1852, that the czar distinctly asserted his claim to the protectorate of the Turco-Christian eastern church; and to establish his assumption, he ordered at the same time a large body of troops to advance towards the frontier of Moldavia, which is separated from the Russian province of Bessarabia by the river Pruth. This movement of Russia to settle the question by force, occasioned a rival and counter-movement on the part of France by sea, and the Toulon squadron was ordered at an early period of the following year to set sail for the Greek waters. Hot and hotter waxed the negotiation of the representatives of Russia and France at the court of Constantinople, while Britain vainly attempted the office of umpire and pacificator, and the unfortunate sultan, swayed by either party alternately and feeling his danger, was unable to pronounce a conclusive verdict. This question of the contested sepulchre, from which the whole strife had originated, and under which it seemed as if Turkey must be finally crushed to death, was little fitted to recommend Christianity itself either to him or to his subjects! But the czar had advanced too far to recede, and it was not in his nature to yield; he also had calculated upon the impossibility of a union between France and England for a war in behalf of Turkish interests, and upon the sympathy with which his advance would be regarded as a crusade in behalf of Christianity at large. He therefore continued his forward movement. On the 31st of May, 1853, Count Nesselrode announced to Redschid Pacha, the Turkish minister, that in a few weeks the Russian troops would receive orders to cross the frontier and occupy the principalities, not, as he added, to wage war, but to obtain those material guarantees which had been demanded from the Porte; and on the 2d and 3d of July, two divisions of the Russian forces crossed the Pruth. If anything could add to the insult of this aggression, it was the professions of peace with which the act was followed, in the proclamation of Prince Gortschakoff, the commander-in-chief of the army of occupation, to the inhabitants of Moldavia and Wallachia. He assured its Christian and conquered, but now

acquiescent and contented vassals of the Porte, that his august master had commanded him to occupy their country, not however with projects of conquest, or to modify their institutions or political position, but to give an immediate and effectual protection to the principalities under certain grave and suspicious circumstances, originating in the Ottoman government. The czar, he added, had no design of an aggressive war upon Turkey, but only to obtain assent to his equitable proposals; and this being obtained, that the army of occupation would immediately return to the frontiers of Russia. But by what right, or semblance of right, had these forces crossed the Pruth at all? The provinces were under the sovereignty of the sultan, and ruled by hospodars of his election, and were not to be entered by the troops either of Russia or Turkey, which were to be stationed beyond their frontier, except for the repression of internal disturbance. Such had been the latest guarantee between the two powers upon the subject; but although there was no pretext of disturbances to be quelled either in Moldavia or Wallachia, the Emperor Nicholas filled these principalities with his troops, without proclamation of war, as if they were his by right of conquest, or had formed a part of his own dominions.

Notwithstanding these provocations, the allied powers were unwilling that Turkey should commit herself by immediately proclaiming war against Russia, for the maintenance of which she was unfit, and the burden of which, they knew, would ultimately fall upon themselves. Overruled accordingly by their advices, the Ottoman government confined itself to remonstrances, and a new series of negotiations was opened up with Russia for the withdrawing of her troops from the Danubian provinces. But matters had now advanced so far that every step of remonstrance or overture only complicated the question. Such was especially the case with the famous Vienna note, which, after a conference of the four great powers held at Vienna, was finally adopted, and presented for the acceptance of Russia and Turkey. This the czar was ready to subscribe, as it was unfortunately so expressed, that several parts of it might be interpreted in favour of his claims; but the Porte was fortunately awake to these equivocations, and refused to receive the note without certain explanations and restrictions. The allied powers were afterwards obliged to approve of this caution and scrupulosity, but in the meantime it formed a triumphant apology to the czar that he had accepted the conditions of the note, by which the blame of further proceedings was thrown on his antagonists. But the war party of Turkey was weary of these proceedings, and at Constantinople the popular in-

dignation could no longer be restrained. War was therefore declared against Russia on the 5th of October (1853), and in the declaration, a temperate statement was given of the concessions the Ottoman government had made, and the injuries by which it had been provoked. The question about the holy places had been settled to the satisfaction of all parties; but Russia was still arming and still advancing. "Is it not, then, seeking a pretext for quarrel," the manifesto added, "to insist, as Russia has done, upon the question of the privileges of the Greek church granted by the Ottoman government—privileges which the government believes its honour, its dignity, and its sovereign power are concerned in maintaining, and on the subject of which it can neither admit the interference nor the *surveillance* of any government? Is it not Russia which has occupied with considerable forces the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, declaring at the same time that these provinces should serve as a guarantee until she had obtained what she desired? Has not this act been considered justly by the Sublime Porte as a violation of treaties, and consequently as a cause of war? Have the other powers themselves been able to come to any other decision? Who then will doubt that Russia has been the aggressor?"

The commander-in-chief of the Turkish army for the Danubian provinces was Omar Pacha. This remarkable man, originally an Austrian subject, and born in Croatia in 1801, had entered the Turkish service in 1830, where his high talents and brilliant military career in Syria, Albania, Koordistan, and Bosnia, secured him the confidence of a government always jealous of foreigners. But as a soldier of fortune and a renegade from the Christian faith, he found it not so easy to obviate the religious scruples or aristocratic pride of those allied commanders with whom he was afterwards to act, and to most of whom he was superior in military skill and experience. On receiving the war manifesto of the Porte, he addressed Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian commander-in-chief, demanding the meaning of his entrance into the provinces, and granting him the space of fifteen days to quit them; but to this the prince answered, "that he had no orders to commence hostilities, nor to conclude peace, nor to evacuate the principalities." It was a ridiculous attempt to assume an aspect of neutrality after a hostile invasion had been committed. But this neutrality could not last, for on the 1st of November, the Russian emperor proclaimed war against Turkey in answer to the manifesto of the Porte. He was aware that, in so doing, he also proclaimed war against the allied powers who had become parties in the question; but he had gone too far to recede. On

the day that his troops had passed the Pruth, the Rubicon was crossed—the die was cast—retreat was impossible without dishonour and shame!

Even yet, however, the western powers would fain have delayed the deadly arbitration; and in the hope that it might yet be in time, they sent to Omar Pacha, desiring him not to cross the Danube, or give battle to the enemy. But the warning came too late. The pacha was already in motion, and between the 28th of October and the 4th of November, his army crossed the river at four places, and established themselves on the opposite side, in spite of the resistance of the Russians. The chief struggle was at Oltenitza, where the Turks, to the number of 9000, had established themselves on a triangle formed by the village of that name, the Argis, and the Danube. Here, after several skirmishes in which the Russians were unsuccessful, they made a final attempt on the 4th of November, but were met with such spirit that they were repulsed with a loss of 1200 in killed and wounded. Several sharp encounters also ensued at Kalafat and its neighbourhood, where the Turks made good their position; but although thus far successful, and in possession of the left bank of the Danube, Omar Pacha did not judge it prudent to keep his whole army there, exposed to attacks at various points during the winter. He therefore blew up the works he had constructed at Oltenitza, and recrossed the river, keeping, however, possession of Kalafat, by which he retained his hold of the left bank of the Danube until the return of spring. But even yet, though matters had proceeded thus far, the hope of peace was not utterly abandoned by the four great powers of Britain, France, Austria, and Prussia, and negotiations were still continued at Vienna for the purpose, when the fearful event at Sinope, like the sudden explosion of a mine, scattered protocols and remonstrances into the air, or shrivelled them into dust. France and Britain were defied, and they must answer the defiance with cannon-balls.

Even before war was declared in form by France and Britain against Russia, each had sent an army to the East in behalf of Turkey, to act as circumstances might require. This simple movement was confounding to Russian calculations, which had hitherto believed in the impossibility of military co-operation between two such rivals as France and England; and in this confidence, the Emperor Nicholas had persevered in his aggression upon Turkey until it was too late to arrest its progress. The British army consisted of four divisions, commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, and Major-generals the Duke of Cambridge, Sir ~~John~~ Lacy

Evans, and Sir Richard England, and a division of cavalry under the command of the Earl of Lucan. It was a new and spirit-stirring spectacle for London, after so many years of peace, when the guards were marched through its streets for embarkation; and the huzzaing crowds who admired the stalwart forms and bold soldierly demeanour of this large body of troops, imagined that nothing could resist such a force, and already saw victories swarming in clusters around their standards. Even those whose fancies were more sober, imagined that the hostile demonstration of the two western powers would be enough, and that Russia would desist from her enterprise as soon as the allied armies had landed. The troops set sail from England on the 28th of February, 1854, and disembarking at Malta, where they remained till the 31st of March, they then proceeded to Gallipoli, in European Turkey, at which place they already found the French army arriving by successive detachments. The French force had for its commander-in-chief, the Marshal St. Arnaud, previously minister at war, and under him were Generals Canrobert and

Bosquet, commanders of the first and second divisions. The brigade of cavalry was under General d'Allonville, and the first corps of reserve under Prince Napoleon Bonaparte. A second corps of infantry, as a body of reserve, was commanded by General Forey, and a reserve brigade of cavalry by General Cassagnalles. On the 2d of May, Lord Raglan, the British commander-in-chief, distinguished in the war of the Peninsula under the Duke of Wellington as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, arrived at Gallipoli.

This locality, upon which the allied armies were for the present encamped, was not only uncomfortable as a place of military occupation, but apparently useless for the purposes of the campaign. It was too remote from the Turkish armies to give them aid, and from Constantinople itself to prevent a Russian march upon the capital. But the fortification of this remote peninsula had been the plan of the French emperor, and upon this post the two armies would be on the right flank of the Russians if they attempted, as they had formerly done, to cross the

Balkan. "The peninsula of Gallipoli," the emperor wrote in his instructions to General St. Arnaud, "is selected as the principal site of disembarkation, because it should be, as a strategical point, the basis of our operations—that is to say, the place of arms for our depôts, our ambulances, and our provisions—and from whence we may with facility march forward or re-embark. That will not hinder you on your arrival, should you consider it advisable, from lodging one or two divisions in the barracks, to be found either at the west of Constantinople or at Scutari. So long as you are not in front of

the enemy, the dispersion of your forces will cause no inconvenience, and the presence of your troops at Constantinople may produce a good moral effect; but if by chance, after having advanced towards the Balkans, you are constrained to make a movement in retreat, it will be of much more advantage to regain the coast of Gallipoli than that of Constantinople, for the Russians will never venture from Adrianople to Constantinople, with an army of 60,000 good troops on their right flank." To work then went the two armies to entrench themselves upon this specified



LORD RAGLAN — FROM A PORTRAIT BY ANDREW MORTON

territory, each in a spirit of generous emulation, and both labouring together in perfect cordiality and good humour. The lines were about seven miles long, running along the crest of a natural ridge from the Gulf of Saros to the Sea of Marmora. When these works were nearly finished, the allied forces were removed to the Bosphorus, the British landing at Scutari on the east side of that narrow strait, and the French occupying the European side of the Bosphorus, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. Thus the Turkish capital was protected by the neighbourhood of 20,000 French and 10,000 British bayonets. Here, however, they had not long to wait, for the course of events demanded their presence elsewhere. To those causes by which they were summoned to the real seat of war, we shall now briefly advert.

The campaign between the Turks and Russians on the Danube had opened at the commencement of this year by a victory of the former at the village of Citate over the troops of the czar. The Russians were anxious to commence their

operations against Kalafat, upon the banks of the Danube, but for this purpose it was necessary to dislodge the Turks from several villages between Cioroine and Radovan. Skirmishes to this effect had been frequent between the Cossacks and the Turkish cavalry, until the 6th of January, when a considerable body of the Turkish cavalry boldly attacked the Russian lines at Citate, and the skirmish deepened into a general engagement, in which horse, foot, and artillery all came into full play. The battle lasted till night, and after desperate efforts of the Russians to maintain their slight fortifications, they were dislodged from them by the Turks, who remained masters of the field. The Russians, on being reinforced, made strenuous attempts during the four following days to recover their position, but were met, and in almost every instance foiled, by Omar Pacha and his gallant Osmanlis.

These indecisive operations on the Danube, which tended to raise the courage and confidence of the Turks, were to be exchanged for war upon a grander scale as soon as France and England were known to have combined for the defence of Turkey. Russia felt that she must now have recourse to more decisive measures—that she must once more force the passages of the Balkan, and strike a blow at the head of her enemy before this foreign aid could be available to ward it off. For this purpose, Kalafat, which was well protected by earthworks, and garrisoned by 30,000 Turks, must be watched by at least one-half of the Russian army; the small Turkish forts between the Dobrudscha and Silistria must be stormed and occupied, and a force left to keep the Turkish garrisons on the right bank of the Danube in check. These preliminaries to the important attempt upon the Balkan were commenced with such spirit as promised to be successful: the Russian right was placed so effectually as to keep Kalafat in check, while the left was skilfully conveyed across the Danube at three points, notwithstanding a keen opposition both from the Turks and the weather. The small forts in the Dobrudscha and other places fell into their hands, and nothing apparently remained for them to do but to advance upon Silistria, Varna, and Schumla, as they had done in 1828. But this march through the bleak barren Dobrudscha would, even if uninterrupted, have been a difficult one; every hour increased the chances of interruption from the armies of France and England, which were now entering upon the Turkish soil; and the designs of Austria and Prussia, at present in treaty respecting the part they should take in Turkish affairs, were a subject of doubt and anxiety to Czar Nicholas. These causes for hesitation continued until the French and English armies were encamped in

the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and in readiness to act wherever circumstances might require. And these allies of the Turks had not long to remain in uncertainty, in consequence of the arrival of Omar Pacha, and a war council which he held with the Turkish ministers and the commanders of both armies at Varna, on the 18th of May. His earnest advice was that an Anglo-French army should occupy the country between Varna and Schumla, so as to keep the Russians in check from Chernavoda to Kostendje, while he was prosecuting the war in Wallachia. The occupation of Varna was of especial importance, as a movement from this point could be made upon Schumla and the passes of the Balkan with equal facility, and the whole Russian plan of invasion frustrated. With similar ease, troops could be sent from Varna to the Crimea, to make an attack upon Sebastopol. His representations and arguments prevailed, seconded as they were by a visit which Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud made to Pravadi and Schumla, and an inspection of the Turkish army, and accordingly the armies of France and England, now considerably reinforced, were transported from Scutari by the Black Sea on the 28th of May.



OMAR PACHA —From a French lithograph.

From these land operations we must turn our attention to those which were going on at sea, of which the French and English navies now held possession, the Russian ships of war being shut up in Sebastopol. It was upon this element that active hostilities were commenced by the British, and the event was nothing less than the bombardment of Odessa. The moving cause of action was also as trivial and obscure as ever awoke the first echoes of a great war; for it consisted in a British ship carrying a flag of truce

having been fired at, as was alleged, while the governor of Odessa denied the fact of such a violation. But in spite of his denial, the British felt that the insult had been committed, and were resolved that it should not pass with impunity.

This great commercial city, of nearly 80,000 inhabitants, was defended by a garrison of 30,000 soldiers, while her harbour was filled with the merchant ships of several nations, so that the destruction of such a place was certain to aggravate



ODESSA, from the Commercial Quay —From L Illustration

the resentments of the impending war. On the 22d of April, a combined fleet of eleven French and English ships, and a detachment of rocket-boats, advanced upon the town, and opened their terrible cannonade upon its forts, batteries, and military store-houses, carefully avoiding the Quarantine Mole, in which were trading ships of all nations, with their flags hoisted at the mast-head for protection, and also the civic public buildings and churches. The numerous defences of Odessa returned the fire with equal spirit, and for ten hours land and water seemed to be enveloped in an atmosphere of living flame, that was continued until every battery was silenced or destroyed. On this occasion, the terrible effects of steam-ships in a bombardment were distinctly manifested. The chief attack was upon the Imperial Mole, containing strong fortifications and some large barracks, and sheltering numerous Russian ships of every description; and the steamers in assailing it, wheeled in a circle of half a mile within that shallow bay, each pouring in its heavy fire in succession—forming by their movements such a fantastic waltz of death as Holbein could never have imagined. In such a *mêlée* of destructive fire, it was impossible to avoid the buildings which the assailants were desirous of sparing; and the obstinacy or confusion of the Russian authorities, who, during the whole cannonade, exhibited no flag upon their public edifices and defences, so as to distinguish them from those of a pacific character, only served to involve all in one remorseless destruction. Thus, when the cannonade ended, church and palace had fallen as well as the fort or battery, and half of the inhabitants had their homes destroyed. But the greatest wonder of

all, and signally illustrating the advantages of an attack by steam ships and their heavy artillery, was exhibited in the trivial loss sustained by the victors, notwithstanding the resistance of the Russians. Of the English, not more than one man was killed, and eight or nine men wounded. The French had only two men killed, and two wounded, and that, also, not by the fire of the enemy, but a mischance from one of their own guns. Of the loss of the Russians in killed and wounded, no reckoning could be obtained; but from the havoc of shot and fire, and the explosion of powder magazines, it must have been of a fearful amount. When this affair was ended, the czar endeavoured to make the most of it by exciting the fanaticism of his subjects against the French and English; and accordingly, he published a proclamation, setting forth the impiety of the allies in having attacked Odessa upon a Sunday, when the inhabitants "were assembled in the orthodox temples to celebrate the death of the Son of God crucified for the redemption of humanity." He then represented in the same manifesto, that these profane invaders had been gloriously repulsed by his valorous troops; and finally, to signalize this defence, he allowed the public works that had been destroyed to be rebuilt at the expense of the inhabitants of Odessa, while he rewarded Baron Osten-Sacken, its governor, with the order of St. Andrew. As for the allied fleets, they repaired after this bombardment to Sebastopol, and challenged the Russian ships of war to come forth to a fair encounter, an invitation which the enemy, being of inferior force, judged fit to decline.

The scene of interest now shifted to Silistria,

the bombardment of which had been commenced by the Russians, to the number of 70,000, under the command of Prince Paskiewitsch. It was begun at the time that Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud had visited Pravadi and Schumla, previous to the embarkation of their troops for Varna. For this assault the Russians had made considerable preparations, by conveying the heavy materials for a siege across the Danube in the earlier part of May; and the gallant defence of this fortress by the Turks forms one of the most interesting episodes of the war. The chief fortifications of Silistria consisted of earthworks, in the raising of which the Turks were indefatigable; and as their construction and defence required little scientific or strategical skill, no bulwarks could have been better suited to the rude bold hearts that rallied behind them. Of these works, the principal was called Arab Tapia or Tepè, about 2000 yards in advance of the ramparts of Silistria; and behind, at the distance of 1000 yards, was Ylanli Tepè. These were relied upon as the chief defences of the fortress, although they were only earthen mounds of three sides, while the fourth was entirely open; and as they were in the direction of Rasova, from which the besiegers were to advance, they would naturally endure the first and chief brunt of the encounter. As it was necessary to become masters of these works before Silistria could be invested, the Russians assailed them with all the formidable and complicated resources of a siege—with parallels, zigzags, batteries, and mines—and twice they succeeded in penetrating within the Arab Tepè, while eight mines were exploded beneath its ramparts, and fifty yards of its front line were levelled with the ground. But as often as the enemy entered, they were driven back by the intrepid Turks; and as fast as the works were destroyed they were repaired, or new ones constructed. the unflinching courage of the besieged compensated for the feebleness of these protections, and made them as formidable as if they had been ramparts of the living rock. In this unwonted fashion, the Russian strategy was encountered by a pertinacity for which it was not prepared, and the resistance protracted long beyond the time at which, according to established calculations, the place should have surrendered, or been destroyed. Nor was Omar Pacha neglectful in reinforcing the almost overborne garrison with fresh means of resistance. Silistria, he well knew, was the Thermopylæ by which the invasion of Turkey was to find its entrance; and on the 4th of June, he sent forward 30,000 men to the rescue, who succeeded in entering the outworks by breaking through the Russian lines. Four days after, 1000 Turkish soldiers were equally successful, by stealing at

midnight into the place, over the corpses of the Russians who had fallen in heaps during the assault. In this wonderful defence, also, it was well for the undisciplined Turks that they were not without the direction of European skill, science, and genius, and that they had the wisdom to avail themselves of such advantages. Their brave commander, Mussà Pacha, was slain by a cannon-ball, and the remaining officers were little fitted to direct the enthusiasm of their followers, or turn it to the best account. But in Silistria, there were two English officers, Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth, both belonging to the East India Company's service, and to their exertions the length and success of the defence are chiefly to be attributed. They threw themselves into the place as volunteers; their superior abilities were at once recognized by the defenders; and while their gallant example animated the courage of the Turks, their skilful directions were implicitly adopted in the plans by which every attack of the assailants was baffled. Lieutenant Nasmyth happily survived the siege, to enjoy the rewards which his gallant devotedness had so justly won; but not so Captain Butler, who died exhausted by an endemic fever, brought on by



COSTUMES OF THE TURKISH ARMY, 1854

1, Foot artillery 2, Chasseur 3, Infantry of the line, sergeant. 4 Bashi-Bosook.

the incredible fatigues of his anxious and manifold exertions. It will ever be remembered with gratitude, that by their interposition not only Silistria was saved, but the French and English armies spared from the necessity of a campaign on the Danube, where the pestilent miasma of marsh and vapour would probably have been more destructive than the sword.

In the meantime, while the siege of this obstinate fortress was continued, the ardour of the Russians was not only damped by the resistance they encountered, but by the establishment of the allied armies at Varna. By this movement, which brought such a formidable enemy so nigh the seat of action, they were obliged not only to waste time in strengthening their fortifications for the purpose of guarding against an attack from without, but to provide in case of the worst for a retreat. The same cause prevented their complete investment of Silistria, by compelling them to keep their forces together, instead of extending them so widely as an investment would have required. On the 13th of June, the grand assault was to be made, and after the explosion of mines and a terrible cannonade, the Russian army was ordered to advance. But instead of starting to the summons as they were wont, they stood sullenly in their ranks, and refused to move: a dispiriting and wasting sickness was added to their other calamities, and alarmed at their unwillingness for action, their commander postponed the assault to the following day. But twice they were driven back from the frail earthen defences, and when the order was given for a third onset, they wavered and paused. On this, their commanders threw themselves into the front line, but only to share the usual fate of a forlorn hope. Prince Paskiewitsch was slightly, and Prince Gortschakoff severely wounded; Count Orloff, General Luders, and General Schilders, who had taken Silistria a quarter of a century earlier, were all struck down with dangerous hurts; and of the superior officers, few were withdrawn from the deadly fire without being incapacitated for duty, so that the chief command had to devolve upon new leaders. After this failure, the next great assault was made on the night of the 18th of June, and it was commenced with an explosion of mines, by which a gap was made in the Turkish parapet nearly twelve yards long. But the Russians on advancing to this breach, found a new wall that had been raised behind it manned with troops, and bristling with guns, at which unexpected apparition they fell back and retired. The Turks then rushed out of their new entrenchment to repair the old, which they did in spite of a heavy fire of musketry; and as fast as one man fell in the breach, another and still another came forward, and worked spade in hand, while their officers, coolly smoking their chibouques under cover of the parapet, indicated by a wave of their pipes the places at which the work was to be carried on.

During forty days this hopeless siege of Silistria was continued before it was reluctantly abandoned in despair, and the means brought against

it both of troops and *materiel* attested the heroism with which the defence was maintained. The Russians had eight batteries armed with artillery of very heavy calibre, extending in a concave curve from the right bank of the Danube to the outworks of the fortress; they had sixty guns in position at Silistria, that threw out more than fifty thousand projectiles of shot and shell; they constructed more than three miles of approaches, and sprang six mines; and by wounds and disease they lost 12,000 men in this memorable siege. And yet they gained not a foot of ground, and were obliged to leave the outer mud wall against which their force had been broken, still in the hands of its defenders, although it had been crushed into a shapeless mass of earth by mine and cannonade. If Turkey is doomed to extinction at no very distant day, in spite of European alliances for her preservation, the remembrance of this noble defence of Silistria will be a sunset upon her departure, and will serve to give dignity to her downfall.

The retreat of the Russians after raising the siege of Silistria, was a signal for the Turkish army to advance, which it did in the beginning of July, by recrossing the Danube; and on the 8th it inflicted a partial defeat upon the enemy at Giurgevo, on the left bank of the river, about forty-five miles from Bucharest, which still further confirmed the despondency of the Russians. The latter, abandoning their camp with an immense quantity of stores, fell back in full retreat upon Bucharest; but after a short stay in that city, they retired to the line of the Sireth, upon which the Turks took quiet possession of the old Wallachian capital. By this time, indeed, Wallachia was no longer to be a residence or a shelter to the Russian arms, whether in victory or defeat, as, after long hesitation, Austria had entered into a treaty with the Sublime Porte on the 14th of June, by which the existence of the Turkish empire in its present limits was recognized, and the use of every means pledged to obtain the evacuation of the principalities by the Russians. The Austrian army of occupation for these purposes was to be stationed in Wallachia and Moldavia, subject entirely to the authority of its own commander-in-chief, who was to inform the general of the Turkish army of his operations; and as soon as peace should be restored between the sultan and the czar, this Austrian army of occupation was to be withdrawn. This position of a neutral arbiter which Austria at last consented to assume, did not fulfil the expectations or the wishes of the friends of Turkey; but it was thought by some, that in the present state of matters, it was as much as the court of Vienna could offer, consistently with its late debt of gratitude to the czar

for his effectual aid in the suppression of the Hungarian revolt. On the 20th of August, the Austrian army for the occupation of the provinces commenced its march into Wallachia and Moldavia, and established its head-quarters at Bucharest, by which all further collision between the Turkish and Russian forces on these territories was prevented. By this movement, it might be said that both parties were equally benefited; for while Omar Pacha was thus rid of the defence of these provinces, and of the pre-

sence of a dangerous enemy that might still have proved too hard for him, Russia, by the withdrawing of its army, was enabled to strengthen the means of its resistance in the Crimea. It was upon the French and the English, for whom this portion of the war was reserved, that the whole brunt of the evil was to fall.

Of these armies of the allies, we have already mentioned the removal from the neighbourhood of Constantinople to Varna. It took place simultaneously with the commencement of the



THE TOWN AND BAY OF VARNA.—From Lieutenant colonel Andrews' Views in Turkey and the Crimea

siege of Silistria, and at Varna they continued inert, although exercising, by their nearness to the scene of active operations, a paralyzing influence upon the Russians. Even this inaction, however, was accompanied with such melancholy as well as important consequences, that it forms an episode which cannot be dismissed with a mere casual notice.

Varna, situated on the shores of the Black Sea, in the province of Bulgaria, is a fortified town and seaport, 160 miles to the north-west of Constantinople, and contains about 14,000 inhabitants. Its site is a gentle height on the north-west side of a semicircular bay formed by two rocky promontories; and, like many other towns which have been for a length of time in possession of the Turks, it exhibits the usual melancholy symptoms of neglect and decay; for it is but slightly fortified, its houses, which are chiefly of wood, are irregularly placed, and it has no public buildings but a few mosques. The British troops had their encampment at Aladyn, a few miles distant from the town; and seldom have war-tents been pitched in a more beautiful landscape, consisting of meadows so richly wooded and watered as to resemble the choicest rural scenes of England: it was this alluring home resemblance that determined the selection of the spot. During the whole time of their residence at Varna, the French

and English, both officers and common soldiers, vied with each other in deeds of kindness and mutual accommodation, so that it seemed as if the centuries of previous hostility had only inspired them with a deeper respect for each other, and a more ardent desire to be connected by the ties of an enduring fellowship. The greatest grievance, indeed, that first began to be experienced as a common calamity was the inactivity to which they were subjected, and this the more, as they could occasionally hear the faint, sullen boom of the distant cannonades, which proclaimed that there was stirring work going on at Silistria. But this feeling was raised to tenfold intensity when tidings arrived that the Turks had been successful—that the siege was raised—that the enemy had retreated none could tell whither; and “When shall we have a brush with the Russians?” was now the prevalent cry. They were also in full force for a great united enterprise, in consequence not only of the reinforcements that had arrived from England and France, but the addition of some Turkish and Egyptian battalions. Forty thousand men were encamped around the walls of Varna, while every street was crowded with soldiery who scarcely could find room to move. It was an assemblage well fitted for the visit of an Asiatic pestilence, and the Destroyer came at the summons.

On this occasion, the visitation was of that latest and deadliest phase which the plague—that terrible scourge of humanity from the earliest ages—has now assumed: it was the cholera. Previous to its arrival, fever and dysentery had been prevalent among the troops, owing in great part to their immoderate use of cucumbers and water-melons, and the pernicious raki or brandy of the country; and toward the latter part of July, it was found that these diseases had deepened into confirmed cholera. The first to be visited were the French, and among them the progress of the disease was so rapid, that they were obliged to clear out their hospital at Varna, which, though a very large building, was too confined for the number of patients, and treat their cases in the open field. It was melancholy to witness the effects of the first impressions of the malady upon these men, before it had taken confirmed possession: the laugh, the song, the jest, so essential a portion of the French soldier's existence, were no longer heard; they listlessly sat still, or moved with slow and heavy steps; and when the first touch of the disease was felt, however lightly, it was received as a death-sentence from which there was no appeal. The English army was soon to be allied with them in suffering and loss, for on the 23d of July, it broke out in their encampment with equal violence, wherein men and officers were equally the victims, and fifteen or sixteen deaths in the hospital was the usual return of each day's medical report. It was then found that the choice of Aladyn for the place of their encampment had been a fatal one; for notwithstanding the loveliness of the surrounding scenery, and the abundance of wood and water, it was noted at this season of the year by the inhabitants as a hot-bed of infectious maladies, and therefore to be carefully avoided. The same was the case with the neighbouring valley of Devno, in which part of the British tents were pitched; for there disease was wont to be so prevalent in summer that the Turks had termed it the "Valley of Death." It was time to abandon this fatal place, already crowded with the dying and the dead, and the decimated brigades were removed and spread over a wide encampment, extending over the country from Monastir to Varna, a distance of about twenty-six miles. Nor were the living exhibitions of this wasting plague less appalling than the sight of the graves with which their late place of sojourn was plentifully garnished. In our brigade of guards, numbering 3000 strong, 600 were already on the sick list; and when they were removed from Aladyn to Varna, which was scarcely ten miles distant, after a very short encampment, they occupied two days in the march, although their packs were carried for them. When such was

the fate of the choicest of Britain—the men of gigantic frame and iron endurance, whom perhaps no equal number of troops on earth could have matched—what must have been the condition of the other regiments composed of men of the common file? It has been noted, too, that the coming of a pestilence is often attended with a recklessness and improvidence among its victims amounting to downright insanity, and through which the cases of suffering and death are fearfully multiplied; and the present conduct of many of the soldiers, both French and English, was no exception to the melancholy rule. They clubbed together for the purpose of eating and drinking; they gorged themselves with pumpkins, water-melons, and fruit, or made themselves dead-drunk with the sour wine and poisonous raki of the country, under the idea of using precautions against the cholera; and then slept in the kennels or ditches, under a blazing sun, when their enfeebled frames were exhausted with the weight of their debauch. While the land was thus overspread with mortality, and its atmosphere laden with infection, the sea was no protection, and the English and French ships, anchored in Baltchik Bay and the harbour of Varna, exhibited an amount of infection and mortality equal to that on the shore, attended also in many cases with still more appalling circumstances. At last, on the second week of August, the mortality on board the French and English ships was so great, that the fleet had to make a run for it, and stand out to sea upon a cruise. How greatly this change was needed appeared from the fact, that on the 16th of the month, the British ship *Britannia*, since it left Baltchik, had lost seventy men, and had buried ten of her crew on that morning. To the horrors of pestilence were added the threats of famine, by a destructive fire which broke out in Varna on the 10th. It commenced in a spirit-shop near the French commissariat stores: the spirits, that ran in torrents, were converted into a torrent of flame, which the wooden houses quickly caught, and propagated from street to street; and for ten hours the sailors were employed in arresting the conflagration, which, in spite of every effort, destroyed a fourth part of the town, and an immense portion of the military rations and stores. Even as it was, Varna, but for these exertions, would have been wholly reduced to ashes, and the army left destitute. In what cause this suspicious catastrophe originated cannot well be ascertained: it was one to which every Turkish town, from Constantinople downwards, is hourly exposed, and which makes the police alarm of *yangen var* [there is a fire!] as common as a market-proclamation. But in this case, it was attributed to the Greeks

resident in Varna, whose sympathies with the cause of Russia were notorious, and whose quarter of the town was untouched; and a Greek, who was seen to set fire to the spirits with a torch as they flowed into the street, was cut down, and six or seven of his countrymen bayoneted by the French soldiers, while two Greeks, who were apprehended, were hanged after a very summary trial.

Such was the inauspicious commencement of a campaign upon which the hopes of England and France had been so sanguine, and for the first tidings of which London and Paris were so eager. Had the glorious pomp and circumstance of war, which had gone from their gates like a military triumph, been so quickly changed into a dead march! The havoc of a whole career of victory had been suffered, and yet not a single stroke been dealt. While such was the loud murmur of anger and disappointment at home, it may be imagined how much more keenly these emotions were felt by the armies at Varna. The soldiers complained that they were cooped up only to perish in heaps; they were drawn out only as a mark for the destroyer; they were struck by a silent, unseen power, and falling without fame or memorial. Why were they not led into the Crimea, where the stir of battle, or at least a soldier's grave could be found, instead of lingering in this life-in-death encampment? But for this purpose, more than one movement had been already made, and without success. While the siege of Silistria was going on, Lord Cardigan was sent with the light cavalry to ascertain the position of the Russian main army, for even its locality was as yet unknown at Varna; but although his exploration extended for nearly 300 miles over a waste, uninhabited country, and was advanced as far as Trajan's Wall on the borders of the Dobrudscha, he could only ascertain that the siege was raised, and that the force employed upon it was in full retreat towards Bessarabia. On the 19th of July, when a council of war had decided that it was time to proceed to active measures, General Sir George Brown, accompanied by General Canrobert, and attended by several French and English officers, embarked on board her majesty's ship *Fury*, to explore the Crimean coast in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, and ascertain a fitting place for the debarkation of the army; but on the morning of the 20th the ship was discovered from the ramparts, and fired at with shot and shell, so that its object was frustrated. On the following day, Marshal St. Arnaud, weary of inaction, and alarmed at the continuing progress of the cholera, under which he was himself suffering, sent a division under General Canrobert on an expedition into the Dobrudscha, where he heard that

more than 10,000 of the Russian troops were assembled, by whose defeat he hoped the spirits of his army would be revived. But his soldiers carried the disease along with them, and without encountering an enemy, except in an insignificant skirmish of cavalry, the men died in heaps on the march, or in their tents, more numerously than if their progress had been enflamed by hostile batteries. Seven thousand men perished in this useless expedition alone, the miseries of which can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of modern warfare.

But the time of emancipation arrived at last. The siege of Silistria having been raised, and the Austrian army of occupation established in the provinces, the French and English armies could now carry out the original plan of the campaign by passing to the Crimea. It was through Sebastopol that the czar possessed the command of the Black Sea and the means of invading Constantinople; and it was therefore by the capture of this strong and dangerous fortress that the sultan could be best protected, and the objects of the expedition accomplished. There was joy among the troops, both French and English at Varna, when this purposed movement was made known; and under the welcome prospect of change of place and active occupation, the sick began to recover, and despair was exchanged for hope. The transportation commenced at the beginning of September, and was no quick or easy process, although 600 vessels were employed in it, protected by a war fleet carrying 3000 cannon; for the united armies mustered more than 50,000 bayonets, and the conveyance of so large a force by sea was an unwonted movement, while most of the commanders were unaccustomed to war upon such an extensive scale. There was therefore much hurrying and crowding, a vast amount of blunders and misunderstanding of orders, and loud complaints of impotence and deficiency in the means of transport, before this military chaos had settled into order upon the place of its final occupation. But with that settlement, good humour as well as military efficiency was restored, and the taking of Sebastopol in a very short period, if not at the first assault, was anticipated as a positive certainty. But these confident hopes were mingled with the ominous doubts and misgivings of the more reflective. That iron fortress of the Black Sea, upon the fortifications of which the utmost resources of military art had been expended, was as likely to waste an army that sat down before it, as to yield to the onset. It was also feared that the season was too far advanced for such active operations, and that the sufferings of a Crimean winter would have to be endured, along with those of a perilous and protracted siege.

The question of the fittest point for debarkation upon a coast hitherto so little known, had previously been the subject of much deliberation; and the place selected was Eupatoria Bay, to the north of Sebastopol, at a place called Staroe Ukroplenie, or the Old Fort. The landing was commenced on the 14th of September; and the first to reach the shore was a boat's crew of Frenchmen, who planted the tricolor flag in the ground, thus taking possession of the Crimea amidst shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" As for the town of

Eupatoria, which presented a formidable appearance from the sea, it surrendered at the first summons. Although it must have been previously known to the Russians that the destination of the allied armies was the Crimea, such was either their apathy or their confidence, that no attempts had been made to interrupt the expedition. On sea, therefore, not a single hostile sail appeared in sight; and on the landing of the allies, there was neither a battery to oppose them, nor light troops to harass them with skirmishing: no-



EUPATORIA —From a sketch by M. Dulong, engraved in *L'Illustration*, 1854

thing in the form of an enemy appeared, except a Russian officer attended by four mounted Cossacks, who coolly stood within reach of the Menie rifles, and took notes of the particulars of the debarkation, which were probably to be transmitted to head-quarters. Instead of awaiting, they must seek the Russian army, which, as the allied commanders learned from the reconnaissance of their steamers, was entrenched in a strong camp on the heights to the south of the river Alma; and thither accordingly they commenced their march on the 19th of September. And that march was a splendid and a gay spectacle, contrasted as it was with the bleakness and solitude of the surrounding scenery; for the soldiers, by change of place and occupation, were fast recovering their health and spirits, and revelling in the hopes of victory. As Marshal St. Arnaud rode past the front of the 55th regiment, he exclaimed, "English, I hope you will fight well to-day." "Hope!" cried a voice from the ranks—"sure you *know* it!"

The tokens of the enemy's neighbourhood and promise of battle were not long in appearing; these were given in the form of villages and houses committed to the flames by the Russians

themselves, to delay our advance, and in troops of cavalry in the distance, that moved and disappeared as the hostile march approached nearer their encampment. After crossing the Bouljanak, a sluggish, muddy stream, the signs of hostility became more decisive: troops of Cossack lancers advanced for skirmishing, who were confronted by our light dragoons and hussars; and when the Cossacks fell back, our pursuing cavalry were met by strong bodies of Russian horse who checked their onward career. This called up other detachments both French and British to their aid, on which the Russians fell back upon the Alma. In itself the encounter was nothing more than an insignificant skirmish, a mere crossing of sword-blades; but this meeting of weapons had taught the combatants the strength of each other's arm, and warmed them for a conflict that should be at *outrance*. That night the allied armies bivouacked at Bouljanak, upon which they had fallen back, with the Russian position on the Alma full in sight, being illuminated by numerous watch-fires that gleamed over an extent of four miles. On the morrow, the campaign in the Crimea was to be opened in earnest with the conflict of the Alma.

CHAPTER XVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854.

VICTORIA.

Preparations for the battle of the Alma—Plan of the battle—Movements previous to the attack—The French cross the Alma—They gain the heights—Their successful attack on the Russian position—Entrance of the British troops into battle—Chief movements of the conflict—Defeat of the Russians—Losses of both parties at the battle of the Alma—Inability of the French and English to follow up their victory—They commence their march upon Sebastopol—Plan adopted for its siege—Risk of battle during the march—The allies take up their position against Sebastopol at Balaklava—Account of Sebastopol—Its strength and resources—Attempt of the allies to bombard Sebastopol by land and sea—Failure of the land bombardment—The bombardment by sea unsuccessful—Causes of the failure—The siege continued—Want of effective materials for the siege—Increase of the Russian army of observation—Its stealthy approach to raise the siege—Unexpected attack on the position of the British troops—Battle of Balaklava—Particulars of the attack on the British position—The Turkish troops driven from their redoubts—Gallant conduct of the 93d Highlanders—Chivalrous and successful onset of our dragoons—The great Balaklava charge—Mistakes that occasioned it—The British light horse led to the unequal encounter—Death of Captain Nolan—Terrible onset of the light horse—Their successful charge through a whole army—Their perilous return—Aid brought to them by the French chasseurs—Their heavy losses in this encounter—Failure of the Russian attempt at Balaklava—The British contract their line of encampment—A sally from Sebastopol—Its attack on the British second division—The Russian troops defeated and driven back to the town—The allied armies continue the siege—Obstacles to their success—The Russians again resolve to raise the siege—Their superior means for a fresh attempt—Prince Menshikoff invites the sons of the czar to Inkermann—They arrive to witness the expected victory—The Russians make a night march upon the British encampment—They secure an advantageous position for the morrow's attack—They advance to surprise the British second division—The alarm given by the resistance of our pickets—The second division drawn up—It is assailed at once from several quarters—The attempted surprise changes into open battle—Battle of Inkermann—Chief incidents of the engagement—Total defeat of the Russians—Greatness and importance of the victory of the allied armies at Inkermann.



URING the night of the 19th of September, while the soldiers of the allied army were sitting by their bivouac fires, or sleeping on the ground wrapped up in their cloaks and blankets, the principal commanders were arranging the plan for the next day's engagement. The plan was the following:—One French division under General Bosquet, accompanied by a part of the Turkish regiments, was to advance along the sea-shore, force the heights, and turn the enemy's left flank; and this being accomplished, the remainder of the French army was instantly to attack that part of the Russian centre which rested on high ground above a village called Alta-tamak. The English, retaining their inland direction, were to wait in the village of Barluik until the French should establish themselves on the heights, and were then to turn the Russian right, giving as wide a berth as possible to the heavy batteries in the enemy's centre. The inshore squadrons of the allied fleets, chiefly consisting of steamers, were to keep close to the coast, and cover the advance and attack of Bosquet's division.¹ It has been alleged that when this plan was made, the heights of Alma and the position of the Russian army had not been duly inspected.

Such were especially the complaints of our home strategists in London—of men who "sit by their firesides, and presume to know what is done in the capitol." But still more serious were the complaints and recriminations in the French and English armies upon each other on account of their misunderstandings and want of co-operation in the execution of the plan itself. Passing over these, which are still unsettled matters of controversy, it is sufficient for the present to note how ably and successfully the plan was executed.

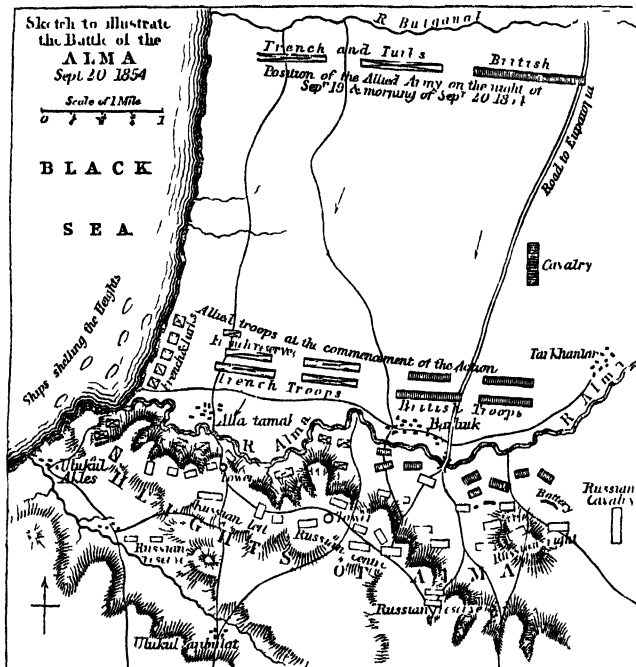
The morning of the 20th of September opened with a thick haze that obscured the objects of the plain; and the heights of Alma were so enveloped in its folds, that at first it was thought the Russians had abandoned their position: but a light breeze rose, which removed the vapour like a curtain, and displayed the Russians to full view, with their formidable batteries, and strong natural ramparts of rock and ram. The first movement was that of the allied inshore squadron of vessels, headed by the *Agamemnon*, which took up a position off the mouth of the Alma; and this being effected, General Bosquet's division descended from the heights of Bouljanak, followed and supported more inland by the divisions of Prince Napoleon, and Generals Canrobert and Forey. At a later period, the British, whose encampment was more distant,

¹ *Annual Register*, 1854.

advanced in order for battle, and took up their position on the extreme left of the French. Both allied armies could now distinctly see the work that lay before them, which might well have daunted the bravest; for the slopes and precipices behind the Alma were serrated with glittering lines of bayonets, where the Russians were drawn up in almost inaccessible positions, and defended by better cannon than those which the assailants could bring against them. The stubborn, unflinching hardihood of the Russians,

passed the Alma without obstacle at the burned village of Alta-tamak, ascended the cliffs on the opposite side, and surmounted them in a few minutes. Thus the first difficult step in advance was won, and the enemy brought within reach, where the coming encounter could be better equalized; and in this daring and difficult advance, none were so distinguished as the regiment of Zouaves, which General Bosquet had thrown out to commence it. These hardy, sun-burnt soldiers from Algeria, conspicuous not

more by their bizarre Asiatic dress than their agility and courage, rushed through the river, bounded up the cliffs on the opposite side like antelopes, swinging themselves upward by the branches of trees and brushwood, alternately appearing for a moment and vanishing, until they were seen upon the high plateau, falling into regular line, and ready to advance against the fire that was opened upon them. And gallantly they maintained their ground, while the main body of the French under Prince Napoleon and General Canrobert were advancing to their assistance. The main body under these commanders, after crossing the river, gained a pathway leading to the plateau, but so steep and rugged, that it was only by extraordinary exertions that their artillery could be dragged up: but no



and the prestige they had acquired in passive and defensive warfare, was also taken into account; and it was known that thus posted, they could not be dislodged without a deadly struggle and fearful sacrifice. The delay of the British advance, the march of the French troops along the shore, and the necessity of reconnoitring the Russian position, prevented Bosquet from leading his division to the attack until it was nearly one o'clock P.M.; but when it was commenced, it was with a spirit and energy that made up for the loss of time. Marching to the mouth of the river, which had been cleared of the presence of the enemy by the guns of the steamers, the brigade of General Brouat crossed the Alma by a sand-bank, the only point at that part where the water was fordable, the men wading up to their waists, and afterwards climbing up the steep paths to the opposite height, where the Russians were ready to receive them. At the same time, the brigade of D'Autemarre

sooner had it arrived, than it was brought forward to the support of the Zouaves, who were still battling gallantly, although almost overpowered by numbers. In ranks, and in fragments of ranks, the rest of the division scrambled up as they best could; and once arrived, General Bosquet quickly formed them into line, and led them to the attack. It was marvellous that such progress had been made with so little opposition—that the well-planted batteries of the Russians had been so silent—that the French had met no interruption as their broken ranks winded upward with difficulty through these steep, rugged ravines, that had been hollowed out by the torrents of ages, and which could have been so easily defended. But the plan of resistance adopted by the Russian commander, Prince Menschikoff, which was confident to rashness, made him neglect these advantages, and leave them open to the assailants. His purpose was, to allow a sufficient number of their bat-

talions to gain the edge, and this done, to charge them before they could form, and hurl them down at the point of the bayonet. But he had not sufficiently reckoned upon the rapidity of French movements, and the extraordinary activity of the Zouaves, until he found them established with their guns in battery, and ready to dispute the ground with him upon equal terms.

It was now therefore that the conflict was commenced in earnest, where rapid movements and desperate efforts were enveloped in the smoke and flame of the artillery. Finding his plan frustrated, and his left about to be turned, Prince Menschikoff brought up whole masses of foot and artillery to support it; but the division Bosquet had already entered into action; the divisions Canrobert and Napoleon were advancing, and bearing down the obstacles that opposed them, according to the terse order of St. Arnaud, "Keep straight before you, and follow your own inspiration for your manœuvres. we must gain these heights: I have no other instructions to give to men on whom I rely." The three divisions were at last established on the plateau, after each had fought and won its way over local obstacles, and confronting troops and batteries, and all were now ready to bear down upon the enemy with a combined attack. This made Menschi-



RUSSIAN REGULAR TROOPS—From sketches by W. Timm.

1, Grenadier of the regiment of the guard of the Emperor Paul. 2, Chasseur of the guard. 3, Rifle of the guard. 4, Grenadier of the horse guard. 5, Hussar. 6, Hussar.

koff anxious for his centre, which this junction menaced; and in consequence of his arrangements to strengthen it, M. St. Arnaud sent orders to his reserve to advance in two divisions, one to the support of Canrobert, and the other to proceed to the

extreme right of the battle. The reserve accordingly crossed the river, and took their appointed places in the conflict. A telegraph tower was used by the Russians as the key of the centre of



RUSSIAN IRREGULAR TROOPS—From sketches by V. Timm

1, A Lezghian. 2, A Dnieper Cossack. 3, A Circassian in full dress. 4, A Tartar Cossack of the Crimea. 5, A Cossack of line of Caucasus. 6, A Cossack of Orenburg.

their position; and from the batteries on its flanks, and the sharpshooters within its walls, a deadly fire was kept up, under which the French dropped rapidly, or betook themselves to cover, when the entrance of the reserves to their aid introduced an important change; they assailed the tower, carried it after a short and desperate resistance; and this advantage being seconded by General Canrobert with his division, the enemy's left and left-centre were fully put to the rout, or driven to the rear. The victory, so far as the French were concerned, was secured, and St. Arnaud, after congratulating his generals, directed their attention to the English, who might now need their aid. But no such help was required; the English had already done their part, and after similar struggles were to be equally victorious.

According to the plan of battle concerted between the allied commanders, the British were not to commence their onset until the French should have gained the heights, and turned the Russian left. They waited accordingly until the French had established themselves on the plateau, being partly concealed from the enemy by the smoke of the burning village, and the trees on the river bank. It was an unwilling halt on their part, more especially as the sound of the cannonade deepened, and the tokens of the distant struggle came nigher, until a body of the French marines came in contact with their lines, while hastening forward in support of their countrymen. Their impatience for action was gratified sooner than was intended; for Marshal

St. Arnaud finding more resistance than he had expected—that batteries were multiplying on his front and flank, and fresh columns of infantry brought against him, sent in all haste to Lord Raglan, requesting him to advance without further delay. The message, although it disconcerted the original plan, was not unwelcome, and the British commander gave orders to advance. No sooner had his troops emerged into full view near the bank of the river, than the Russian batteries on the slope met them with a destructive fire, and their tirailleurs opened upon them a heavy discharge of rifles; but they pressed on like a torrent, sending volley after volley before them, that drove the tirailleurs across the river, and inflicted serious loss upon the batteries on the heights. Under cover of this fire, the Alma was crossed, the extreme left of the French reached, and every obstacle of the river banks, the vineyards, and the felled trees surmounted, although these difficulties seemed insurmountable, defended obstinately as they were by the enemy, and not relinquished without a series of obstinate struggles, under which the British more than once were obliged to lie down for shelter from the destructive fire of the Russian batteries. But forward and upward they still continued to press, although their comrades were falling at every step; and three regiments, the 7th, 23d, and 33d, reached the earthwork from which they had been cannonaded, but were there obliged to fall back before a heavy reversing fire of Russian infantry. Their difficulty was increased by mistaking a Russian column descending the hill against them for French troops, under which impression they ceased from firing, until an overwhelming volley from their opponents convinced them of their mistake. But the check was only momentary; the Duke of Cambridge had crossed the river, and arrived in time to support them, while a splendid charge of the foot-guards under Major-general Bentinck gained possession of the earthwork.

The heat of battle had now reached its height; the tug of war was equal on both sides, when the Highland brigade under Major-general Sir Colin Campbell advanced up the high ground to the left, in co-operation with the guards, and General Pennefather's brigade connected with the right of the light division. The conduct of these plaided warriors was worthy of their well-established fame. They drew up as if they had been ruled by machinery; at the signal to move, they marched at charging step into the hottest of the fire; their destructive volleys and onward progress were heard far in advance of their companions; and wherever the fire was heaviest during the whole of that eventful day, their deeds and bold bearing were marked and admired. Before their on-

set and that of the light division, the Russians were driven from their choice position which they had defended with so much obstinacy. But two solid squares still kept their ground, and would have tried the courage of our exhausted troops, had not two guns, by order of Lord Raglan, been placed on a commanding point, and brought to bear against them, by the fire of which the squares were torn asunder, and scattered over the hills. Flight indeed was soon becoming general among the Russians, notwithstanding the attempts of their officers to check them; and where they tried to rally, it was only to be driven back with fresh loss before the resistless progress of the British, who continued their advance, until the broken ranks of their opponents were mingled *pêle mêle* with their defeated left wing that was pursued by the victorious French, and their centre, which was fast withdrawing from the contest. The Russian cavalry, that had behaved indifferently during the action, now interposed, and the enemy, although so completely beaten over the whole field of battle, conducted their retreat in order, so that only two of their guns were left as trophies to the conquerors. Such was the battle of Alma, that lasted three hours, during two of which the British were engaged, although they had been eleven hours under arms. Of the numbers engaged on both sides, that of the Russians of every arm did not exceed 40,000, while that of the allies was above 50,000, but of these last, about 20,000 were not in action, and considering the strength of the Russian position, the odds were greatly against them. So signal a victory could not be won without a heavy price, and the allies had 619 killed, and 2860 wounded, of which the greater share fell to the British, who had more serious difficulties to surmount, and a sterner opposition to encounter. The loss of the Russians was estimated at more than 8000; but of prisoners, only 900 were taken, the allied cavalry being kept warily in hand, instead of being let loose in pursuit, on account of the superiority of the Russians in that arm of warfare. The disadvantages under which our troops so bravely conducted themselves, and wrested success into their own possession where it would otherwise have seemed impossible, were thus simply and truthfully set forth in the despatch of Lord Raglan:—"When it is considered that they have suffered severely from sickness during the last two months; that since they landed in the Crimea they have been exposed to the extremes of wet, cold, and heat; that the daily toil to provide themselves with water has been excessive, and that they have been pursued by cholera to the very battle-field, I do not go beyond the truth in declaring that they merit the highest commendation."

A great victory was thus won at Alma—a name that henceforth will be memorable in history. To improve this victory, it was thought that nothing more was needed than to pursue the flying enemy, and complete their destruction—to descend upon Sebastopol—to enter and take possession before the first panic had abated. But for such prompt conclusions, which seemed so natural to civilians, the allies were unfitted by the late sickness with which they had been wasted, by their want of cavalry and gunpowder, by their ignorance of the country in which they were still obliged to grope their way, and by the strength of the enemy, who, though defeated, had already given proof that they were not to be too closely followed with impunity. A more humane and necessary task was adopted of attending to the sick and wounded; and as the village had been burned down, they had to be removed to the ships. The same service was performed for the wounded Russians; and although two days were spent in this charitable duty, the whole could not be overtaken, so that 750 wounded soldiers of the enemy had to be left on shore, in an extemporized hospital, under the care of Dr. Thomson, who devoted himself to this noble self-denying office, and afterwards fell its victim. Thus the march from Alma did not commence till the 23d of September, and its course was to the north side of Sebastopol. On that evening the allied armies halted at Katcha, the alluring valley of which was plentifully studded with vineyards and gardens of rich fruits, which our soldiers, though still continuing to suffer from cholera and dysentery, did not leave untasted. Here, also, the armies were reinforced by the arrival of troops from home the French to the number of 7000 or 8000, and the British with the Scots Greys and 57th regiment, who were landed at the mouth of the Katcha on the 23d. On the following day (24th) they encamped on the right bank of the Belbek, at about six miles' distance from Katcha. But the plan of attacking Sebastopol upon the northern side had to be abandoned, as it was ascertained that strong batteries had been erected along the north-west of the harbour, and that these, in conjunction with the Star Fort and Fort Constantine would cause both danger and loss to such an attempt. The design was therefore changed for one suggested by Sir John Burgoyne: this was, a prompt flank movement on Balaklava, by which we should turn and neutralize the effect of these batteries, secure a new base of operations instead of that of the Katcha, and distract the enemy by an attack upon a part of the town where they were weakest, and where the danger had been least apprehended. From Belbek the march was accordingly directed towards the south-east on the Black River, al-

though it was a course both difficult and dangerous, and where the enemy, by a spirited attack, especially where our troops rounded the harbour, might have inflicted upon them a heavy loss. At times, too, glimpses of Sebastopol could be caught from the hill-tops in the bright sunshine. During this march, the French commander-in-chief died, worn out by the effects of cholera, by which he had been attacked at Varna, and was succeeded by General Canrobert, his second in command. It was the aim of the allied armies to reach Balaklava as soon as possible, and while hastily pressing onward for this purpose, they all but entered into a fresh battle with the enemy. After his defeat at Alma, Prince Menschikoff had retreated to the valley of the Tchernaya, from which he made a flank movement to Simpheropol; but on the way, his rear-guard fell in with the advancing columns of the allies. It was a most unexpected meeting and an awkward collision, which occurred at a place afterwards well known under the name of Mackenzie's Farm; but it ended in nothing more than the capture of a considerable quantity of baggage, which the Russians were glad to leave behind them in their retreat. On the 26th our armies reached Balaklava, which they forthwith established as their new base of operations, the French occupying the valley to the north of that town, with the sea on their flank, while the English took up their position inland, the post of danger and of honour. As the harbour of Balaklava was too small to hold the fleets of both armies, it was occupied by the British ships, those of France being stationed in Kamiesch Bay, an inlet in Cape Chersonese.

Sebastopol, around which the interest of the war was now to be concentrated, was originally nothing more than an insignificant Tartar village, under the name of Akhtiar, until 1780, when the Empress Catherine commenced, and her successors Alexander and Nicholas carried out, those improvements by which it became a great and beautiful city, and the chief naval arsenal of the Russian empire. It was more than a mile in length and three-quarters of a mile in breadth, and occupied for its site part of the peninsula on the south side of the roadstead of the same name, and rose from the shore in the form of an amphitheatre. Its basin, dry docks, and quays, in the construction of which engineering science had conquered the obstacles or supplied the deficiencies of nature, and its government warehouses and magazines of immense and solid structure, attested the great political importance of the place, and marked it out as a vital part of the empire at which a death-blow might be aimed by a bold enterprising enemy. And adequate to its importance were the numerous strong defences which had been erected for its protec-

tion both by land and sea. On the south, the port was defended by six principal batteries, each mounting from 50 to 190 guns; on the north were four batteries, mounting from 18 to 120 pieces; and besides these were several smaller batteries. Before the war commenced, 850 pieces of artillery guarded the port, of which

350 could be brought to bear upon a single ship entering the bay; but during the siege these were multiplied to an indefinite amount. By land, the original defences were by no means so formidable; but these were improved and multiplied with incredible rapidity as necessity and the changes of attack required, so that, almost daily,



new earthworks were constructed and fresh guns planted; and from these, at the very commencement of the siege, no fewer than 25,000 rounds were fired before our batteries opened upon them. Such was the place which people at home ignorantly imagined would be taken by a *coup de main*! "The position occupied by the enemy," wrote Lord Raglan in one of his despatches, "is not that of a fortress, but rather that of an army in an entrenched camp on very strong ground, where an apparently unlimited number of heavy guns, amply provided with gunners and ammunition, are mounted." It must also be kept in mind that while the allied armies had no covering force to protect them—that while their whole existence was staked upon the alternative of success or defeat—there was within the city an army nearly as numerous as the assailants, and on the outside, another more numerous still under the command of Prince Menschikoff.

On the 7th of October, the investment of Sebastopol was formally commenced by the erection of a line of earthworks on the side of Balaklava; and those of the English being completed by the

12th, were intrusted to the keeping of General Sir Colin Campbell, with the 93d Highlanders, reinforced by 3000 Turkish irregulars. The French works were of fully greater strength and extent, owing to the superior facilities of the ground, and their possession of the Woronzoff road. When the batteries were finished, those of the English overlooked Sebastopol, while those of the French were on a level with its defences. The encampment of the allies was a high bare plateau, sloping gradually on the north to Sebastopol, and on the west to Cape Chersonese; and as they had to retain possession of the harbour of Balaklava, where our shipping was stationed, and from which we were to derive our provisions and military stores, the lines had to be too far extended in that direction, leaving them in many places considerably weakened. On the 17th of October, at half-past six o'clock in the morning, the bombardment of Sebastopol was commenced by the French and British batteries, and by their ships in the harbour, for the attack was to be continued at the same time, and without pause, both by land and sea; but so ready were the Russians for the encounter, that they had anticipated

us by half an hour, and with such a cannonade as showed that they were superior to their assailants both in the calibre and number of their guns, which were also admirably served. The

mid-day a still worse explosion occurred in their lines, so that their fire had to be suspended during the rest of the day. On the side of the British the cannonade was maintained incessantly for seven or eight hours against the Redan battery, and the round tower with which it was connected. The latter being built of stone, was the first to be knocked to pieces; but the Redan being of earth, suffered little damage, except an explosion between two and three in the afternoon, by which it was supposed to be silenced for ever, so tremendous was the shock and din; but such of its artillerymen as survived returned to the charge, and kept up their fire with scarcely diminished vigour until night, when the destructive thunder on both sides was closed by mutual consent.

While thus it fared with the land attack, that from the sea was equally unsatisfactory. By agreement, the French squadron commenced by bombarding the Quarantine battery, the Artillery battery, and Fort Alexander on the south side; while the British reserved for their share Fort Constantine, the Telegraph battery, and the Wasp on the north. But as the ships neared their appointed stations, they found difficulties in their way, against which even naval warfare by steam was unable to contend upon equal terms. Although the water was deep enough at the mouth of the harbour, and in the passage leading to the mouth, there was on either side a long shoal, too narrow to allow even one half of the French and English ships to take up their position near the walls, so that many of the more distant were shut out from action. With a rare instance of self-sacrifice, the Russians had also blocked up the entrance to Sebastopol, by sinking five ships of the line and two frigates, so that a bar was interposed to the close co-operation of the fleet with the armies while both were engaged in action. These impediments, with the shallowness of the water inwards, not only prevented the close approach of the vessels, where



THE DOCKYARD CREEK AND TOWN OF SEBASTOPOL.—From Lieut.-Colonel Andrews' Views in Turkey and the Crimea

effects of this superiority against the land attack began to manifest themselves among the French works nearest the town; for after two hours one of their powder magazines blew up, and after

their broadsides would have been most available against the forts, but kept them at such a distance as made them more distinct marks for the enemy's fire. All and each of these obstacles now

¹ The buildings on the right are the barracks of the Karabelnaia, which are handsome, and of white stone. On the opposite side of the creek is Fort Nicholas, to the left you see the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the extreme left the theatre, underneath, near the water's edge, are government sheds connected with the dockyard. The extreme distance is

the north side of the harbour, held by the Russians; Fort Catherine is close to the water. The bridge by which the Russians retreated to the north side ran from the near end of Fort Nicholas to Fort Catherine. The mouth of the harbour is a little to the left of the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul.—Lieut.-Colonel Andrews' Views in Turkey and the Crimea.

told with fearful effect. The roar of the broadsides from the shipping, and the heavy discharges of the forts that answered them, rose high above the deafening din of the cannonade on land, and was continued till evening; and when sunset arrived, at which the fleets retired, they had been so effectually mauled, that eight ships of the line, two English and six French, had to be sent home for repairs. The English had 44 killed and 266 wounded; the French, 30 and 164. Of the Russians, about 500 were killed and wounded; but the result had filled them with confidence, by showing the completeness of their defences, and how successfully they could defend themselves against attacks by sea: not a breach had been made in their batteries, nor a single wall dismantled, although they were marked and dented as thickly with cannon-balls, as buildings with the large rain-drops of a commencing thunder-shower.

After this unsatisfactory attempt, the partial investment of Sebastopol was continued in the form of an ordinary siege, and with various results. The French renewed their batteries, and pushed them somewhat forward in advance, and the English continued their fire on the southern front of Sebastopol; but both they and their allies were deficient, not only in weight of artillery but supplies of gunpowder. Our siege train consisted only of sixty guns, including mortars, all of them decidedly inferior in calibre to those of the Russians; while the French guns, which were of brass, and equally inferior, could make little impression on the strong ramparts and earthworks upon which their fire was brought to bear. So defective were we in these, that to arm our three batteries with their proper complement, we were obliged to strip our ships, and leave them half defenceless. It was unfortunate both for France and England, that to them the Crimean territory had hitherto been a *terra incognita*; and for the soldiers of both countries, that they had been sent forth, under the idea that they had only to summon the town to surrender, or advance upon its walls at the *pas de charge*. These walls were not of pipe-clay painted into an imitation of stone, or ramparts of lath and canvas for a mere melodramatic display, as we had been told that so many of the Russian defences were; and when the tidings reached our army from home, through the English newspapers, that they had already taken Sebastopol, it was like a bitter mockery, intended to aggravate their sufferings, which were already severe enough. Provisions were scarce, and could only be obtained at the dearest rate. Under these privations, combined with wounds, excessive toil, and sickness, disabilities were so prevalent that out of our 35,600 men, not more than 16,500 rank and file were fit for service. And yet—Why had we not taken Sebastopol?

Thus matters continued until the 25th of October, when the Russian army of observation resolved to make a decisive attempt for the relief of the city. It had commenced its movements for this purpose five days earlier, upon the right bank of the Tchernaya; and although rumours were prevalent that its battalions were crossing the river, and had been joined by the force under General Liprandi, newly arrived from the principalities on the Danube, these rumours had been disregarded. The Russian commanders, after a careful exploration for several days, had been confident that they could drive the allied army from their strong position at Balaklava, and place them between their own fire and that of Sebastopol; and they selected that part of our lines upon which the Turks were encamped, as being the weakest. It consisted of four conical hillocks in a right line across the valley beneath, upon which the Turks had thrown up as many earthen redoubts, each being defended by 250 men, and two or three heavy ship guns supplied by our fleet, with a gunner in each fort to work them. Upon this point, and these weakly manned redoubts, the Russians brought up during the night a battery of heavy guns, which were planted upon the opposite ridge; and at day-break, on the morning of the 25th, they opened a heavy fire, but with little effect. It was not here, however, that the chief danger lay, except in diverting the attention of the assailed; for at the eastern end of the valley Liprandi's *corps d'armée* was drawn up in order of battle, having its strong reserve on the Simpheropol road, and soon after, a large body of Russian cavalry advanced steadily down the valley, while a column of their infantry moved along the foot of the hill towards the Turkish redoubt No. 1. On finding themselves attacked in such force, after firing a few rounds the Turks fled in dismay, and were soon followed by those of the redoubts Nos. 2 and 3, who went off in such a hurry, that they did not wait to spike their guns, which were turned against them in their flight. Only the fourth redoubt, which was manned by British soldiers, but most of them invalids, was left unassailed.

Thus far the enemy had succeeded, and the chance of the British lines was perilous in the extreme. The next attack would be upon themselves, for which they were ill provided by the sudden defection of their Turkish allies; and could the Russians but reach the ground overhanging the harbour, our magazines and stores, and also our shipping, would soon be in a blaze. But fortunately a few minutes of time were left to prevent the surprise from being a successful one, for at half-past seven o'clock in the morning, an orderly came at full gallop to the head-quarters of

Sir Colin Campbell, with tidings of the attack on the redoubts. The news was quickly spread abroad, and the troops of both allied armies were speedily set in motion. Sir George Cathcart and the Duke of Cambridge were ordered by Lord Raglan to march their respective divisions, the fourth and first, to the scene of action, while General Canrobert, the French commander-in-chief, sent General Bosquet with his third division to assist the British in holding the valley. As for Balaklava, its defence was promptly looked after by Sir Colin Campbell, who stationed the 93d Highlanders drawn up in line in front of the road leading to the town. And even these preparations, quick and bold though they were, would be scarcely enough for the occasion. Six large masses of Russian infantry were seen marching up the valley in complete order, with a regular line of twenty pieces of artillery in their front; about a mile in advance of them were two batteries of light guns playing upon the redoubts; and behind them, in front of the infantry, were enormous bodies of cavalry. It was a fearful advance, in which war seemed to assume all its grandeur and solemnity as well as its terrors, and all its promise of devastation and victory.

The Turks, when they had been driven from the redoubts, had fled towards the Highlanders, upon the flanks of whom they rallied and formed themselves into companies. The Russian cavalry advancing in pursuit, perceived, when they had gained the hill across the valley, that the Highlanders were drawn up at the distance of half a mile ready to receive them, upon which they checked their advance until squadron after squadron had come up to join them. On being reinforced to the number of about 3500 men, they made a terrible and general charge towards Balaklava. It seemed as if nothing could resist that torrent: the Turks fired a second volley, and again fled; and down came the whole inundation of lancers, dragoons, hussars, and artillery upon the 93d, who instead of being thrown into squares, were only drawn up in a line of not more than two deep to receive them. It looked as if that coming charge of cavalry would snap the line asunder like a thread, and the onlookers held their breath in suspense; but before the enemy had

come within 250 yards, a close volley from the Highland rifles emptied the saddles of the assailants by scores, and brought the whole body to a sudden pause: they wavered, opened their files to right and left, and fled in fear of another such destructive welcome. "Bravo, Highlanders; well done!" rang from the excited spectators over the field. On perceiving that the intention of the Russians was to attack Balaklava, Lord



Raglan had ordered out the Scots Greys and Inniskillens dragoons, under Lord Lucan, and scarcely had they moved from their quarters, than they saw the advance of a large body of the enemy's cavalry. It was a bold resolution to attack them, for their opponents were evidently the *élite* of the Russian horse, and outnumbered them by more than four to one. At the prospect of that ominous meeting there was a pause of expectation and wonder among the allied armies, and both officers and soldiers gazed at this awful preparation as for a gladiatorial spectacle. The Russians came on in confidence down the hill, for they despised the fewness of their opponents; but it was only for a moment: the Scots Greys and Inniskillens charged their centre, which they broke right through; they plunged into the mass, where they disappeared; and "God help them, they are lost!" was the cry that burst from many a sympathizing spectator. But again they re-appeared, although with diminished numbers, and charged the second

line of the enemy as boldly as they had done the first. It was too much: the Russians were rallying, closing upon them, and might have overwhelmed them by the weight of numbers, when the 4th and 5th dragoon guards came down to their assistance, scattered with a single charge the Russian first line before it could form anew, and completed the defeat which the Inniskillens and Greys had commenced. At this triumphant close of the deadly drama, there was clapping of hands, shouting, and waving of caps among the spectators, who would gladly have shared in all the dangers of such a contest, to partake of its triumphs. It was most gratifying also to find that this chivalrous enterprise cost so little, for not more than four or five men were killed and thirty wounded among the victors of this unequal encounter.

And now came the most mournful, yet most brilliant episode of this eventful engagement. One of the four captured redoubts had been recovered from the enemy. On seeing a stir in the second of these, Lord Raglan imagined that the Russians were removing the captured guns from it, and with a view of preventing them, he sent a written order to Lord Lucan, the commander of our cavalry, to advance, and pursue the enemy in their retreat. The order was conveyed by Captain Nolan of the 15th hussars, one of the most gallant, noble-hearted, and accomplished officers in the British service. But during the short ride of Captain Nolan, such a change had occurred in the Russian movements as Lord Raglan could not have foreseen, and through which his order, that might have been at first of easy execution, was now changed into one of extreme rashness, if not utter impossibility. Nolan delivered his order—a written order—and the Earl of Lucan, notwithstanding the altered state of affairs, had no alternative but implicit military obedience. He might indeed have interpreted it according to the change of circumstances, and taken upon himself the responsibility of proving that compliance was impossible; and even this was gently hinted at in the despatch of Lord Raglan:—"From some misconception of the instruction to advance, the lieutenant-general considered that he was bound to attack at *all hazards*." As it was, Lord Lucan ordered Major-general the Earl of Cardigan to move forward with the light brigade of cavalry. And to overtake and charge what?—not an encumbered corps in hasty retreat, but an army drawn up to receive them. It was the main body of Liprandi's *corps d'armée* who were waiting them at the bottom of the valley, with the batteries of the two redoubts in their advance; with an additional battery which they had established on the Tchernaya ridge; and with the steep sides of the hills that flanked the valley

lined with riflemen supported by strong columns of infantry. And an army thus advantageously posted was to be attacked by 600 British light horse! Officers and men saw that such an onset was certain destruction, but how could it be avoided? The order of the commander-in-chief was imperative in the following words:—"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns; troops of horse artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate." "Forward!" was the word, and the light brigade began to charge through that valley—the Valley of the Shadow of Death. At first, they were accompanied by the heavy brigade; but the latter, after they had rode a little way, were halted as a support beyond the reach of the enemy's fire, and the light brigade went on alone. On their left flank, and considerably in advance, as leader of the charge, was Captain Nolan, the bearer of the fatal order; but while he cheered his gallant followers, his arm suddenly fell, and his bold shout was exchanged into a death-shriek; for the fragment of a Russian shell had struck him to the heart, and he was dead in an instant. Still onward went the light brigade, increasing their speed and impetus as they neared the enemy; but at the distance of 1200 yards, the fire of thirty cannon was opened upon them; the balls made fearful gaps as they swept through their ranks; and it was with greatly diminished numbers, though unabated spirit, that they reached the steel rampart through the heavy rolling fire of the hostile infantry. Without a moment's halt they plunged into this fatal volcano, and were hid in a moment from the sight of their friends, who wondered at their heroism, and gave them up for lost; but still pressing on, they bore down and cut through the ranks of the enemy in their advance, until they had swept through the whole of that army from front to rear. The French and English who gazed from the ridge, had been astonished at such a charge of cavalry upon infantry, and still more, to see them emerge at the rear of their opponents, waving their red swords in triumph. But the fire of the batteries, the thick volleys of musketry, and the desperate hand-to-hand struggle with which every step of their progress had been accompanied, told fearfully upon their numbers: many a horse was masterless, and many who still survived, reeled wounded in their saddles. But there was no time for pause or reflection: they must return; and in returning, they must confront anew the fiery ordeal through which they had already passed. They wheeled, and re-entered that gap of death, which once more closed upon them, and from which they never would have escaped, had not an opportune res-

cue arrived. We have already mentioned that the heavy brigade, the heroes of the earlier part of the battle, had been drawn out as a support to the squadron employed in the charge; but they had been kept back, as it was soon perceived that their entrance into action would only deepen our loss. For such service, light cavalry was the most available, and this necessary aid was promptly afforded by our gallant allies, the French. Seeing the danger of our light brigade, General Bosquet sent his corps of chasseurs d'Afrique to silence the battery on the Tchernaya ridge, by the fire of which our troops would have to pass in their return. And most gallantly was this good office performed by a single squadron of the corps of chasseurs, which was all that could be spared to charge the Russian artillery. Animated by the spirit and example of those to whose rescue they so readily hurried, this handful dashed through and over every obstacle, and swept the battery of its defenders, maintaining their position against a heavy cannonade, until the relics of our light brigade had once more emerged from their deadly struggle. It was this generous

interposition which in all probability saved them from entire destruction. But of the 600 of our gallant heroes who had entered into this most unequal and perilous encounter, little more than 200 returned. Yet, although it was a rash mistake, or complication of mistakes, that sent these brave men to certain death, they did not die in vain. It supported to the very height the prestige of British valour, which, after so long a peace throughout Europe, was shown to have suffered no diminution or decay. It daunted the subsequent efforts of the Russians, by teaching them with what kind of enemy they had now to deal. And better than all, when a deed of brave devotedness will be required of British soldiers, their arms will be nerved and their hearts animated by the narratives that have been handed down to them of this terrible charge of Balaklava.

The battle was now ended so far as actual fighting was concerned. The Russians, having failed in the object of their attack, retired to their old position; while the allied armies, satisfied

with this advantage, gave them no further molestation. As for the four redoubts, two of which were still in possession of the enemy, but might easily have been recovered, it was resolved to leave the whole in their possession, as the Turks had shown themselves unable to defend them, and as their occupation demanded too great an extension of the British lines. It was judged more expedient to withdraw from that range of heights, and to concentrate our forces immediately in front of the narrow valley leading to the port and into Balaklava, and on the precipitous heights



THE HARBOUR OF BALAKLAVA from the Genoese Castle
1854 a drawing by James Newlands, C.B. (March 14, 1855)

on the right—having thus a narrower and easier line of defence, and keeping Balaklava and the communication with it open by the westerly and southerly heights behind our camp. Here our troops were to be reinforced by a strong body of seamen from the British fleet, and if need should occur, by some French regiments. As for the Turkish troops, who had no longer the redoubts to maintain, they were to be converted into labourers, and employed in constructing breast-works and defences, which, when completed, would inclose and secure our occupation of Balaklava.

In the meantime, there was glee and triumph in Sebastopol, when the guns captured from our redoubts were drawn into the city; it was reported that the army without had gained a great victory over the allies, of which these were the trophies; and there was ringing of bells and firing of cannon to celebrate the event. But this was not enough, and the garrison resolved to complete the chastisement of their foes by a sally from the town. Accordingly, on the following

morning (the 26th of October), several columns of infantry, accompanied by artillery and cavalry, composing a force of between 6000 and 7000 men, were seen to issue from Sebastopol. At first it was thought that they were going to join Liprandi's corps, by the road through the Inkermann valley; but instead of proceeding forward, they suddenly turned to the right, ascended the hills, and appeared on the ridge which overlooked the camp of the second division commanded by Sir de Lacy Evans. But he had been expecting some such attack, and was prepared to encounter it. The Russians came rapidly down from the hill, and suddenly fell upon the pickets of the 30th and 49th regiments; but this brave handful opposed such a resistance to their advance, that Sir de Lacy had time to draw up his lines in advance of the camp; and when the sound of the enemy's cannonade was heard, he was reinforced by the Duke of Cambridge with the brigade of guards, and by General Bosquet with five French battalions. At the same time, eighteen guns were placed in position, which opened a deadly fire upon the coming enemy; and after their artillery was silenced and driven off the field, the cannonade was directed against their infantry. This unexpected reception staggered them, and on the charge of our regiments with the bayonet, their rout was complete; they were chased over the ridges, and down towards the head of the bay, while our soldiers pursued them with such ardour that for some time it was difficult to recal them. After the Russians had lost 600 in killed and wounded by this inglorious attempt, they were fain to hurry back to the shelter of the town. This success was the more glorious to the victors, as it was by the second division alone, who scarcely mustered 1200, that the whole was achieved, the reinforcements of guards and French battalions who came to their assistance having taken no share in the encounter.

The siege of Sebastopol still continued to be pressed with vigour, and with alternate changes of failure and success; and as fast as a battery was dismantled or wall thrown down, fresh earthworks were constructed, and new guns mounted, while the obstinacy of the defence remained unabated. Far indeed from taking the city, it was much that the allies could maintain their ground, with such formidable fortresses opposed to them on one side, and so strong an army encamped against them on the other; and though our troops had won honour in every encounter in the field, these battles had been attended with no practical results. Thus matters continued until the close of October, when the confidence of the Russians was so increased, that they hoped nothing less than to raise the siege, and annihilate their antagonists. For this

important crisis, indeed, they had been for some time in preparation. Sebastopol although besieged had never been invested, and from Perekop, the base of Russian operations, which was perfectly open, the town was reinforced with troops, artillery, and provisions. At the same time, their forces which had been set free by the Austrian occupation of the Danubian provinces were conveyed to the Crimea, and 50,000 men were collected and impatient for action upon the heights of Inkermann. The time had arrived when the besieging armies were to be crushed between the resistless close of the city and its defenders from without. Such was the calculation of Prince Menschikoff, the Russian commander, and from the heights of Inkermann he wrote the following confident letter to the czar:—"A terrible calamity impends over the invaders of your dominions. In a few days, they will perish by the sword, or be driven into the sea. Let your majesty send your sons here, that I may render up to them untouched the priceless treasure which your majesty has intrusted to my keeping." These hopes obtained full sympathy in the palace of St. Petersburg, and the emperor's two sons, the Archdukes Nicholas and Michael, were forthwith sent to the Crimea, to witness the promised downfall, and be invested with the honours of the victory.

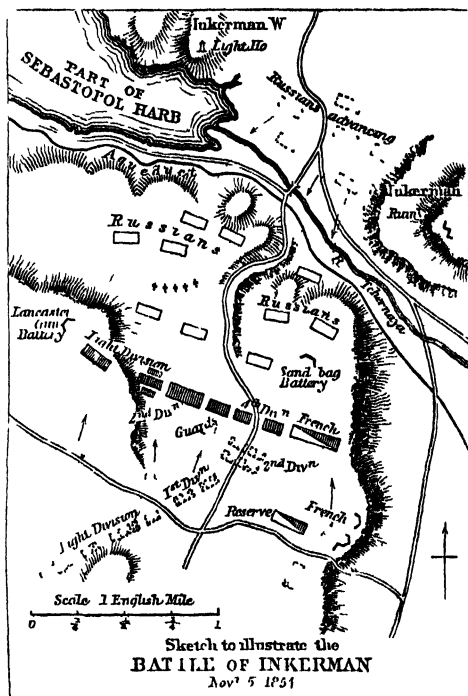
On the morning of the 5th of November, and at a very early hour, after a rainy night, and while the air was still darkened with vapour, the ringing of church bells and singing of psalms were heard in Sebastopol. This however excited little attention, as such sounds were not only the usual prelude of a military enterprise, but also the accompaniment of those numerous saints' days and festivals for which the Greek church is distinguished. But at a still earlier hour, other sounds might have been heard unconnected with religious worship. It was the low creak and rumble of heavy carriage-wheels along the valley, and it caught the vigilant ears of one of the sentries belonging to an outlying picket of the light division on the heights above. Had the man but given the alarm, the battle of Inkermann would have filled one of the brightest pages of French and English history; but thinking that it was nothing more than the usual passage of carts or waggons going to the town, he made no mention of it until after the battle. In this unsuspected manner, enormous masses of Russian troops and parks of artillery crept in darkness and silence up the rugged sides of the heights over the valley of Inkermann, and established themselves upon the undefended flank of the second division, whom they were soon to rouse with a deadly awakening.

This position, occupied by Sir de Lacy Evans, was the part of the allied encampment which

the Russians, from its importance and insecurity, had been always the most desirous to carry, and it was for this that the experiment had been made in the previous battle of Balaklava. That attempt, indeed, had been frustrated, but it had served their purpose so far as to make them fully acquainted with the defects of the position, and to suggest better modes of assailing it. "It must be observed (so writes our best historical authority of this war) that Sir de Lacy Evans had long been aware of the insecurity of this portion of our position, and had repeatedly pointed it out to those whose duty it was to guard against the dangers which threatened us. It was the only ground where we were exposed to surprise, for a number of ravines and unequal curves in the slope of the hill towards the valley lead up to the crest and summit, against the adverse side of which our right flank was resting without guns, entrenchments, abattis, or outlying defence of any kind. Every one admitted the truth of the representations addressed to the authorities on this subject; but indolence or a sense of false security led to indifference and procrastination. A battery was thrown up of sand-bags, gabions, and fascines, on the slope of the hill over Inkermann, on the east, but no guns were mounted there, for Sir de Lacy Evans, thinking that two guns in such a position, without any works to support them, would only invite attack and capture, caused them to be removed as soon as they had silenced the Light-house battery." This was but one of a series of improvident and unprofessional neglects which characterized our proceedings during the whole campaign, and for which we were now to pay a heavy penalty.

When the first faint dawn of light began to struggle through the gloom of that inclement morning of the 5th of November, some of our soldiers saw a body of Russians apparently unarmed on a hill above the western end of Sebastopol harbour, who pretended that they were deserters anxious to surrender themselves; but as soon as our picket advanced to receive them, an ambush darted upon them from behind the rocks, and made the whole party and their officer prisoners. Having thus prevented the alarm from being given, the Russians descended, but were recognized by the inner pickets, who threw themselves across their path, and the sound of firing that commenced gave warning to the regiments of the second division, who received the Russians with destructive volleys of their Menié rifles. But the Russian masses, unchecked by this resistance, came rolling onward like a tempest; their artillery opened upon the British from the ridge on which they had planted them, and at the same instant were seconded by the

cannons of Sebastopol, and of the ships lying within the harbour—while against these, the second division had neither adequate means for answer, nor places of cover. On front, flank, and rear they were plied with a heavy cannonade, seconded by clouds of skirmishers, who seemed to multiply at every point. To add to their



difficulties, their gallant and skilful commander, Sir de Lacy Evans, was stretched upon a bed of sickness; but happily, Brigadier-general Pennefather, upon whom the command had fallen, showed himself equal to the trial, while Sir de Lacy, sick though he was, hurried from his bed to the field, and although unable to resume the command, could animate his soldiers by his presence, and assist their leader with his counsels. The second division, that could not have long borne up against the overwhelming torrent, was quickly joined by the brigade of guards, who were nearest to the first point of attack; and foremost in the rescue were the grenadiers and Scots fusiliers, who hurried forward at the sound of the first shot. But it was around the Two-gun battery on the British right that the Russian attack was chiefly concentrated. In itself it was apparently worthless, for it was only made of sand-bags and fascines, and the guns had been removed; but the command which its occupation would give of the British position, made the enemy resolute to possess it at whatever cost—a resolution which was equally matched by that of our troops to re-

tain it. A picket of the 55th made it good, until they were driven out by an overwhelming attack; but the grenadiers and Scots fusiliers rushing forward, re-captured this Two-gun battery, as it was generally named, drove the Russians down the side of the steep hill, on a small spur of which the battery was planted, and being joined by the Coldstreams, made arrangements for holding it out to the last. Their resolution was to be tried; the Russians returned in greater numbers to the attack, and column after column ascended the steep, got upon the spur, and bore down with irresistible weight upon the right flank of the guards, whose numbers were greatly diminished and their gunpowder well-nigh exhausted; but they fought with their bayonets, and even with stones, which they hurled against the enemy, and being slightly reinforced with men and ammunition, they once more drove the enemy from the spur, losing two-thirds of their number in the effort. Never was any spot of a battle-field more fiercely contested or more gallantly maintained; it was known on both sides that the possession of this point would decide the issue of the battle, and during four hours and a half, the struggle was continued around it almost without intermission and with various fortunes, although the enemy in almost every case were as five or six to one of the British. They were also frantic with copious doses of brandy, which had been served out to them before the battle, and animated with fanaticism, having been taught by the emperor's proclamations, and the lessons of their priests, to regard this as a holy war in which Heaven was upon their side. But the guards, although repeatedly assailed and repulsed, as often returned and drove back the enemy, being resolved to perish to a man rather than abandon their post. And to this it would have come at last, had not fresh French troops arrived from General Bosquet's division to their aid. These allies took possession of the contested ground, and renewed with every promise of success the defence of the battery, upon which the relics of what had once been our gay and gallant guards resigned their charge, and drew up upon the rear of the right flank of our second division.

While the right of our position was so imperilled, a trial equally dangerous was going on upon the left, which was placed on the hill above the harbour, and separated by a deep ravine from the position occupied by our guards. Favoured by the ground that was broken and covered with brushwood, clouds of Russian skirmishers advanced, followed by heavy columns, and accompanied with the fire of their well-served artillery; and the troops of the second division, although joined by a brigade of the first, were borne back by the weight of the advance, until the enemy had

reached the very centre of the second's encampment. Here ensued a desperate hand-to-hand struggle, in which broken regiments were rallied, and guns captured and recaptured, but where numbers were likely to give victory to the Russians, animated as they were with a resolution to win or die—for had not a promise been sent to the emperor in their name, that they would preserve for him his fair city of Sebastopol? And were not his sons even now the onlookers and witnesses of their deeds? While the British positions were thus all but carried, by which the French and English armies would have been equally crushed or forced to surrender, it might be asked why our allies had been so slow in interposing, when their own safety was so deeply at stake. But no blame of remissness or want of cordiality can be attached to our gallant partners, who had their own difficulties to encounter. As might easily be supposed, it was part of the plan of the Russian generals to keep the French fully occupied, while the British position was assailed, even though the demonstration should be nothing more than a feigned attack. Accordingly, as soon as the first attack in the morning had been made upon our pickets, Liprandi's *corps d'armée* had crossed the valley of the Tchernaya, advanced to the foot of the heights, and commenced a fire upon the French, while they were opening a cannonade upon the rear of our lines. Judging that within this range the whole battle was to be comprised, General Bosquet had sent two battalions of his light infantry to aid in the defence of the British left, and after this was done, he thought that the danger in that quarter was over, more especially as the fire upon the rear of our lines had begun to slacken. But this change had only occurred to give time for the assault upon the British front, upon which the cannonade was commenced with a violence that taught him the real place and full amount of the danger. He boldly resolved to treat General Liprandi's advance as a mere feint; to leave his post for a time almost undefended, and hurry with the bulk of his troops to the spot where the call was most urgent. It was a fortunate resolution, and its magnanimity was well rewarded by the result, which was nothing less than the deliverance of both armies from ruin.

The first of the French who arrived to the rescue of the nearly overborne British were two troops of horse artillery and one field battery, which came up at full speed; these were followed by a regiment of Zouaves and one of Indigenes or Arabs, and finally Bosquet's troops of the line advanced with steady step. On the other hand, the Russians were equally on the alert, and one division after another came ra-

pidly through the ravines in the rear of our second division. The feints and manœuvres were thus terminated, the conflict had settled down into a single locality, and all that remained was a stand-up fight of regiment to regiment and man to man, where strength, courage, and endurance would decide the issue. It was well on such an occasion, fearfully outnumbered as they were, that the French and British were fighting side by side, each the witnesses of the other's prowess, and emulous to excel in this trial against a common foe. It was a strange and new war-spectacle, in which masses, distinguished by their several military costumes, glittered and shifted hither and thither like the gleaming flakes of the *aurora borealis*, and in which the steady advance and unbroken front of the British masses were contrasted with the apparently irregular but nimble and effective movements, the sudden approach and tiger-like spring of the Algerian Arabs and Zouaves. It was not to be wondered at if the Russians were bewildered by such various modes of resistance and onset—were borne down or compelled to recoil—and were at last fain to make a hasty retreat through the ravines from which they had issued. Over the whole field their columns were at last in full retreat, like waves that had spent their force, leaving behind them a wreck of the dead and dying at every receding step. They were beaten indeed, but still not subdued—slowly, reluctantly, and steadily they retired, while so careful were they of their military honour that they left not a single gun behind them; even the fragments of their gun-carriages they carefully gathered up under the heavy fire of our artillery and carried off with them, as if they would not leave a single trophy to the victors. It was well for them that the allies had no efficient cavalry to follow up their success, by which the retreat might have been changed into an utter rout; and more fortunate still that the Russian artillery upon the ridge still maintained its position to cover their retreating columns, and check the advance of the allies. The hand-to-hand fight was thus changed into a distant cannonade, in which fortune might have yet changed sides; for the Russian guns were greatly superior both in numbers and calibre to those of the allies, and served with admirable skill and perseverance. Their chief fire was upon the position of our second division, and with deadly effect, when Lord Raglan ordered two eighteen-pounders of our siege train to be brought up. It seemed all but impossible to drag such heavy pieces over the rough ground, and through the miry tracks that interposed, but the arduous feat was ably and quickly performed by the united strength of a multitude of men and horses; and the guns being placed in

position, their shot crashed through the Russian batteries, sweeping off their men and dismounting their guns at every discharge. They were obliged to retire their artillery to the top of



ZOUAVES—From the Illustrated London News

the hill, and finally to limber them up and withdraw them, leaving their retreating columns below to the fierce pursuit of the Indigenes and Zouaves.

Such were the chief movements of this victory of Inkermann; and they were thus briefly and distinctly described by General Canrobert on the same evening, in the account which he drew up:—"A great portion of the Russian army, favoured by the night and the fog, was enabled to establish itself, with powerful artillery, upon the heights which form the extreme right of our position. Two English divisions sustained an unequal fight with the invincible solidity which we know to be the characteristic of our allies, while a part of the Bosquet division, conducted by its worthy chief, came up to their support, and rushed upon the enemy with a boldness and intelligence to which I here render forcible homage. Eventually driven back into the valley of the Tchernaya, the enemy left upon the ground more than 4000 of his men killed or wounded, and carried away at least as many more during the battle." But while the main conflict was going on, other subsidiary attempts were made by the Russians against the allies, each of which had the relief of Sebastopol for its object. One of these, when the fight was at the hottest, was an attempt of General Soimonoff, with a large body of infantry and artillery, to turn the flank of the British, while our regiments were all but defeated in front. For this purpose, he ascended

the valley to the right of the five-gun battery, but was met mid-way by the first brigade of the light division and a small body of marines, under General Codrington, upon which Soimonoff, finding himself anticipated, and thinking his attempt not worth the risk, withdrew his troops from the encounter. Another and a more important movement was made about the same time from the town itself. A sortie of 5000 Russians, under cover of the mist, was made from Sebastopol, for the purpose of attacking the extreme left of the French lines, and had succeeded in capturing two French batteries by surprise before their object was discovered. But here they were attacked by General Forey, who commanded in that quarter, and after a short but sanguinary encounter were routed and driven back to the town. Their plan was well conceived, but for its success a greater force of men and artillery was needed, in which case they might have retained the two captured batteries, and seriously endangered the safety of the whole French left. But, indeed, it is difficult to give a special and scientific account of the whole of this battle of Inkermann: of manœuvring there was scarcely any, in consequence of the ruggedness of the ground, which did not permit such strategetic operations; and among the numerous ridges and ravines a multitude of encounters were going on simultaneously, which could only be heard by the fire of artillery and musketry, while the combatants themselves were hidden from the view of the commanders on both sides, and compelled to struggle upon their own account. Hence it is that this great affair of Inkermann has been called "the soldiers' battle." And well did it display the stuff of which the soldiers of the warring nations was made, and attest the supe-

riority of those of Britain and France above those of every other country. Even yet, however, they might have failed, and failed not ingloriously, considering the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Russians, but for several circumstances which enabled 8000 English and 6000 French to maintain a close fight against an enemy at least 50,000 strong, and in the end to prove victorious. These, according to the Russian statements, were the extensive use of the Menié rifle among the French and British regiments, the failure of Soimonoff's attempt upon the British flank, and the dilatory arrival of the Russian columns, that came up separately instead of simultaneously to battle, thus giving their opponents both leisure and warning for resistance. But more than these was the insufficient feint to occupy Bosquet, that ought to have been of a more formidable character, so as to prevent him from coming to the aid of the British, by which the fortune of the day was principally decided. But even allowing for every deduction, this victory of Inkermann was a glorious event for the united arms of France and Britain. It struck dismay into the heart of Russian ambition and presumption, and left the allies to turn their undivided efforts against the ramparts of Sebastopol. These results, important though they were at the time, may perhaps be as nothing compared with the prospective advantages that may accrue from it. If it permanently impresses the two lately reconciled nations with a conviction of their power when combined to aid the feeble, repress the strong and insolent, and advance the welfare of humanity at large, the world will have good cause to rejoice that such a battle was fought, and that such soldiers were the conquerors.

CHAPTER XIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1854—1855.

VICTORIA.

The encampment of the allied armies visited by a storm—Its wasteful effects by land and sea—Diseases and sufferings of our troops before Sebastopol—Their inadequate provisions and supplies—Exertions of benevolence at home in their behalf—Necessity of aid for the sick in the hospitals—Arrival of Miss Nightingale and the nurses—Their effectual services among the sick and wounded—Arrival of more nurses—Opening of the campaign of 1855—Strength of Sebastopol—Weakness of the army encamped against it—Great number of the sick and wounded—Death of the Czar Nicholas—Negotiation under his successor for peace—It is ineffectual—Unsuccessful attack of the Russians on Eupatoria—They take possession of a favourable ground in front of the Malakoff—Establishment of a fort and rifle-pits upon it—Contests between the Russians and allies for possession of the rifle pits—Fresh bombardment of Sebastopol by the allies—Its failure—Discontent at home from the delays in the siege—A new French commander-in-chief appointed—Expedition of the allies to Kertch—Destruction of Russian stores—Fresh attack upon Sebastopol—Its success upon the outworks—A decisive attack upon the town resolved—Plan of the attack—Fatal mistake at the commencement—Its disastrous failure—Particulars of the French attack—Failure of the British attack on the Redan—The British obtain possession of the Cemetery—Effects of this failure on the health of Lord Raglan—His death—He is succeeded by General Simpson—Attempt of the covering army under General Liprandi to raise the siege—Its attack upon the allied army at Tchernaya—Battle of Tchernaya—Defeat of the Russians—Decisive attempt of the allies upon Sebastopol—Capture of the Malakoff by the French—Failure of the British to take the Great Redan—Causes of the failure—The Russians resolve to evacuate Sebastopol—Heroism of their purpose—Their success in effecting it—They destroy their defences and military stores at their departure—Entrance of the allies into Sebastopol—Scenes of havoc and suffering in the town—Picture of the Russian sick and wounded in an hospital—The evacuating army entrenches itself in the neighbourhood—Successful expeditions of the allies by sea from the Crimea—Explosion of their gunpowder magazine—Symptoms of approaching peace.



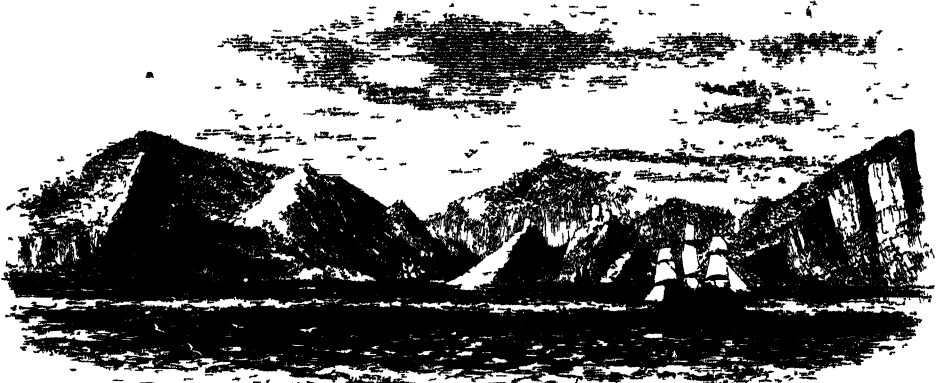
AFTER the battle of Inkermann, the Russian army was so appalled by the unexpected and humbling result that it made no further hostile demonstration; while the allies, on their part, suspended active operations until they should be reinforced by troops that were expected from France and Britain. They were proud, and with justice, of the signal victory they had gained, and felt as if no resistance of the enemy could impede their further career. But foes were at hand which they had not taken into account, and obstacles to be encountered against which arms are unavailing. The rage of the elements and the wasteful attacks of disease were now to test their powers of endurance, neutralize the effects of their success, and keep them wistfully lingering before those walls and battlements which they had expected to enter as conquerors.

On the night of the 13th of November, a furious storm swept over Constantinople, unroofing the highest buildings of the city, and levelling three out of the six splendid minarets of the Grand Mosque of Sultan Achmet. On the following morning, the tempest commenced at Balaklava about seven o'clock, and in less than two hours it had wrecked eleven, and disabled six transports belonging to the allied army, among which was the magnificent steam-ship *Prince*, which was totally lost, with a cargo valued at £500,000, consisting of

clothing and provisions for our soldiers during the winter, and warlike stores for carrying on the siege. In the harbour of Balaklava, which was thronged with shipping, vessels were dragging their anchors, and running foul of each other, while thirty transports laden with ammunition and stores, that had been driven from the harbour, or had attempted to stand out to sea, were dashed against the neighbouring rocks. Nor were matters better with the French shipping at Eupatoria: eighteen vessels were wrecked or dismantled at the mouth of the Katcha; and to add to the horrors of the scene, bands of mounted Cossacks were busily plunging their horses through the surf and foam in quest of plunder, firing into the stranded vessels, and making prisoners of those whom the tempest had spared. In these calamitous wrecks, it was supposed that more than a thousand lives were lost, and about £2,000,000 worth of property in clothing, provision, and military stores, which the armies needed for the winter, that threatened to be a severe one. The calamities at sea were almost rivalled by the sufferings on shore. Not only the common soldiers, but even the general officers had as yet no better accommodation for the winter than their frail, scanty coverings of tents; and in these, 8500 British soldiers—hungry, half-starved, and overwrought, the relics of what had been a noble army—had been wistfully looking forward to the arrival of the promised supplies from home. But the

tent-poles were snapped asunder like reeds; the tents themselves were levelled like grass before the sweep of the scythe, or borne away on the hurricane; waggons were overturned; while men and horses were rolling over each other in heaps, or clinging to the earth, to escape being flung down the ravines or into the sea. To add to these grievances by destroying every chance of rest or covering, the raging tempest was mixed with rain and snow, and every portion of ground was soon converted into a mire where every one staggered

ankle-deep in mud. Nor was the town of Balaklava in better condition, or more fitted for comfort or shelter: its narrow streets were turned into canals of mud, among which men of all nations—English, French, Turks, Arabs, Egyptians, Italians, Maltese, Tartars, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Spaniards—were seen huddled together, or attempting to flounder along, all involved in a common misery, although expressing it in a most multifarious polyglot; while of the houses towards which they struggled, many



ENTRANCE TO BALAKLAVA HARBOUR.—Drawn by J S Prout from a sketch by James Newlands, C E

were roofless, several utterly destroyed, and the best of them so crowded as to be utterly undurable. When the strong and healthy were thus humbled, struck down, and reduced to helplessness, miserable was the condition of the sick and wounded; for the tents and wooden structures that had been set up for hospitals were swept away in the general desolation, and their inmates in many cases left to perish, because none could come to their relief. Seldom indeed has a victorious army been so visited and so chastised. It was a bitter caricature of military glory, to which human invention could scarcely have added a single touch.

This day of storm and terror was the commencement of a dismal season, in which rain, wind, and a black leaden sky predominated; provisions daily became more scanty and unpalatable, and the tents more incapable of giving shelter to their shivering and sickening inmates. To add to the discomforts of our diminished troops, the greater part of their principal officers were either laid up, or on their way home, the victims of those maladies by which the common soldiers were so mercilessly decimated. So scanty, indeed, were now the supplies of provisions, that the troops, although exhausted by night-work and watching, and by hard labour in the trenches, had to be put upon short allowance. Under such circumstances, it was natural that

the cholera should revisit them; and on the night of the 28th of November it made its appearance, carrying off scarcely less than sixty victims daily. How an army so circumstanced could continue to exist between two such dangers as the foe within the city and those without, both on the alert for its destruction, was marvellous; but the easy attempt to crush it was not made; and with but a few occasional flashes of cannon from the ramparts, or skirmishes and surprises in the trenches, in which few lives were lost, the eventful year 1854 was ended, and Sebastopol remained untaken. When December closed, there were 3500 sick in the British camp before Sebastopol, their illness chiefly occasioned by excessive labour, exposure to inclement weather, and want of the necessaries of life, while a still greater number were in the hospitals on the Bosphorus. And yet, there was no parsimoniousness in the supplies voted by the British parliament, or the contributions of private benevolence; and not only the necessaries and comforts, but even the luxuries of life had been sent, and still continued to be sent out to the Crimea, far more than enough to provide for such an army. But the science of victualling an army—the most important, but perhaps the most difficult and complex in modern warfare—had been forgot since the days of Waterloo, and had to be learned anew; and until its lessons had been fairly mas-

tered, there were blunders both at home and in the encampment—blunders in the transports at sea and the store-houses on shore—blunders in the commissariat and medical staffs, on account of which huts, clothing, food, medicines were finding their way to every shore but the right one, or lying packed up and useless in bond, waiting for official deliverance, while those for whom they had been destined were dying for lack of them. With all this ignorance also, there was an enormous amount of mercantile fraud somewhere among the army contractors and their agents, which has never yet been fully cleared, and through which enormous profits were realized from the sufferings of our heroes in the Crimea. They are among those buried iniquities that nothing but “crack of doom” will open and bring to light. During the last three months of the year, 9000 British reinforcements had been sent out, but they only added to the prevalent destitution instead of the real strength of the army. It might have fared as ill with the French, who had also abundance of disease in their encampment, but that their commissariat departments were better managed, and their stores more promptly distributed, while the Frenchman, a born soldier, can more readily adapt himself to difficulties, and is less scrupulous in removing them.

Such were the miseries that had been accumulating upon our army since its entrance into the Crimea, and such the condition it exhibited towards the close of the year. It was well, however, that it was not wholly consigned to the tender mercies of official mismanagement. British philanthropy was awakened in behalf of our suffering soldiers into more than its wonted liberality, and so early as the 12th of October a subscription was opened for the sick and wounded, which in less than a fortnight amounted to £15,000; and this sum, which was sent to the *Times* office, was so judiciously administered by Mr. Macdonald, the special commissioner appointed for the purpose, that the hospitals in not a few cases were supplied with necessaries, and the sick with the means of recovery. Only a day or two afterwards, “The Royal Commission of the Patriotic Fund” was commenced, and with such success, that its contributions for the same purposes at last amounted to £1,025,000. While the temporal wants of the sufferers were thus regarded, their spiritual necessities were not lost sight of, and a subscription having been moved by the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,” for sending additional chaplains to the seat of war, was so liberally answered, that twenty-four additional clergymen were sent to the camp and the hospitals, partly by subscriptions and partly at the expense of government.

All this was much, but it was not here that the spontaneous movement of British benevolence was to terminate. By whom were the sick to be tended and their comforts administered? While the worn-out and diseased, the mangled, the mutilated, and the dying were of themselves an army that was numbered by the thousand, what amount of mere professional or hireling skill was it possible to muster for the recovery of the hopeful, or the consolation of those whose recovery was impossible? The flying round of the over-taxed physician, or the monotonous consolation of the exhausted, half-asleep nurse, must have been an additional mockery to those cases that demanded nothing less than a mother's or a sister's tenderness and love. And here a new exhibition was to be made in modern warfare, by which even the fables of chivalry were to be outdone. Delicate ladies of rank and education were to hurry to the scene of action, but with far other motives than to witness the stirring spectacle of the tournament or the bull-fight. They were to go cheerfully forth, and brave the horrors and privations of war without its glory and excitement—to exchange their perfumed boudoirs for the fevered atmosphere of the hospital, and the music of the concert for the hourly groans and cries of the suffering—and all that they might undertake that humble, self-denying office, to which the lowest poverty will scarcely condescend, and to minister those tender offices to the poor, neglected soldier, which gold cannot buy even for the great and the noble. The one instance of Eleanor, who sucked the poison from the wound of Edward I., has been the standing tale of centuries: but he for whom she risked her life, was her husband, and the trial though perilous, was over in a few moments. But our soldiers, whose deeds had transcended those of the Crusaders, were now to be tended by a higher and more difficult devotedness than that of the much-vaunted English queen. It was found that more and yet more nurses were needed for our sick and wounded soldiers in the crowded hospital at Scutari, and cases had accumulated to an amount which had reduced the practitioners of the healing art to despair, when the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert applied to Miss Florence Nightingale, who gladly acceded to his appeal. In addition to that tenderness of heart, combined with firmness of nerve and enduring patience, in which women excel the other sex, and by which they heal or alleviate the sufferings inflicted by man on his fellow-man, her natural aptitude for the office of a ministering angel was perfected by an experience such as few of her sex have enjoyed in the hospital of Kaiserwerth in Bavaria, and other similar institutions on the Continent. Thus born and trained for the hour and the occasion,

she set forth on her mission at the head of thirty-seven nurses, and accompanied by the Rev. Mr and Mrs. Bracebridge. Their benevolent purpose was known, and their journey through France was a triumphal ovation: all classes paid them honour as they travelled along; even the tavern-keepers refused payment for accommodating them, and the tavern-servants for waiting upon them. On the 5th of November, Miss Nightingale and her



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE — From an engraving by Holl

nurses arrived at Scutari, just before the wounded were brought in from the battle of Inkermann, and their arrival was like a spell under which pain was abated, murmurs lushed, and the glazed eye kindled with new comfort and hope. It was indeed felt that a change had come, in which war, divested of its worst inflictions, was to assume a new character and bearing. The crowds of wounded were poured in as was wont when a battle had closed; but for every sufferer the needful place had been prepared, and the remedies were in readiness; wherever there was pain, there was also a gentle hand to administer the cordial, and a voice to speak kindness and comfort; and while the soldier forgot his wounds amidst his grateful astonishment, the surgeons themselves, who had dreaded the arrival of such a new unprofessional medical staff, and who feared that these lady-nurses would be always in the way, or themselves converted into very troublesome patients instead of aids, were charmed by the order which they introduced into every department, by the silence with which they discharged their offices, and by the admirable tact and skill with which every prescription was applied. Death, indeed, was still busy, but only where the wound was mortal or the disease incurable; and the last hour itself was deprived of

many of its sufferings by the sedulous kindness of these devoted heroines. Soon, indeed, they must have fallen martyrs to the task from which they would not shrink, and which had outgrown their power, but for the arrival of Miss Stanley from England, with fifty new nurses, when the number of patients was 4000 in the hospitals of Scutari, and the newly established one at Kululee; and by this entrance to the rescue, the good work was resumed with more effectiveness than ever. Even when the great exploits by which this war was signalized have been forgot, these instances of woman's heroism will survive for imitation, and be cherished as a memorial beyond all military glory.

With the opening of 1855, the war seemed to be still further from a termination than ever. Sebastopol, instead of being crumbled beneath the cannonades of the allies, was daily acquiring new strength, until at last it promised to be impregnable, owing to the activity of its defenders, and the remarkable skill of General Todtleben, the military engineer, by whom their operations were directed. Every piece of ground available for defence was fortified; every point from which a shot could tell upon their enemies was mounted with cannon. Earthworks which can be speedily constructed had been thrown up, that were found to be more effectual than defences of stone, while the artillery which surmounted them was superior to that of the allies both in number and calibre. It was especially by these earthworks that the defence of Sebastopol was so long and unexpectedly protracted, in spite of the established calculations which fixed the period of its downfall after a few days of useless resistance. In the meantime, the plight of the English and French armies, notwithstanding the large reinforcements that had been sent out, was of the most hopeless character; and the causes of this were fully explained before the Commission of Inquiry afterwards instituted by the British government in the Crimea. From their report, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1856, it is manifest, that with more than the usual amount of labour and difficulty, of sickness and suffering, which sieges had hitherto occasioned, there had been greater improvidence, waste, and misapplication of means, than had formerly characterized our military operations. Bravery, indeed, our soldiers had shown equal to any that adorns the page of history; but it was bravery unsheltered, unclothed, unfed—mortal bravery sinking and dying beneath those ills to which all flesh must succumb, but which a due amount of preparation might have eluded or warded off. The general effects of these upon our army can be estimated from the following brief statement given by an eye-witness, who was

present during the whole winter's campaign:—"On the 8th of January, of the 63d regiment only seven remained fit for duty. On the same day, the 46th, which had landed on the 8th of November, just two months before, mustered only sixty serviceable men. The 90th, a strong and healthy regiment, buried fifty men in eleven days; and one full company, during the same time, had only seventeen men out of hospital.



VIEW FROM MISERI'S HOTEL, CONSTANTINOPLE, Scutari Hospital in the distance
From a sketch by James Newlands, C E

The three battalions of guards were mere names. Out of 1562 men, sent out to the Scots fusiliers from first to last, only 210 remained. The three battalions, which in all represented some 4500 rank and file, at this time did not muster 700 men on parade, and of that number there was not one man who, in a time of peace, would have been considered fit to be out of hospital. During the month of January, the troops always in hospital at camp averaged upwards of 3000 men, and in the same month no less than 4073 invalids were actually sent away to Scutari."¹

The return of spring, which stilled the destructive war of the elements, was also accompanied by the tardy arrival of some of those supplies which had been mis-sent to foreign ports, or buried beneath piles of cannon and stacks of shot during the months of winter, when they were most needed; and our reviving encampment was again prepared for enterprise, and animated

with hope. Another enemy, almost as obdurate as the elements themselves, had passed away: this was the Czar Nicholas, the source and animating soul of the war, who died of influenza on the 9th of March. The union of the two great powers of France and Britain for the protection of Turkey had taken him by surprise, and falsified his calculations, while his pertinacity of purpose in pursuing his original plan had been accompa-

nied with such disasters as threatened its total overthrow. To such a lofty unbending spirit, death itself must have been welcome, as it saved him equally from the guilt of a useless persistence, and the shame of yielding; and he was succeeded by his eldest son, under the title of Alexander II. The new sovereign, who did not seem to inherit either the ambitious hopes or the resentments of his father, was desirous to establish the commencement of his reign by a general peace, and negotiations to this effect, which had been commenced at Vienna on the 28th of December, 1854, were carried on between the re-

presentatives of Russia, Turkey, Austria, France, and Great Britain. The basis of negotiation consisted of four articles, upon which the representatives of Austria, France, and Britain insisted, and were as follows:—1. That the exclusive protectorate exercised by Russia over Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia should be abolished; that none of the stipulations of the ancient treaties of Russia relative to the said provinces should be revived at the peace; and that the arrangements to be concluded on the subject of them should be ultimately combined, so as to give full and entire effect to the rights of the suzerain power to those of the three principalities, and to the general interests of Europe. 2. The complete freedom of the navigation of the Danube, and that Russia, for this purpose, should withdraw her jurisdiction from that part of the Lower Danube which she had established by the treaty of Adrianople. 3. The more complete connection of the Ottoman empire with the European equilibrium, and the extinction of the Russian ascendancy in the Black Sea. 4. The renunciation¹ of Russia of her pretensions to a protec-

¹ "The Past Campaign a Sketch of the War in the East, from the Departure of Lord Raglan to the Capture of Sebastopol" By N A Woods, Special Correspondent of the *Morning Herald*. London, 1855

torate of the Christians of the Greek church who are the subjects of the sultan, and also the renunciation of all articles in former treaties interpreted in favour of such claim. The conference was opened at Vienna on the 15th of March, the representatives for Great Britain being Lord John Russell and the Earl of Westmoreland; and all went on smoothly until the discussion of the third article, upon which the conference was wrecked. Russia, indeed, could not well object to the connection of the Ottoman empire with the European balance of power, but she was wholly opposed to the limitation of her own ascendancy in the Black Sea. Every proposal to that effect was accordingly parried off or flatly refused by Prince Gortschakoff and M. de Titoff, the Russian representatives, and after much diplomatic discussion, the conference terminated on the 4th of June without any result.

While these negotiations were in progress, the war was not for a moment suspended: the blows already dealt had been too heavy, and the combatants were too warm for an effectual interference of peace-making diplomacy; and on the 17th of February a strong force of Russians, supported by a powerful body of artillery under the command of General Chruleff, made a vigorous attack upon Eupatoria. But the place was gallantly defended by Omar Pacha, at the head of a body of Turkish troops and a French detachment; and after a few hours of hard fighting, the Russians were driven from the walls, and compelled to retreat towards Simpheropol. Another attempt of theirs at Sebastopol was more successful. In front of the Malakoff, and a little to the right of the trenches of the allied army, was a knoll, which might be used with effect either against the town itself on the one hand, or against the French works on the other, according to the party that held possession of it, but which at present was a sort of neutral ground. The Russians, however, were sharp enough to discover the advantage that might be made of it, and on the 9th of March, during the night, a body of troops stole from the town and took quiet possession of the eminence, on which they erected a redoubt, and threw up works without interruption. When daylight dawned, the French were disagreeably astonished by the vision of this new lodgment, afterwards called the Mamelon Vert, which they assailed on the second night of its occupation by the Russians, but were beaten off with considerable loss. Improving their advantage, the Russians honey-combed the ground on the front and either side of the fort with rifle-pits, which powerfully strengthened its defences. These pits were merely excavations, each capable of holding about ten men; and being banked with the earth thrown up from them, and faced round

with sand-bags that were loop-holed for rifles, each formed a sort of troglodyte fortress which no assailants could approach with safety. To gain possession of these rifle-pits was now of serious importance to the French, and for that purpose several stirring encounters took place, one of the most important of which was on the 17th of March, which continued during the greater part of the day. At night, the French renewed the attempt, and a body of 700 advancing stealthily towards these dangerous earth-holes, discharged a volley of musketry at their defenders, and rushed forward with a bayonet charge. The pits were won, but it was only for a moment; the Russians rallied and the French were driven back; but the latter on being reinforced by 800 men returned to the charge, carried the first line of pits, and advanced upon the second, when they were met by such a heavy fire of musketry that they were routed and followed to their own entrenchments by the Russians, who at this point were compelled to retire in consequence of a cannonade being opened upon them. On the 22d the Russians attempted a surprise in turn. It was a dark and windy night, when a large body of their troops advanced from the Mamelon so silently, that they reached the advanced French parallel unobserved, and after a short fight drove the troops who opposed them back upon their reserves. Thus far successful, the Russians were eager for a similar attempt upon the British; and gliding along the French parallel, they crossed the ravine that interposed between the allied armies, and made a furious attack upon the British trenches, hoping to surprise and overpower the troops that guarded them. Here, however, they were disappointed, being resolutely met by a detachment of the 97th regiment, led on by the brave and good Captain Vicars, who fell while cheering on his men to the attack. These troops were soon joined by detachments of the 77th, and under their united charge with the bayonet the Russian column was borne back, defeated with heavy loss, and compelled to retire.

These, however, compared with the magnitude of the war and the important results at stake, were paltry skirmishes in which nothing more substantial than glory could be won; and although the losses of the Russians were heavy as compared with the allies, they could be more easily reinforced, while they had better means of procrastinating the war. More decisive measures were necessary, and it was resolved by the allied commanders that a second bombardment of Sebastopol should be attempted. Accordingly, on the morning of Easter Monday, the 9th of April, amidst rain, storm, and fog, while tents were blown down by the wind and the noise of the

cannon half drowned by the roar of the elements, the allied batteries opened their fire upon the devoted town; and these were answered by the



SEBASTOPOL. from the Trench of the Two mortar Battery — From a sketch by James Newlands, C.E.—1, Gordon's Battery, 2, Mamelon

Garden and Redan, the Mamelon, the Inkermann, and Careening Bay batteries, which successively and speedily came into play. But as fast as the Russian works were injured, they were repaired and made as fit for service as

ever, and although the enemy suffered a frightful loss in men, while many of the houses were demolished, they maintained the resistance with undiminished vigour. At the same time, conflicts were carried on for possession of the rifle-pits, which were taken and re-taken during the course of the general cannonade. But although this heavy bombardment was continued for several days, and the allies were reinforced by 15,000 Turks, Sebastopol gave no token of surrender, or even of slackness, but kept up her stubborn resistance to the close. It was not in this summary manner that the town was to be taken, and the unsuccessful attempt was once more followed by the skirmishes and surprises of a protracted siege.

The annoyance of so long a delay, and so many failures, could scarcely fail to produce discontent both in the camp and at home; and while the French and British generals were showing symptoms of divided counsels, the French commander-in-chief, General Canrobert, was superseded by General Pelissier, an officer who had acquired distinction in the French war in Algeria, by the stern energy and promptitude, as well as merciless character of his proceedings. Sardinia had also acceded at the commencement of the year to the war-like alliance of France and Britain against Russia, and furnished a body of 15,000 men, in five brigades, to co-operate with them in the Crimea. The effects of these changes were soon manifested in more decisive operations, by which the Russians were driven out of their ambuscades, and the town more closely invested. To cut short the resources of Sebastopol, and compel it to a more speedy surrender, it was also resolved to send an expedition to Kertch and the Straits of Yenikale, leading into the Sea of Azof, from which quarter the town received its principal supplies. For this expedition 3800 British, 7500 French, and 5000 Turks embarked on the 22d of May (1855), and were landed on the 24th, at a short distance south of Kertch. But scarcely had the troops disembarked when their landing was signalized by one of those terrible self-sacrifices which were now becoming a characteristic of the Russians, and by which they daunted their assailants more highly than by the valour of their resistance—they were destroying with their own hands their choicest magazines rather than that they should fall into our possession. Accordingly, the advance of the allied troops was greeted by tremendous explosions in the distance, that shook the ground beneath their feet, and made the vessels rock in the bay, as one magazine after another was set on fire; and on their arrival at Kertch, they found the whole works along the shore abandoned, the guns spiked, the forts blown up, and the immense stores of provisions destroyed.

What was left undone in this work of destruction in the Sea of Azof, was completed by Captain Lyons and a squadron of steamers; and at Berdiansk, at Arabat and Genitchi, above 100



GENERAL PFLISSIER — From a French lithograph

transport vessels were destroyed, and as much provision as would have victualled an army of 100,000 men for four months. It was a fearful stroke of the axe at the very root of the enemy's resistance, which had for some time been contemplated, but the execution of which had been delayed till now. After having wasted every source of supply to Sebastopol along the whole south-east corner of the Crimean peninsula, the troops were re-embarked on the 12th of June.

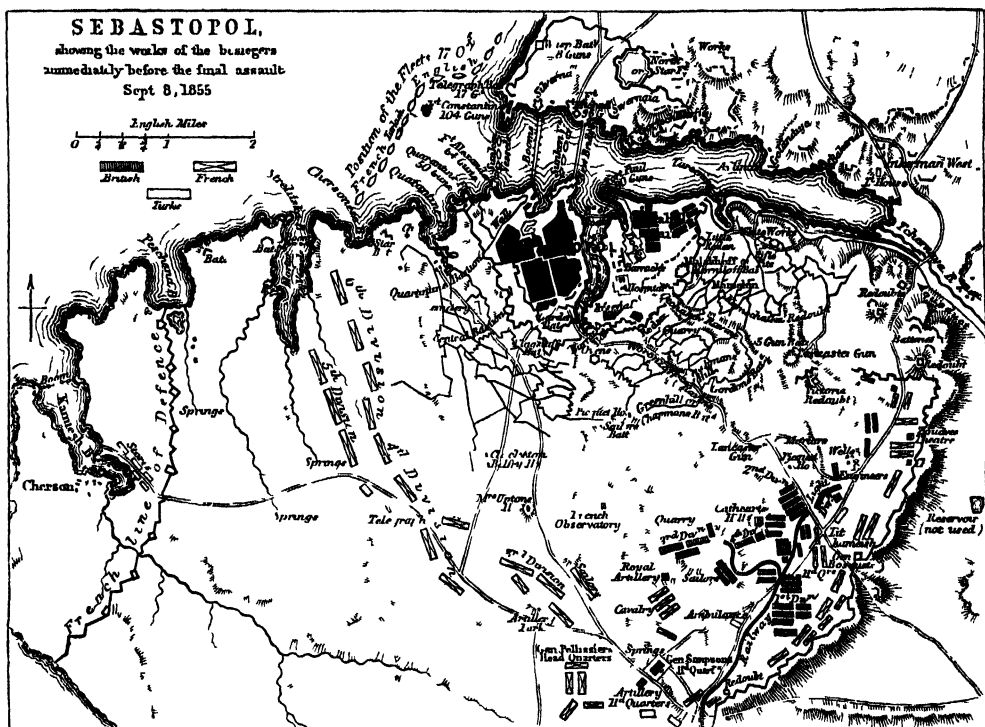
While this expedition was going on, the success of which was certain from the force that composed it, a fresh attack was resolved upon Sebastopol that promised to be decisive, as the assailants, notwithstanding their losses by war and sickness, were more numerous than ever, in consequence of the large reinforcements that had arrived, and four strong armies, consisting of French, British, Sardinians, and Turks, were now arrayed against its devoted bulwarks. The French were to make simultaneous attacks upon the Mamelon, and upon two other redoubts, the Volhynia and Selinghinsk, close to Careening Bay, while the English were to advance against the Quarries. At half-past six in the evening of the 7th of June, the French rushed forward to the assault; and though they suffered severely, from having a long way to traverse under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, they reached the steep leading to the Mamelon, ascended it with unabated ardour, scrambling and bounding as they best might in broken array, but going direct to the mark, and were soon in the heart of the

Mamelon, the possession of which they contested with the bayonet. The Russians were driven out; they rallied and returned to the charge, and were again driven out; but being reinforced, they renewed the battle more fiercely than ever, while it was impossible, from the alternate swaying of the tide of fight for the spectators from beneath to ascertain with which party the advantage rested. An hour of terrible struggle elapsed, and the darkness was closing before this reeling earthquake terminated within the Mamelon, but it ended with the entire expulsion of the Russians. Enraged at the loss they had sustained, and the resistance that had been kept up by reinforcements from the Malakoff, the Zouaves impetuously rushed forward to assail and win it, as they had done the Mamelon, but were encountered by such a crushing fire from the Round Tower, that they were perforce brought to a pause, and at last compelled to fall back to the ground they had already won. Equally keen and equally successful was the attack of the British upon the Quarries, which had been used by the Russians as rifle-pits, and whose formidable defences were crowned by the Redan on the hill-top. Our troops advanced with their wonted gallantry against these dangerous entrenchments; stormed them in rapid succession, and held possession of them during the whole night against six desperate attacks of the Russians, who endeavoured to recover them, and were careless of the losses they sustained in the attempt. It was even thought that had our troops been permitted, they would have crowned their success by the capture of the Redan itself, which they were impatient to attack, and which at that time was almost without defence. The possession of these outworks and the glory of the success cost a heavy price to the victors, whose loss during this fierce evening and night conflict, in killed and wounded, amounted to more than 4000 men, the whole of which, with the exception of about 400, had fallen upon our French allies.

Having thus established themselves nearer to Sebastopol, an assault upon the town itself might have been expected to follow; but upon this the French and English commanders were divided, the latter declaring that Sebastopol was still too strong to be attempted by a *coup-de-main*. At last it was resolved, at a council of generals on the 16th of June, that an assault should take place on the 18th at daybreak. To the British was committed the attack upon the Redan, to which only 1200 men were allotted, while the French, in six columns, each numbering 6000 men, and supported by 25,000 reserves, assumed for themselves the principal part of the conflict. On their left they were to assail the Quarantine Bastion, the Central Bastion, and the Flagstaff

Bastion, each by one of their columns, under General de Salles; on their right the Gervais battery and the right flank of the Malakoff were to be assailed by another column led by General d'Autemarre; while General Brunet with a fifth was to issue from the Mamelon and attack the left flank of the Malakoff and the Little Redan. A sixth column of 6000 men under General Mayran, was to issue from the extreme right of the French

towards Inkermann, and from the White Works was to fall upon the Russian batteries near Careening Creek and the works connecting the first bastion with the Little Redan. In this manner every defence was to be assailed at once, and the whole of Sebastopol enveloped in a circle of flame and tempest, under which all must go down; and that nothing might be omitted, the French were to make a demonstration against the Mackenzie



Heights under the gallant General Bosquet, who had already shown his ability in attacks in an open field. The signal of onset upon so many points at once was to be given by the throwing up of star rockets, as soon as General Pelissier gave the word of command.

The plan was admirably laid, and with troops inured to such movements by a series of campaigns, it might have been successfully executed; but in the present case it was liable to such mistakes as would be enough to mar its uniformity, and occasion an utter failure. General Pelissier was to give the signal from the Lancaster battery; but while he was at some distance from the spot, and shortly before three o'clock on the morning of the 18th, he was startled by the sound of a heavy firing of cannon and musketry. A premature attack had commenced. Deceived by the light of a blazing fuze, which was sent up from the Brancion redoubt, and which he mistook for

the signal rockets, General Mayran advanced his column against the entrenchments, which extended from a battery at the point in front to the redoubt at Careening Bay. It was a fatal anticipation over the whole line of defences the enemy were roused and put upon their guard, and against Mayran's detachment was opened such a fire not only from the works to be assailed, but from the Russian steamers in the bay, that his troops were driven back, and himself mortally wounded. It was then only that the rocket signals went up from the Lancaster battery, and the other French troops rushed forward to support the unfortunate movement of Mayran's division, aided by whom, the latter established themselves in the hollow of Careening Bay. As for General Brunet he had not completed his arrangements when the signal was given; but he instantly advanced to the attack, and fell mortally wounded by a ball in the chest, while leading up his men to the left

of the Malakoff, and his troops were driven back with heavy loss to the trenches. To the right of the Malakoff the attack was more successful. As soon as the rockets were seen, General d'Autemarre's column dashed up the ravine that separated the Redan from the Malakoff, crossed the ditch, climbed over the parapet of the Gervais battery, driving the enemy before them, and a few even forced their way into the Malakoff itself. And now was the time for support from the British troops, who, it was calculated, were to be already in possession of the Redan; but the Redan was still in the hands of the Russians, and from it and the other works such a heavy fire was kept up against D'Autemarre's successful troops, that at half-past eight o'clock they were withdrawn, and with the other French columns recalled to the trenches.

It was from no lack of readiness or courage that the British were not in possession of the Redan, and prepared to second their allies; but the fatal blunder at the commencement of this complicated attack extended its influence to all the other operations of this unfortunate morning. The Russians also had cunningly withdrawn or masked the greater part of the guns of this fortress, to give it a tempting air of defencelessness; and hence the mistake which in the plan of action allowed so small a force as sufficient for its capture. It was also understood that the British assault upon it was not to be made until the French had carried the Malakoff; but when he saw them already in possession of the Gervais battery on the right flank of it, and pressing onward to the tower itself, Lord Raglan thought it full time to aid their efforts by commencing the attack. The storming party, consisting of 400 men of the 34th regiment, preceded by a party of the rifle brigade and a ladder party of the sailors' brigade carrying ladders and woolbags, rushed out of the trench; but the instant they appeared they were struck down in heaps by a sweeping fire of grape, case-shot, and musketry. Their commander, Major Gwilt, ordered them to lie down; but his soldiers on the extreme right of the trench, who did not hear the order, rushed on through the death-storm—the whole party followed in headlong haste and great disorder, but were soon brought to a pause on the left face of the Redan by the abattis, where they were struck down like deer in a battue by the deliberate well-aimed volleys that were poured upon them from the rampart. The officers were dropping fast; Major Gwilt was severely wounded, and Colonel Yea, who took the command, and saw the hopelessness of the attack, cried, "This will never do! where's the bugler to call them back?" As no bugler was to be found at this moment of need, he endeavoured by voice and

gesture to bring the troops into order for a desperate rush at the batteries, and fell mortally wounded by a grape-shot. Nor did matters fare better with the column on the left, appointed for the attack of the re-entering angle and flank of the right of the Redan; neither at the ditch nor at the abattis were scaling-ladders placed; the commanders at their head fell in succession while endeavouring to form the disordered ranks and lead them to the charge, and in a short time the whole of the assailing columns had disappeared. Thus miserably ended our mistaken confidence that the Redan would be taken at the first onset. With an inadequate force—with preparations so defective that not even a scaling ladder had been planted—our troops were thrown forward upon what had been mistaken for defenceless walls, but which were now found bristling with cannon, and manned with soldiers who had only to select their victims, and had been taught to take aim chiefly at the officers. So ridiculously insufficient indeed did this attack appear to the Russians, who were prepared for thrice the number of the assailants, that they laughed at and taunted our soldiers while they fired on them at the abattis, and cried, "Come nearer, Englishmen—come nearer!"

All the attempts of this unfortunate day however were not to be alike unsuccessful, and the exception was in favour of a body of troops of the third division to the number of 2000 men under Major-general Eyre, which was intended to make a demonstration rather than a real attack. This detachment moved down to the ravine at the head of Dockyard Creek early in the morning, to threaten the Dockyard and the Barrack batteries; and on approaching the cemetery, where the troops were halted under cover, General Eyre said to the 18th regiment: "I hope, my men, that this morning you will do something that will make every cabin in Ireland ring again!" The soldiers replied with an enthusiastic cheer, and although their shout roused the enemy and brought upon them a shower of grape, they rushed forward and took possession of the cemetery after a very slight resistance. A heavy fire was instantly opened upon them from the left of the Redan and from the Barrack battery, and volleys of musketry plied them from a suburb close to the Dockyard Creek, and from a number of houses below the Barrack battery; but the 18th dashed through the storm, and carried the houses on the left, while those on the right were won and occupied by detachments from the other regiments. Here they were ready to aid the French attack on their right if it should prove successful; and here therefore they maintained themselves till evening, under a heavy concentrated fire from the Russian guns, when, in

consequence of the failure of the attacks on the Malakoff and Redan, they were obliged to retire. The cemetery however remained in our possession, and the small Mamelon near it, and this was all we obtained from a disastrous failure that cost the allied armies a loss of nearly 5000 men in killed and wounded. The Russians were proud of their success; and in the armistice that followed for the removal of the dead and wounded on either side, they expressed their astonishment at the folly of the attack, and at our confidence that with such means we could take Sebastopol.

This melancholy defeat of the 18th of June was fatal to more than those who were struck down by shot and shell in the onset: it inflicted one of those heart-wounds upon our brave old commander-in-chief, more painful to bear than a mere fleshly injury, and for which no surgery can find a cure. Lord Raglan had long been silently writhing under the disappointments of this protracted war, at the impatience expressed at home, and the injurious comments of our journalists, who were reproaching him with incompetence because he could not effect what was afterwards found to be impossible. But the failure of that fatal day—of the 18th of June, the anniversary of Waterloo, of which he was one of the few surviving heroes, touched his military sensitiveness, and made him doubly feel the bitterness of such a disaster. He died on the 28th of that month, at the age of sixty-seven. During the whole of the Wellington campaigns he had been distinguished by his courage and promptitude, and by the confidence which his illustrious superior reposed in him; and on the breaking out of the Russian war, no general was judged from character and experience to be so well fitted for the command in so new and difficult a crisis. It has been concluded however, from the results, that still higher military attributes than his would have been necessary for such a trying position. It must be remembered also, that forty years of peace had elapsed, so that the military character of his army had to be formed anew; and that he was hampered with a divided command, in which nothing was entire but the responsibility and the blame of failure. When the news of his death reached England, General Simpson, chief of the staff in the Crimea, was promoted to the command of our army in that quarter, although he was himself the most earnest in deprecating the appointment.

Notwithstanding the success of the previous resistance, the condition of Sebastopol was more critical than ever. Her supplies upon which she had calculated in the Sea of Azof were destroyed, and the armies of the besiegers, increased with reinforcements, were more confident of success

than before. It was full time that the covering army under General Liprandi, which had remained dispirited and inert since its defeat at Inkermann, should make a fresh attempt to raise the siege, and they began to make preparations; but their intention was fortunately perceived by the allied forces, who on this occasion were not to be taken by surprise as they had been at Inkermann. The brunt of the onset also, instead of falling at this time upon the British, was to be directed against the French and Sardinians, whose lines were covered along their whole length by the river Tchernaya. At dawn, on the 16th of August, the Russians attacked the Sardinian outposts on the opposite bank of the river, for the purpose of securing three plateaux where their guns could command the ground occupied by the Sardinian and Turkish armies as well as the plain that opened towards the French position. The assailed outposts, though reinforced, were driven across the river, and the Russians, having liued the heights on the right bank of the Tchernaya, opened the fire of their heavy guns upon the French position which was opposite. They were answered in front by the French, and in flank by the Sardinians. Three compact masses of Russian infantry, reinforcements lately arrived from Poland, who came on with a courage and impetuosity that threatened to carry everything before them, now attempted an advance towards the plain in front of the French position; but the points they had selected for the purpose—the Tractir bridge and the last of a series of three hillocks—were so resolutely defended by the Zouaves, that the assailants were checked, and finally driven back both from the hillock and the bridge, and the French position was secured. They also attempted an aqueduct at the foot of the hillock which formed the French chief defence; but when they had crossed it on the right, and were beginning to scale the heights which formed the top of the embankment, they were taken so effectually in flank by the Sardinian batteries, that they were swept from their eminence in whole files into the aqueduct below. The Russian column fell back; but cheered by the advance of a fresh column to support them, they advanced to a second charge with greater weight and better success: they forded the river to the right and left of the bridge, crossed it by the bridge itself, and through a ford, braving every obstacle of fire and water that confronted them. But here the French were prepared to welcome them, and in such gallant style, that after a short struggle the assailants were forced from the ground they had won for a moment, and driven back across the river. All this as yet however was not half of the battle: the Russian columns returned to the attack both at bridge

and aqueduct, which they endeavoured to wrest from the French, who with equal determination maintained their defence, being ably seconded by the Sardinians; and the Russian columns after a desperate but hopeless series of struggles, retired from the fight with greater precipitation and show of faint-heartedness than they had done in any previous conflict. Here, also, their losses were occasioned not so much by bayonet thrusts and the wounds of a hand-to-hand fight, as by the French and Sardinian artillery, which was served with admirable precision and effect. It was a victory glorious to their arms, considering the disparity of numbers, for their forces engaged in it were not above 17,000, while their enemies amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000. The loss also on both sides was almost equally proportioned to such a disparity, for while the Russians had about 8000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, those of the allies did not exceed 1000 men. Even in this last engagement also, as in several of the previous ones, the enemy evinced those traits of original barbarism which, notwithstanding their recent civilization, still constitutes an odious part of their national character. When the strife had ceased, the Russians opened their guns upon those French soldiers who were humanely attending to the wounded of their

the Turkish Delis or old northern Berserkars, revived and cherished among those who called themselves a Christian soldiery.

After this defeat of the Russians at Tchernaya, the allies made preparations for an attack upon Sebastopol that should be final and successful. The 8th of September was the time fixed upon, and the hour that of mid-day, when the Russians were accustomed to withdraw themselves under shelter, and take their repast. The plan of assault was, that the French should storm the Malakoff, and this being done that the British should assail and take possession of the Redan. To attack this last fort before the other was secured would have been the height of rashness, as the Redan was completely commanded by the guns of the Malakoff. Everything promised success to this closing enterprise, for while the covering army of Liprandi was reduced to inaction by its late defeat, so many of the Malakoff's parapets had been destroyed, and its other defences had been so damaged by previous cannonades, that it was in little condition to withstand a determined onset; and the only effectual resistance that could be offered was from the long-range shot which could be fired from the numerous batteries that the Russians had thrown up on the north side of the roadstead, in the rear of the first line of defences.

At the appointed hour of noon, the attack on the Malakoff commenced. The French troops nimbly crossed the ditches and scaled the parapets; they rushed forward with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and came to close quarters with the Russian gunners, whom they assailed with the bayonet, the butts of their muskets, and stones, while the gunners in defence wielded their rammers, but in this hopeless re-



INTERIOR OF THE MALAKOFF, with Remains of the White Tower.
From Simpson's Sketches of the Seat of War in the East

enemies after the fight was over. Every Russian also who fell was found to have a large empty bottle beside him that had been filled with brandy; and it was evident through the conflict that their soldiers were animated with other inspiration than that of mere military ardour. It was the drunken artificial fury and madness of

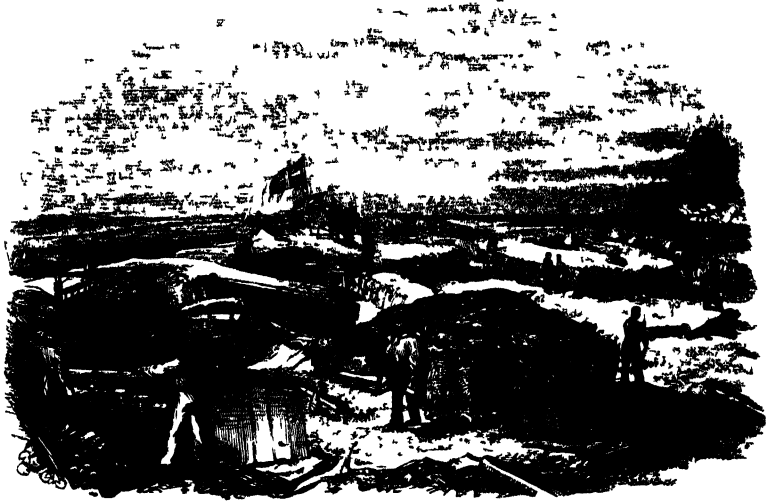
assistance they were struck down, captured, or driven out, and in a quarter of an hour the tricolor flag hoisted upon the redoubt proclaimed that the Malakoff was taken. The Redan of the Careening Port was also carried after a severe struggle; every work selected by the French had fallen, and their centre column had arrived as far as the second

inclosure. And now was the time for the attack of the British upon the Great Redan, as had been concerted, and accordingly the signal was made by the French commander-in-chief. But here the difficulties were greater than had been surmised, while the spirit of blundering seemed to have wakened into more than its former perverseness. For the storming party only 1000 men had been selected, and these, instead of being our best and freshest soldiers, consisted of those who were worn out by service in the trenches, and raw recruits lately arrived from England. This most hopeless of "forlorn

hopes" had also 200 yards to traverse before they could reach the salient angle of the Redan, while the fort itself, well manned with Russians, who were now aware that a general attack was intended, could not be taken by surprise as those of the Malakoff had been. No sooner had the storming party sprung from the trenches, than they were encountered with a sweeping fire of artillery that miserably thinned their ranks before they could reach the salient of the redoubt; and on attaining this point, where they could not form a front, but only advance in two's and three's, they were enfiladed on either flank by the fire of an enemy whom they could not see. Gallantly, however, they kept possession of the post, until their ammunition failed, and they were assailed by superior numbers; but even then, they only shifted their ground from the salient point to the extreme side of the parapet, now a heap of loose earth, stones, and broken gabions, where they maintained themselves for an hour and a half under a heavy fire of vertical grape from within the works, and at last were only dislodged and driven back by an overwhelming rush of the enemy.

In spite, however, of this miserable failure upon the Great Redan, and also an attack of the French on the Central Bastion, in which they were repulsed, the fate of Sebastopol was sealed. After the capture of the Malakoff, the resistance of the town could be continued only a few days longer, and this too by the sacrifice of a part of its army, which, in consequence of the separation

of the great bridge of boats, would have lost its communication with the northern side of the town. But instead of this useless attempt,



INTERIOR OF THE GREAT REDAN, taken from its left face, looking south
From Simpson's Sketches of the Seat of War in the East.

the Russians had resolved to make one of those sublime sacrifices by which they endeavour to paralyze the progress of a successful enemy, and of which they had already given an instance by sinking their ships in the harbour—they resolved to destroy Sebastopol itself, and leave nothing but its ruins to the foe. "Valiant comrades!" said Prince Gortschakoff in his address to the soldiers, "it is painful, it is hard, to leave Sebastopol in the enemy's hands. But remember the sacrifice we made upon the altar of our country in 1812. Moscow was surely as valuable as Sebastopol—we abandoned it after the immortal battle of Borodino. The defence of Sebastopol during 349 days is superior to Borodino, and when the enemy entered Moscow in that great year of 1812, they only found heaps of stones and ashes. Likewise it is not Sebastopol which we have left to them, but the burning ruins of the town, which we ourselves set fire to, having maintained the honour of the defence in such a manner that our great grandchildren may recal the remembrance thereof with pride to all posterity."

Deliberately and carefully every preparation was made for this terrible holocaust of war. On the evening of the 8th, the Russian troops commenced their abandonment of Sebastopol on the south side of the town, and were transported to the north side, partly by boats, and partly by the bridge constructed in the bay. When all had been conveyed across in safety, and with a

deliberation that set their enemies at defiance, the work of destruction commenced by an explosion that shook the allied encampment, and roused for a moment some weary soldiers from their slumbers; but it was only a magazine-explosion—such noises were of frequent occurrence—and they turned themselves to rest again as if the matter was not worth a thought. But an hour after, these shocks were quickly repeated, and the houses that had been stored with combustibles for the purpose were kindled in each successive explosion, until streets and squares were enveloped in a sea of living fire. The enemy had blown up their defences, destroyed the artillery they could not carry off, removed the bridge—had finally scuttled and sunk their fleet with the exception of the steamers, and had left nothing behind them but the funeral pyre of Sebastopol! This the astonished allies found, when at break of morning on the 9th, they ventured as closely into the town as the showers of fire and ruin permitted, while far beyond these protecting obstacles the Russians were effecting their unmolested retreat. This safety they had dearly purchased but cheerfully paid, and nothing was abandoned to their enemies except a trophy that could only be regarded with shame or regret. The allies were astonished at the enormous strength of the works which the Russians had constructed with such labour, promptitude, and skill; and which they had made good against six bombardments, greater than any that modern war had yet produced, and they no longer wondered that the siege had been so destructive and so long protracted. But it was evident, also, that neither massiveness of rampart nor immensity of bomb-proof could have longer saved them from capture, especially when the Malakoff had been taken; and that with their firm resolution of “No surrender,” the Russians had no alternative but the destruction of the town, or that of their brave and numerous army.

The excitement of the siege—the glory of warfare had now passed away, but these were to be succeeded by its ghastly spectacles of the wounded or festering corruption of the dead—its bereavements and humiliations—its gore, and mud, and squalidness. The ditches of the Malakoff and Little Redan were piled with dead bodies as thick as they could lie; the suburb of ruined houses open to the sea, was a Golgotha of mangled Russians, who had crept into every hole and corner that they might die undisturbed. But let one of the hundred spectacles as described by an eye-witness suffice as a specimen of the rest. It was that of a building used as an hospital. “Entering one of these doors, I beheld such a sight as few men, thank God, ever witnessed. In a long, low room, supported by square

pillars arched at the top, and dimly lighted through shattered and unglazed window-frames, lay the wounded Russians, who had been abandoned to our mercies by their general. The wounded, did I say? No, but the dead—the rotten and festering corpses of the soldiers, who were left to die in their extreme agony, untended, uncared for, packed as close as they could be stowed, some on the floor, others on wretched tressels and bedsteads, or pallets of straw, sopped and saturated with blood, which oozed and trickled through upon the floor, mingling with the droppings of corruption. With the roar of exploding fortresses in their ears—with shells and shot pouring through the roof and sides of the rooms in which they lay—with the crackling and hissing of fire around them, these poor fellows, who had served their loving friend and master the czar but too well, were consigned to their terrible fate. Many might have been saved by ordinary care. Many lay, yet alive, with maggots crawling about in their wounds. Many, nearly mad by the scene around them, or seeking escape from it in their extremest agony, had rolled away under the beds, and glared out on the heart-stricken spectator—oh! with such looks. Many, with legs and arms broken and twisted, the jagged splinters sticking through the raw flesh, implored aid, water, food, or pity, or, deprived of speech by the approach of death, or by dreadful injuries in the head or trunk, pointed to the lethal spot. Many seemed bent alone on making their peace with Heaven. The attitudes of some were so hideously fantastic as to appal and root one to the ground by a sort of dreadful fascination. Could that bloody mass of clothing and white bones ever have been a human being, or that burned black mass of flesh have ever held a human soul? It was fearful to think what the answer must be. The bodies of numbers of men were swollen and bloated to an incredible degree; and the features, distended to a gigantic size, with eyes protruding from the sockets, and the blackened tongue lolling out of the mouth, compressed tightly by the teeth, which had set upon it in the death-rattle, made one shudder and reel around.”¹ And has war come to this at last? Is the field of glory and the bed of honour turned into such a loathsome sty, that the most adventurous would shudder at it, and the most ambitious turn sick at the spectacle! But thus it must be with the wholesale crushing and destroying arts of modern warfare, and it is only an inevitable consequence of the progress of science and the higher elevation of intellect. In this way, any humane military engineer acting upon an enemy whom he cannot see, and whom he does not hate, can inflict

¹ *Russell's British Expedition to the Crimea*, p. 474. London, 1858.

an amount of havoc and misery far beyond the worst of Attila or Tamerlane. Assuredly war has nearly reached that height at which it *must* pause! Even such excess might of itself compel a millennium of universal peace!

On entering Sebastopol, the allied troops were obliged to observe the greatest caution, as the Russians had dug numerous mines in the streets, to each of which a small wire was attached, and this, at the touch of an unwary foot, produced an immediate explosion. Every building that was standing was so riddled with shot and shells as to be useless; and as for the houses, they had been so well stripped by their occupants, that little remained in the shape of plunder. The Russians, moreover, far from taking to flight, and dispersing themselves among their boundless wastes, had made the safest and most orderly of retreats, had established themselves on the north side of Sebastopol, where they were separated from their enemies by a deep arm of the sea, a river, and the sides of a plateau as steep as a wall—and from their forts in that quarter, they opened a cannonade upon the town, wherever they saw our soldiers grouped together in the streets. On taking possession of Sebastopol, a division of it was made, the French occupying the eastern,

and the British the western suburb. With the fall of the town, the campaign for the season in this quarter was virtually at an end, and no active demonstration took place on the part of the allies with the exception of an expedition in the middle of September, which the French sent to Eupatoria, in which they defeated a body of Russian cavalry in a skirmish. On the 10th of November, General Simpson resigned office as commander-in-chief of the British army in the Crimea, and was succeeded by General Sir William Codrington.

While the allied armies were pulling the remains of Sebastopol in pieces, and using the fragments for the enlargement or decoration of the huts of their encampment, an expedition by sea was resolved against Kinburn, a Russian fortress situated on a narrow tongue of land at the mouth of the Dnieper, mounting sixty or seventy cannon, and garrisoned by 1500 men; and to conceal the object of the expedition, the allied fleet which left Kamiesch Bay on the 7th of October, anchored off Odessa on the following day, as if their object had been to bombard it. The enemy were thus thrown off their guard, and while they were hastily fortifying the large and rich town of Odessa, the fleet suddenly



GENERAL VIEW OF THE FORTRESS OF KINBURN.—From a sketch by M. de la Laurencie, engraved in L'Illustration.

weighed anchor on the 14th, and appeared before Kinburn. Troops were landed to prevent the garrison from being reinforced and to cut off its retreat, and on the 17th, three French floating batteries opened their fire upon the fortress, being seconded by the gun and mortar boats. Their heavy fire, and that of the British frigates and steamers by which Kinburn was commanded in front and flank, could not long be withstood, and terms of capitulation were accepted by which the garrison marched out as prisoners with the honours of war. After this surrender, two divisions of the armament were sent to scour the little islands in the mouth of the Dnieper, and after five days spent in this

expedition, they effected the capture of an enormous raft of timber intended for the naval arsenal of Nicholaieff, which, however, they could not bring into port, as in the attempt it was broken asunder, and drifted away into the open sea. At the same time, an expedition of the allied troops was conducted by land into the interior of the country, where they burned the village of Pakoffka, which was deserted by its inhabitants, a body of Russian cavalry which hovered upon their march not daring to attack them. A few days after, this expedition returned to the Crimea, leaving a garrison of French soldiers in the three forts of Kinburn. Another similar armament was sent on the 24th

of October, to destroy the Russian settlements at Taman and Fanagoria, on the eastern side of the Straits of Kertch, and was successful, both forts being captured without the loss of a man. A third expedition was sent at the same time to cut off the communication between Taman and Temruk, where a considerable body of Russian troops was stationed, and these were so effectually daunted by a fire of shot and shell from the ships at the long distance of 2500 yards, that instead of being able to advance to the relief of Taman, they were obliged to fall back upon Temruk. These in themselves were trivial undertakings, but they were all that were left to the allied armies in the Crimea after Sebastopol had been abandoned, and they tended to hasten the return of peace by cutting asunder the sinews of resistance. But in this kind of loss the Russians did not suffer alone; and the 14th of November was signalized by an accident in the

allied camp, that was long after remembered with terror: it was the explosion of a vast store of Russian and French gunpowder collected in three magazines to the amount of 250,000 lbs., with huge piles of shell, carcasses, rockets, and small-arm ammunition. But more important still than the loss of such warlike stores was that of life, which the explosion occasioned; for of the English, one officer, and twenty non-commissioned officers were killed, and four officers and 112 non-commissioned officers wounded, while the loss among the French was greater still. When the war was such a losing game to both parties, it was easy to read in these disasters the hope of peace, and promise of mutual agreement. The only question was, what party would be the first to confess its inferiority by withdrawing from the struggle, and with what concessions military honour and political expediency would be satisfied.

CHAPTER XX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1855—1856.

VICTORIA.

Cessation of active hostilities at Sebastopol—The war in Asia Minor—Defeats of the Turks—General Williams sent to Kars—Attack of the Russians on Kars—Gallant defence by the Turks—Kars reduced by famine—Its surrender—Naval proceedings of the war—Operations of the allied fleets in the Baltic—Their first successes and failures—Expedition against the Aland Islands—Capture of Bomarsund—Naval operations in the White Sea—Attack of an English and French squadron on Petropaulowski—Death of Admiral Price—Attack of a land force on the town—Its total defeat—Dissatisfaction at home with our naval operations—Sir Charles Napier superseded—The massacre of Hango—Its stain upon the Russian character—Attack of the allied fleet on Sweaborg—The bombardment of Sweaborg—Its destructive character—Effectual plan of defence—Unsuccessful termination of the attack on Sweaborg—The new czar's disinclination to the war—Necessity of peace to Russia—Willingness of the allies to grant it—Preliminary negotiations for the purpose—Meeting of representatives of the belligerent powers at Paris—A treaty of peace concluded—Terms of the treaty—Peace proclaimed in the Crimea—Desolation of Sebastopol—Review of parliamentary proceedings at home during the period of war—Depression of the mercantile, and prosperity of the agricultural interests in 1854—Bill for parliamentary reform—Its introduction opposed as unseasonable—It is introduced by Lord John Russell—Reforms proposed by the bill—The ministers compelled to abandon it—Two other bills connected with parliamentary reform passed—Proposals of law reform—A bill passed for the amendment of the common law—Restrictions in the navigation laws wholly removed—The ministers lose public confidence through the mismanagement of the war—They resign—A new cabinet formed—Summary of the parliamentary proceedings of 1855—State of the nation at the commencement of 1856—General feeling towards the treaty of peace—It is discussed in both houses—Eulogy on Miss Nightingale and Lord Raglan—Address to the queen—The royal reply—Parliamentary summary of the services of the navy and army—Attestation to the valour of the Russians.



HE second winter had now set in upon the sojourn of the allied armies in the Crimea; and after the evacuation of Sebastopol there was a cessation of active hostilities, the Russians confining themselves to an occasional cannonade upon the town, to make its occupation as uncomfortable as possible to the victors; while the latter employed themselves in destroying its splendid docks and har-

bours, to prevent if possible any future restoration of Sebastopol. This monotony was only interrupted by tidings of the fall of Kars, one of the important episodes of the campaign.

Since the commencement of hostilities, the war had been waged by Russia against Turkey not only in Europe, but also in Asia Minor; and while the sultan had ordered the formation of an army 50,000 strong, to be collected at Kars and Erzeroum, for the defence of these places,

which were chiefly menaced by the enemy, the brave refugee Hungarian commander, Guyon, had been sent to benefit this army of Kars, as it was called, with his European experience, and as the principal adviser of its unskilled incompetent commanders. But these commanders, after raising only 40,000 men, put the money allowed for the surplus number into their own pockets: and as for the counsels of Guyon, they despised them as those of a foreigner and a Christian. It fared with such selfishness and bigotry as might have been expected. They were beaten at Bagazid, and still more heavily at Karuk Derè, from which utter rout the Bashi-Bazouks fled to Kars, proclaiming that all was lost. And so it would have been if the Russians had but advanced upon Kars and Erzeroum; but apprehensive of an attack from Schamyl and his Circassians both on flank and rear, Prince Bebutoff, the Russian commander, paused, and allowed the opportunity to escape. The Circassians and their daring prophet-soldier did indeed appear on the 20th of August (1854) in front of the capital of Georgia, only fifteen days after the defeat of the Turkish army near Kars, and by their neighbourhood Prince Bebutoff was so retarded, that the runaway pachas had time to rally for a fresh resistance. But it would only have been to be beaten more thoroughly than ever, had not the transference of the war of the allies to the Crimea found more urgent occupation for the Russian troops; and thus Anatolia for the present escaped.

This relief, however, was nothing more than temporary, and more decisive measures were necessary to secure the province from becoming a Russian possession. The capture of Kars being still an important object with General Mouravieff, the Russian commander, while its retention was of equal moment to the allies, in order to secure it for Turkey, the British government, at the end of July, 1854, had sent Lieutenant-colonel Williams, as our queen's commissioner, to the head-quarters of the Turkish army in Asia, to act there in communication with, and under the orders of Lord Raglan, obtaining in the meantime from the Turkish government every facility for the discharge of his important office. After the necessary negotiations for these purposes at Varna and at Constantinople, Colonel Williams (now raised to the rank of general) arrived in the province of Kars on the 14th of September, where he found the Turkish army 28,000 strong, but in a miserable state of destitution, as many of the soldiers had received no pay for nearly two years. His first duty in this case was to provide for the efficiency of the army by obtaining the necessary supplies for it, but his applications

to that effect appear to have been neglected by our ambassador at Constantinople. In this way time was wasted in a weary and fruitless correspondence, and the Russian army under Mouravieff was concentrating upon Kars, when



GENERAL WILLIAMS —From a daguerreotype by Mayall.

at last Omar Pacha, who had been urgent for its relief, obtained three Turkish battalions for that purpose from the Crimea, and with these, and other troops which composed a force of 15,000 men, he sailed to Redoute-Kaleh.

This aid was not obtained until towards the close of September (1855), but on the 16th of June, the commencement of the Mahometan festival of the Bairam, the attack upon Kars had commenced. The defence was gallantly maintained under the directions of General Williams, and the British officers who had accompanied him to Kars, and the first Russian attack was successfully repelled. But the town was closely invested; the forage of the besieged began to fail, and their horses were rapidly dying from sheer starvation. In this difficulty, General Williams permitted such of the cavalry as were still mounted, to the number of 1000, to make a night attempt on the 3d of September to cut their way through the enemy. For this purpose they stole silently from the town in the dark, and although the alarm when they reached the Russian outposts was raised, and volleys of musketry were poured upon them, they succeeded, although with some loss, in cutting their way through the enemy's lines, and securing their escape.

The Russians now decided to make a second general attack upon the town on the 29th of September; and to throw the besieged off their guard, they made pretended arrangements for a retreat, giving out that they were going to march

into Georgia. But the pretence was easily detected by General Williams, and the garrison incited to double watchfulness. The attack was made on the 29th, while the morning was still dark, by three Russian columns supported by twenty-four guns, who advanced on three different parts of the line of defence, hoping to surprise the garrison, and carry the town by a single onset; but when they came within range, they were unexpectedly met at every point by such a destructive fire as showed them that their purpose was anticipated. Although thus taken at unawares, the Russian left column of attack dashed forward with loud hurrahs, and rushed up the hill against the redoubts and breast-works, but here they were arrested by volleys of musketry, and at last driven down the slope in wild disorder. Nor did it fare better with the right column, although at first they were more successful; they turned the Tamash defences on the western extremity of the steep rocky range of hills on which Kars is situated, and penetrated to the rear of the Turkish position; but here they were brought to a pause by three bodies of reinforcements who unexpectedly confronted them, and were finally driven down the hill by a sortie from the garrison of the Tamash redoubts. The third point of Russian attack, which was upon that portion of the fortifications called the English tabiahs (or redoubts), was made with an

overwhelming force that at first carried all before it, until battalions of infantry that had been sent to reinforce them arrived, and drove back the enemy with a close bayonet charge. The Russians were thus defeated in every attempt, and across the whole line; they hastily withdrew to their encampment, and were followed in their retreat by a cannonade, that added heavily to their killed and wounded. It was a gallant defence, more especially when the Turkish combatants had been working and watching four months in the trenches. The garrison was also suffering from cholera, and seven hours were spent in close destructive fighting. Justly did General Williams say of them, "They have proved themselves worthy of the admiration of Europe, and established an undoubted claim to be placed amongst the most distinguished of its troops." But what shall we say of Williams himself, and his brave countrymen and assistants, Lieutenant-colonel Lake, Major Teesdale, and Captain Thompson? But for them, Kars would have fallen. Turkish valour needs nothing but able commanders, and these our country had supplied. The Russian loss in this one attack was immense. Five thousand bodies were left on the field, and 7000 dead and wounded were carried off, while the loss of the besieged scarcely exceeded 1000 men.

But hunger was now to effect what the enemy could not accomplish. The blockade was kept



GENERAL VIEW OF KARS.¹—From Lake's Account of the Siege of Kars.

up so closely that no supplies could be introduced into the town, and in a short time famine of the most gaunt and revolting character predominated over all classes. The brave defenders, lean, pale, and feeble, were by the 17th of October no longer like the heroes of the 29th of September, who had driven the enemy from their gates.

¹ The leading points of interest are indicated by flying birds. One bird—Ruined castle of Terrin Pasha and Armenian suburb. Two birds—Castle and town of Kars. Three birds—Thompson's Tabiah, marked by group of tents at top of the distant hill. Four birds—Teesdale Tabiah on the hill, and the suburb of Beiram Pasha at the foot.

The dogs scratched the bodies of the soldiers from their graves and fed upon them; the very grass was carefully gathered in the open spaces, and its roots used as food; and crowds of women and children were moaning in the streets, and sinking and dying of starvation. The miseries of Kars were like those of ancient Jerusalem when the Roman armies encompassed it; and by the 24th of November, resistance, which was impossible, would also have been unavailing. No help moreover could be afforded by Omar Pacha, who had landed at Redoute-Kaleh for the pur-

pose of raising the siege, although by the 1st of November he had reached the river Ingour with 20,000 soldiers, chiefly Turkish, and a few French and British reinforcements. He was confronted on the opposite side of the river by a Russian army strongly entrenched; and in endeavouring to cross the river by two different fords on the 6th of November, each attempt was baffled, and the Russians remained in possession of the Ingour. He then tried it at a third place, and was more successful; but although he thus wrested the whole of the left bank of the river from the enemy, the latter fell back only to entrench themselves anew on the river Tsiva, on the road to Kutais. The fate of Kars was sealed, for its last morsel was eaten; and on the 24th of November, General Williams made overtures for surrender. The proposal was received with courtesy and humanity, and the terms were honourable alike to the besiegers of Kars and its brave defenders. The garrison was to march out with the honours of war; in depositing their arms at a place appointed, the officers of all ranks were to retain their swords; and while the subjects of the belligerent powers were to be prisoners of war, the inhabitants of the town were to be placed under the protection of the Russian government, and the Turkish militia allowed to return to their homes. "Thus, with the surrender of Kars," adds General Mouravieff in his report, "the last remnant of the army of Anatolia, which in last June numbered 30,000 men, has vanished. The Mushir, Vassif Pacha, commander-in-chief of that army, is himself a prisoner of war in our hands, without counting eight pachas, and a great number of superior and subaltern officers, including the English general Williams and his whole staff. In the fortress we took 130 cannon and a great stock of arms." It was a dispiriting blow to the cause of Turkey, and as such it was felt not only at Constantinople, but in the allied army of the Crimea, and in Paris and London. General Williams and his officers, on being carried prisoners into Russia, were treated with all the courtesy that is due to a gallant enemy.

Our operations by sea during this war now demand our notice. It was for these that our preparations had been the greatest, and correspondent exploits were expected to be performed upon our favourite element, let the events upon land be what they might. Of the achievements of our fleet in the Black Sea, while it accompanied the land expedition, incidental notices have already been given. But independently of this squadron, another and still more powerful fleet was despatched from the Downs to the Baltic on the 13th of March, 1854, under the command of the hero of Acre, Vice-admiral Sir Charles

Napier, consisting of eight screw line-of-battle ships, four screw frigates, and four paddle-wheel steamers, which was subsequently reinforced in Kioge Bay by the *Neptune* (120), the *James Watt* (91), the *Boscawen* (72), and several other ships of



ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES NAPIER.
From a print by Porter, after a picture by John Simpson.

war. Against such a force and with such a commander what available resistance could Russia be expected to offer? To the same quarter, the French despatched in April a squadron of twenty-three ships, carrying 1250 guns, under the command of Vice-admiral Parseval-Deschônes. The first operations of our fleet were of the most promising character. A rigorous blockade was established in the Gulf of Finland, and the different ports along the coast were so closely shut up that not a Russian vessel could show itself in the Baltic. The enemy had therefore to be sought, and early in May, Admiral Plumridge was sent with a portion of the fleet to cruise in the Gulf of Bothnia. This he did so effectually, that between the 5th of that month and the 10th of June, when he rejoined Sir Charles Napier, he had destroyed forty-six merchant vessels, about 50,000 barrels of tar, and an immense quantity of naval stores, without the loss of a man. But an attempt of two of his ships, the *Odin* and *Vulture*, at Gamla Karleby, was not so successful. The water was so shallow that the ships were obliged to anchor five miles off the port, while four boats were manned and sent in to take possession of whatever vessels and stores might be found there. But the Russians on shore opened up from an ambuscade such a fire upon the boats for upwards of an hour, that fifty-four of our officers and men were killed, wounded and captured, and the *Vulture's* paddle-box boat taken. A more daring and more fortunate expedition

later in May was accomplished by the *Hecla* and *Arrogant*, that sailed from Hango Bay, seven miles up a narrow river, to Eckness, through a most intricate and dangerous navigation, destroyed a powerful battery that opened fire upon them, routed with volleys of grape and canister a troop of horse artillery and a large body of infantry, and having cut out a large and richly-laden merchantman, returned with it in tow through an enemy's country to Hango.

The next naval movement was against the Aland Islands in the Gulf of Bothnia. This large cluster, consisting of 80 inhabited and 200 uninhabited islands, occupying a space of about 352 square miles, and situated between the gulf and the Baltic Sea, and near the mouth of the Gulf of Finland, had formerly belonged to Sweden, but been ceded by that country to Russia in 1809. The great fortress of these islands was Bomarsund, situated at their most easterly point, upon a tongue of land, and was guarded in its approaches by two marshy swamps, while its chief works consisted of a fort and a long line of batteries, all of them of granite, besides an earth-work battery that had been recently constructed. Altogether it was a place of great strength, and furnished with powerful means of resistance. Three steamships of the allied fleet, the *Odin*, *Hecla*, and *Valorous*, which in the first instance had been sent to reconnoitre these islands, had opened up a discharge of shells upon Bomarsund,

miral Chads with eight ships British and French, was joined in Lumpar Bay, on the south side of Bomarsund, by a French expeditionary force of 10,000 men under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and on the following day the landing was effected, and the siege commenced. The resistance, however, was neither proportioned to the strength of the place, nor the importance that had been attached to it, for on the 15th a breach was made in the walls, its guns were silenced, and a white flag was hoisted in token of surrender. Thus easily was the capture effected with scarcely a score of men killed and wounded among the allies, while the capture consisted of nearly 200 guns and 2235 prisoners. After demolishing and blowing up the works, by which the labour of years was destroyed in a few hours, the armament withdrew from the Aland Islands. With the fall of Bomarsund, the naval operations of the year were at an end.

During the summer of this year, a small squadron had been employed in the White Sea; but except the destruction of certain stores of the Russian government in Shayley Island, the bombardment of Novitska, and the destruction of Kola, the capital of Russian Lapland, nothing of particular notice was effected by this squadron, which soon after returned to England. But there was a fatal offset to these trivial successes, in the disaster that befel an allied squadron at Petropaulowski. This town, the principal seaport of

the Russian province of Kamtschatka, received an hostile visit from three French and three British vessels, that anchored before it on the 28th of August, and the fire with which they were immediately greeted from the batteries showed the readiness of the town for a stout resistance. This resistance also was likely to be formidable, on account of the natural as well as artificial defences of Petropaulowski; for its horse-shoe shaped harbour was guarded in front by a natural breakwater of sand, and a masked battery of twelve thirty-six pounds; while behind, the town, which lies in a hollow,



TOWER OF THE FORTRESS OF BOMARSUND.—From L'Illustration, 1854.

which they had continued for seven hours so effectually, that had it lasted but a little longer it was thought the fortress must have surrendered, as its roof had been blown up, and some of its works been set on fire. It was now to be besieged in form, and its fall attended with greater dignity. On the 7th of August (1854) Rear-ad-

was backed by a high ridge of rugged volcanic mountains. It was resolved to attack the town next morning, and a preliminary cannonade had commenced, when a pistol-shot was heard in the cabin of the *President*, the flag-ship of Admiral Price, the British commander. At that critical moment the admiral had committed suicide, but

from what cause, unless it was some sudden access of frenzy, it was impossible to discover. On the following day, the attack was resumed; but although two batteries were successively silenced, the masked battery which we have mentioned kept up such a successful fire, as obliged the ships that assailed it to fall back out of range. On the day after, a landing was made, not only to bury the body of the admiral, but to make an attempt upon the town, which, the allies were assured by two Americans who offered to be the guides of the landing party, was open to an attack in the rear. Seven hundred soldiers were sent upon this service, and after silencing two batteries on shore northward of the town, the party was landed. But instead of keeping upon the main road, they scrambled in disorderly fashion up the hills at the back part of the town, and were picked off as they advanced by Russian sharpshooters, concealed among the thick brushwood. A march into the town was hopeless, and a retreat was sounded: but the soldiers withdrew so hurriedly, that they lost themselves among the hills; they were plied with volleys by an unseen foe, were driven like sheep to the brink of a precipice between them and the shore, and were only extricated with difficulty, and after heavy loss, by the guns of the ships, and a rearguard that was sent to their relief. Although upon a small scale, this expedition was conspicuous from first to last by its blunders and disasters; and the self-congratulations of British and French of their deeds during this war will occasionally be crossed and qualified by the admonitory name of Petropaulowski. In a day or two after, the damaged vessels had to quit the coast and retire to San Francisco.

By the approach of winter our naval operations for 1854 were suspended, and nothing could be undertaken till the ensuing spring. But what the while had been effected by those magnificent fleets which Britain and France had equipped at so great an expense, and upon which they had placed such unbounded confidence? Why was not Cronstadt bombarded? How had St. Petersburg itself escaped untouched? It seemed as if our naval spirit had expired with Nelson, and its glories been extinguished at Trafalgar. So fierce was the popular indignation, so loud the national outcry, that the British admiral was obliged to find a scape-goat and a victim, and one, too, of no inferior mark, so that on the return of Sir Charles Napier from the Baltic, he was directed to haul down his flag. It was alleged that he had not done all that his means permitted, and the command of the Baltic was transferred from him to Rear-admiral Dundas. This could not be done without an indignant remonstrance on the part of the gallant veteran:

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he complained that the blame lay with the admiralty itself, who had so crippled him by restrictions, that he could not attack Sweaborg until it was too late to succeed. A keen controversy upon the subject between Sir Charles and their lordships was the consequence, which has not yet terminated, and into which we have no desire to enter, being so mixed, as it soon became, with political heats and party arguments. With a new admiral and redoubled efforts it was hoped that our operations for 1855 in the Baltic would be more successful, and on the 19th of April there were eighty-five English and sixteen French ships of war in that sea, carrying 2506 guns.

The renewed hostilities at sea, in the absence of any naval action, were signalized in 1855 by a serious charge of treachery against the Russians, a charge which weighed more heavily against them than any defeat could have done. Admiral Dundas having permitted Captain Fanshawe of the *Cossack*, to liberate three Russian prisoners, that officer, on arriving off Hango Island in the Gulf of Finland, on the 5th of June, landed the three prisoners with four others, in a cutter bearing a flag of truce. Scarcely, however, had this been done, than the boat's crew was fired upon, notwithstanding their flag of truce, and the whole killed except one man, who escaped wounded with the boat. At the same time, a small party, with the British lieutenant in command, who had advanced from the shore to communicate with the people and the officer of the telegraph, were suddenly attacked by a party of soldiers, seized, placed in carriages that had apparently been kept in readiness for the purpose, and hurried off to Eckness as prisoners. This foul breach of the law of nations led to indignant remonstrance on the part of Admiral Dundas, both with General de Berg, the Russian commandant at Helsingfors, and with Prince Dolgorouky, the Russian minister at war; but their answers were only shuffling attempts to prove the whole matter a mistake, and to throw the entire blame of it upon the party who had landed. To establish this view of the case also, recourse was had to misrepresentation and falsehood. They declared that the boat's crew had exhibited no white flag, or at least, such an one as was visible; that on finding no soldiers on shore, they had commenced hostilities at their landing, by setting fire to some huts and boats; and that the cutter itself in which they had arrived, was armed and provided for such deeds of aggression. Such were the statements unblushingly made by the Russian authorities, but which were successfully refuted by Lieutenant Geneste, the officer in command of the cutter's party, after he had returned from his Russian prison to England.

By this hostile deed, as paltry as it was perfidious, and from which no advantage could be gained, the enemy sullied the glory of their arms, and the esteem to which they were entitled by their efforts and their sacrifices. It was an instance of Slavonic treachery which, with others of a similar kind that occurred during this war, will be remembered to the disadvantage of Russia, until she has effaced this blot upon her national character by a course of manly openness, kindness, and integrity.

The great aim of the allied fleet was the capture or destruction of Cronstadt. This strong seaport, situated on the long flat island of Kotlin, near the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Finland, opposite the mouth of the Neva, lay provokingly across the way to the entrance of St. Petersburg, from which it was only twenty miles distant; but the narrowness of its channel on the south side of Kotlin, by which only one vessel could pass at a time, from the gulf to the capital, the effectual manner in which its guns commanded this passage, and the strength of its vast fortifications, which made every approach an experiment of the utmost hazard, had compelled Sir Charles Napier, as they now did his successor, to respect its strength, and keep at a wary distance. For more than three weeks, the allied fleet, consisting of forty ships, lay off the north side of Cronstadt without risking an attack; and they finally weighed anchor on the 14th of July, to make a more hopeful attempt upon Sweaborg. This fortress, on the north side of the Gulf of Finland, and about three miles south-east of Helsingfors, occupies seven little islands, all of them strongly fortified, and communicating with each other by bridges of boats. Of these islands, the chief is Vargoe, on which the principal fort is erected, consisting of a strong castle, and extensive magazines and barracks cut out of the rock, and bomb-proof. The numerous walls and ramparts by which the narrow channels between the islands and also the bay at every point were commanded, were bristled with 2000 pieces of cannon; and since the war commenced, the Russians had erected new earthworks upon commanding sites. On the 6th of August, the allied fleet arrived off Sweaborg, and the two following days were employed in preparations for an attack. On the morning of the 9th, the work commenced by a discharge from the mortar-vessels upon the fortress; and these were followed almost immediately by the gun-boats, that moved in a circle to avoid giving a fair mark to the enemy, and delivered their fire in the course of their revolution, first from the gun at the bow, and afterwards from that astern. The effect of these mortars and gun-boats was tremendous: their shot, that fell within the line of the batteries, produced a

succession of explosions that resembled volcanoes, in which military stores were kindled and sent blazing aloft, and huge masses of rock, beams of timber, and fragments of houses were scattered in the air. At eight o'clock in the evening the gun-boats were recalled, and their places supplied by rocket-boats, which during the night kept the atmosphere in a destructive blaze, and extended the conflagration to those parts that had escaped during the day. So terrible, indeed, and close was the fire, that a large three-decker which the Russians had moored between the islands of Gustavswerd and Bak Holmen, with her broadside towards the sea, so as to block up the channel, had to be removed during the night to save her from destruction. Soon after three o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the bombardment of the previous day was renewed, and was continued till evening, while within Sweaborg, the arsenals and stores behind the line of batteries continued to blaze with increasing violence. It was no wonder that the destruction had been so wide and wasteful, as a thousand tons of iron in shot and shell had been thrown into the place by the English alone. But except this destruction of arsenals, stores, and dwelling-houses, little had been effected; the forts were too well defended to be assailed, as well as too strong to be shaken by the hurricane; and the ships, instead of being sent against them for a contest of broadsides, were cautiously kept aloof, and mortar-vessels sent in their stead. "Seeing the impossibility of obtaining any decisive success," writes the Russian general De Berg, in his account of the bombardment, "against our fortifications and batteries, the assailants evidently resolved to take advantage of the long range of their projectiles, and exposing themselves as little as possible to our fire, to demolish and set fire to the buildings inside the fortress, a task rendered easy by the existence of wooden houses, and large houses three stories high, not arched. Suspecting their plan," the general adds, "I ordered from the commencement of the combat, our batteries not to fire unless the enemy's vessels, which offered but a small target, came within a range which would allow our artillery to do them a serious mischief. This order was obeyed with that praiseworthy coolness which distinguishes a really good artillery, and with such success, that whenever an enemy's vessel advanced from its line of battle, the well-directed fire of our batteries immediately compelled it to retire." In this skilful manner, any plan of the allied fleet for a decisive attack upon Sweaborg was rendered hopeless, and mischief, not victory, could be the only result of continuing the bombardment. It therefore ceased on the morning of the 11th—and thus terminated the naval operations of 1855.

On the return of the French and English ships, which the rapid approach of winter in the Baltic Sea rendered necessary at an early period, they found but a cold welcome at home on account of the little that had still been accomplished; and it was complained, that all the damage inflicted upon Sweaborg, was scarcely worth the cost of the powder and shot that had been thrown away in the enterprise.

The commencement of 1856 found the allied armies still occupied in the destruction of the harbours and public works of Sebastopol, while the Russians, from their neighbouring encampment, were sternly watching these proceedings, and treasuring them up in their memory for future vengeance. But even already peace was at hand. At his accession, the new czar found himself entangled in a war which he had not originated, and the plan of which he must have found himself unable to carry out; and as he was not pledged to continue it for evil or for good, he might gracefully retire from it when a fitting opportunity had arrived. And even now it had come, when the surrender of Kars could be shown as an offset to the evacuation of Sebastopol. While his pride was thus saved from the humiliation of defeat, peace was necessary for the interests of his empire. The war had been a losing one, in which the arms of Russia had suffered four signal defeats; a powerful enemy was established on its frontier, whose advance might be accompanied with still worse disasters than a conquest of the Crimea; and at sea its ports were blocked up, its ships destroyed, and its commerce suspended. For the present, Russia was obliged to contend against four great powers, but it was certain that the addition of a fifth would suffice to turn the scale; and there was now the prospect of Austria joining the warlike coalition of France, Britain, Sardinia, and Turkey, and sending her armed myriads to co-operate in the common cause. To these might be added the moral and political reforms already contemplated for the Russians to bring them up to the scale of other nations, but which war would retard, or might possibly even defeat and set aside. Nor were the allied powers unwilling to listen to peaceful overtures. To them the war had been both costly and ruinous, of which the glory was scarcely equal to the price. It was also thought dangerous still further to provoke Russia, that young Titan of the nations, which had already shown such strength and resources, and been taught by each recent struggle the lesson of its own power. If by any treaty also Turkey could be saved from dismemberment—for the present at least—the object for which the allies had taken arms would be effected, and the evil day which is reckoned inevitable be postponed.

The public manifestations of this peaceful spirit were given on the part of Russia at the close of the preceding year. This was done by a despatch of the government to its diplomatic agents on the 22d of December, announcing through them to the courts at which they resided its desire for peace, and the sacrifices it was willing to make for it. After this overture, a neutral negotiator was needed to interpose with friendly offices, and bring the contending parties to a mutual understanding; and this was undertaken by Austria, which had a vital interest in the question, but had as yet kept aloof from the contest. A negotiation was accordingly opened between the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, to ascertain the conditions upon which the latter was willing to treat; and as these appeared sufficiently moderate, a meeting of plenipotentiaries was assembled at Paris, on the 26th February, for the settlement of an armistice, and the terms of a lasting peace. The representatives for Great Britain were the Earl of Clarendon and Lord Cowley; for Austria, Count de Buol Schauenstein and Baron de Hübner; for France, Count Colonna Walewski and Baron de Bourqueney; for Russia, Count Orloff and Baron de Brunow; for Sardinia, Count de Cavour and the Marquis di Villamarina; and for Turkey, Ali Pacha and Mehemmed Djemil Bey. According to the etiquette established on such occasions, Count Walewski, as the representative of the sovereign in whose capital the plenipotentiaries were to hold their meetings, was appointed president during the sittings of the conference.

The armistice, which was of easy settlement, was the first subject of discussion, and it was agreed that it should continue till the 31st of March, unless renewed till after that period by common consent; and that during this interval both armies and fleets should retain their present respective situations, but without any hostile movement on either side. After this, the sittings of the conference lasted till the 30th of March, on which day the treaty of peace was definitively signed, but the ratifications of which were not exchanged until the 27th of April. They were in substance as follows:—

The territories conquered or occupied during the war were to be reciprocally evacuated.

The town and citadel of Kars, as well as other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops were in possession, were to be restored to Turkey.

The four allied powers were to restore to Russia the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Jenikale, and Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the allied troops.

The allied powers, and also the Czar of Russia

and the Emperor of Austria, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to partake in the advantages of the public law and system of Europe. The six Christian sovereigns also engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire; to guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement; and to consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

Should any misunderstanding arise between the Sublime Porte and one or other of the signing powers, that might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Porte, and each of such powers, before having recourse to arms, shall afford the other contracting parties an opportunity of mediating between them.

The sultan having already issued a firman for the welfare of his subjects, without distinction of religion or race, and which records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, now communicates to the contracting parties the said firman, emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will. The contracting parties, while recognizing the value of this communication, clearly understand that it does not give them the right, either collectively or separately, to interfere between the sultan and his subjects, or in the internal administration of his empire.

In regard to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, it was agreed, that the rule should continue in force; that no ships of war belonging to foreign powers should enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus; and that so long as the Porte is at peace, the sultan shall admit no foreign ships of war to enter the said straits: and on the other hand, the contracting powers engage to respect this determination of the sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared. By a second article, the sultan reserves to himself, as in times past, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the missions of foreign powers. By a third article, it is declared, that the same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war, which each of the contracting powers is authorized to station at the mouths of the Danube in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each power.

In regard, also, to the amount of naval forces which Russia and Turkey might respectively keep in the Black Sea, it was agreed in a separate convention between these two powers, that each should maintain in that sea six steam vessels of fifty metres in length, and not beyond 800 tons burden each vessel, and four light steam

or sailing vessels of not more than 200 tons each. It was agreed, moreover, that the Aland Islands should not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment should be maintained or created there.

The Black Sea to be neutralized, and its waters and ports thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation; and either of the powers possessing its coasts, or any other power, are interdicted from the use of the flag of war upon it, with such exceptions as Russia and Turkey shall fix by a separate convention. The commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea being freed from any impediment, was to be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police; and to insure the security of this commerce, consuls were to be admitted into the ports upon the coast, according to the principles of international law.

No toll was to be levied upon the navigation of the Danube, nor duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. With exception of the regulations of the police and quarantine, to be afterwards framed to facilitate the passage of vessels, no obstacle whatever was to be opposed to the navigation of the river.

In return for the towns and ports restored to Russia by this treaty, and to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, the czar consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia. This frontier shall begin from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of the Lake Bournasola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akermann road, shall follow that road to the Val de Trajan, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the river Yalpuck to the height of Saratsika, and terminate at Katamosi on the Pruth. Above that point the old frontier between the two empires shall not undergo any modification.

With regard to the principalities, which had been such a fruitful source of strife, it was agreed that the territory ceded by Russia was to be annexed to Moldavia; that the inhabitants of this principality should enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the other principalities; and that during the space of three years they should be permitted to dispose of their property freely, and transfer their domiciles elsewhere. This principality and that of Wallachia were to continue under the suzerainty of the Porte, without any exclusive protection of a foreign power, or any separate right of interference in their internal affairs; and the Porte engages to preserve for them an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation. The same rights and liberties were to be accorded to the principality of Servia, under the collective guarantee of the contracting powers.

On the other *quæstio vexata* between Turkey

and Russia respecting their possessions in Asia, it was agreed between the czar and the sultan that these should remain as they had existed before the breaking out of the war; and that in order to prevent all local dispute, the line of frontier should be verified, and if necessary rectified, without any prejudice as regards territory to either party.

The territories occupied during the war by the allied troops were to be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. The periods and the means of evacuation were to form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the powers whose troops had occupied its territory.

Such were the terms of this memorable pacification, by which the ambitious aggressions of Russia were checked, and the dismemberment or downfall of Turkey averted. The tidings of the conclusion of an armistice reached the Crimea on the 28th of February; and on the afternoon of the same day, as if to signalize the cessation of hostilities, a pile of edifices in Sebastopol, called the White Buildings, was blown into the air. When the armistice was duly proclaimed on the following day, and the terms of it arranged between the contending armies, the officers and soldiers, between whom there would otherwise have been only a meeting of contention to the death, were now to be seen mixed together in mutual good humour and the interchange of friendly offices—and this, although peace was as yet uncertain, and although its failure might renew the war with more than its former bitterness. On the 2d of April all suspense was at an end among the armies by the proclamation of peace, which was announced with a discharge of 101 guns, and followed by the bustle of preparation for the evacuation of the Crimea. This event finally took place on the 12th of July, on which day General Codrington, the British commander-in-chief, formally gave up Sebastopol and Balaklava to the Russians. But what a surrender! The whole war had been concentrated at Sebastopol, which city was now the type of all its miseries and its desolation—the tomb equally of those who had assailed and those who had defended it; and even on receiving it back, the Russians must have read in its appearance a painful lesson of warning. As it then was, its aspect is thus described by an eloquent writer, from whose pages we have already quoted:—

“Had fire been rained down from heaven upon the devoted city its annihilation could not have been more complete. The stranger who halted to survey it from the neighbouring heights, deceived by the whitewashed and plastered walls of the houses, might think that Sebastopol was still a city; but when he walked through the

grass-grown deserted streets, formed by endless rows of walls alone, or roofless shells of houses, in which not one morsel of timber could be seen from threshold to eaves; when he beheld great yawning craters, half-filled with mounds of cut stone, heaped together in irregular masses; when he gazed on tumuli of disintegrated masonry—once formidable forts, and shaken as it were into dust and powder; when he stumbled over the fragments of imperial edifices, to peer down into the great gulfs, choked up with rubbish, which marked the site of the great docks of the Queen of the Euxine, and beheld the rotting masts and hulls of the sunken navy which had been nurtured there; when he observed that what the wrath of the enemy spared was fast crumbling away beneath the fire of its friends, and that the churches where they worshipped, the theatres, the public monuments, had been specially selected for the practice of the Russian gunners, as though they were emulous of running a race in destruction with the allied armies—he would no doubt have come to the conclusion that the history of the world afforded no such authentic instance of the annihilation of a great city. It is hard to believe that the site can ever be made available for the erection of houses or the construction of docks; but I am by no means certain that the immense resources in the command of manual labour possessed by the government of Russia, of which this very struggle afforded us all such striking proofs, in the Quarantine battery, the Bastion Centrale, the Bastion du Mât, the Redan, the Mamelon, and the Malakoff, may not be made available in time to clear away these modern ruins, and to rebuild houses, theatres, palaces, churches, forts, arsenals, and docks, as before.”¹

In thus giving a consecutive account of the Crimean war from the commencement to the close, we have been obliged wholly to overlook our political and internal history. The greater part indeed of public attention, as well as the principal debates of parliament, were occupied with the fluctuations of this momentous war, according to which stocks rose and fell, and hope or despondency predominated. But other subjects, although less obtrusive at the time, characterized the history of the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, of which we can only give a very brief recapitulation.

At the commencement of the first of the above-mentioned years, the feeling of public insecurity upon the question of peace or war, and the doubtful state of our foreign relations, produced their usual effects upon mercantile activity and enterprise. There was added to these drawbacks

¹ *Russell's British Expedition to the Crimea*, p. 582. London, 1858.

a partial dearth throughout Europe, by which the prices of our manufactures were raised, and the demand for them diminished. But these causes, which depressed the mercantile interests, were favourable to those of the agriculturists, who, it was remarked, were more prosperous and more contented than they had been for many previous years.

The first important business introduced this session into parliament unconnected with the war was the subject of parliamentary reform. To this introduction the ministers considered themselves pledged; and they now ventured to fulfil the obligation, notwithstanding the imminent prospect of war, which might seem to make the proposal unseasonable. This objection was stated by Earl Grey in the House of Lords on the 10th of February, and he expressed his apprehension that a disapproval of this reform bill at a season so critical might occasion a dissolution of parliament, or a resignation of the ministry. At all events it ought not to be introduced until at least the navy and army estimates, and the measure for extending the militia force, had been disposed of. The objections which were urged in both houses were overruled, and on the 13th of February Lord John Russell moved for leave to introduce "A bill further to amend the laws relating to the representation of the people in England and Wales." In his speech he stated how much had been effected in parliamentary reform since 1793, and what encouragement this afforded for the removal of three main defects in the reform act which had been left untouched. These were—1. The existence of several boroughs that still retained the power of sending members to parliament, although the number of their electors scarcely justified their possession of such a privilege. These he proposed to disfranchise altogether, to the number of sixty-two seats. Another defect in the reform act was in the division of the counties, which he proposed to remedy by taking population generally as the rule to be applied, and thus filling the sixty-two vacant seats from districts sufficiently populous, but that were still unrepresented. The third defect in the reform act which his bill proposed to remove was the absolute rule of the ten-pound borough franchise; and this he sought to modify by making several new franchises common to counties and towns, of which the qualifications of a voter should be £100 of yearly salary—£10 a year dividends derived from the government funds, bank stock, or East India stock—the payment of 40s. a year either to income-tax or assessed taxes—the being a graduate at any university in the United Kingdom—or, finally, any person having had a deposit of £50 in a savings-bank for not less than three years. In the fran-

chises belonging exclusively to counties and boroughs, his lordship proposed that the electoral qualification for the counties should be, that £10 householders should have a dwelling of the value of £5 a year, and for the boroughs, all householders rated at above £6 a year, with two years and a half of municipal residence.

Such is a brief outline of Lord John Russell's new parliamentary reform bill, and the discussion that followed indicated how greatly the ministers had its success at heart. But the opposition with which it was encountered, together with the unfortunate season of its appearance, when a new war and new taxes were apprehended by all classes, made the wisdom of its introduction and its chances of success equally a matter of doubt. This was shown by the postponement of the second reading, which was not to come on until the 27th of April. So strongly, however, had the opposition increased, that on the 11th Lord John Russell announced in the House of Commons the intention of the ministers to abandon the bill. When war was merely in prospect, he stated, this circumstance was not of itself enough for deferring such a measure of internal improvement; but now that war was actually declared, and that the public had shown an indifference to this, as well as every other question, government had judged it advisable to drop for the present their plan of parliamentary reform. He was moved even to tears as he announced this abandonment of the great project of his life, while the long and enthusiastic cheers of the house was a gratifying expression of their sympathy and esteem.

In two other bills connected with parliamentary reform, Lord John Russell was more successful: one of these was, to consolidate and amend the laws relating to bribery, treating, and undue influence at elections of members; the other, to amend the law for the trial of election petitions, and for inquiring into the existence of corrupt practices at elections. To check these practices, he proposed that a person guilty of bribery should be for ever incapable of being elected a member of parliament; and that the name of a voter accepting a bribe should be struck out of the register of voters. After much discussion on the subject, and many changes upon the original motion, the bill for the suppression of bribery in parliamentary elections was carried by a majority of 107 to 100. This subject, indeed, was not so easily to be laid to rest; and demands were made during the session for more stringent rules, by which the integrity of elections should be examined and their fraudulent practices punished; but the proposals were defeated and the bills withdrawn.

The important subject of law reform in refer-

ence to the consolidation of the statutes, was brought forward by Lord Lyndhurst before the House of Lords on the 9th of February. His lordship stated that the absurdities which had already been expunged from our statute-book were only a sample of those which remained untouched. There were altogether 16,000 public general statutes, and of these nearly 14,000 might be swept away without the slightest inconvenience, while the remainder might be reduced within a reasonable compass by the process of consolidation. But this process, he was told by the lord-chancellor, had been in operation since the 31st of March, last year; that out of nearly 17,000 statutes, only 2500 were living acts of parliament; and that these, when consolidated, should be presented for the sanction of parliament. On the 27th of February, the lord-chancellor, in conformity with the intention announced in the speech from the throne, brought forward his bill for the amendment of the common law. It proposed certain modifications in trial by jury, by which, when both parties were agreed to have their case tried by the judge alone, the use of a jury might be dispensed with. It also proposed that the qualifications of jurors should be somewhat raised, and that there should be but one panel. In tendering the oath, the conscientious scruples of witnesses were to exempt them equally with Moravians, Quakers, and Separatists from taking it. The judge was also to be empowered to order refreshments for juries; and if at the end of twelve hours a jury was not unanimous, it might be liberated, and a new trial take place. These were the principal features of the lord-chancellor's bill, which was cordially received by both houses, and afterwards passed into law. Another important measure in the way of legislative reform, was in the amendment of the navigation laws, by which the hard measure of excluding foreign vessels from our coasting trade was abolished—and by this conclusive decision, the "last remaining fetters were struck off from the free navigation of the sea." These movements in the right direction were closed by the passing of a bill, introduced by the attorney-general, for the suppression of gaming-houses.



VISCOUNT PALMERSTON
From a photograph by Herbert Watkins

But although 101 out of 121 bills were passed during this parliamentary session, they excited little interest, the chief attention being now engrossed with the events of the war in the Crimea. Some of the most important of these bills were among the rejected, and three of them were ministerial. Indeed, the state of the public mind at the commencement of 1855 was little in favour of government, and ministers had lost the national confidence at a time when it was most necessary for their support. For nine months the war had continued, during which our army was overworked, underfed, and wasted away by diseases occasioned through want of proper management; and with every fresh report from the Crimea that told of nothing but suffering and disaster, the charges against ministerial ineptitude became louder and more confirmed. These broke forth into full officialry as soon as parliament had re-assembled, and only two days after—the 25th of January—both parliament and the public were astounded by the resignation of

Lord John Russell. In reference to the army and the war, he confessed that evils did exist, but he could not also fairly and honestly state that all deficiencies and abuses would be immediately remedied; and in consequence of his inability to give such assurance, he felt that he could no longer remain a member of the government. After this resignation, Mr. Roebuck brought on a motion of which he had given due notice, accusing ministers of neglect and mismanagement in the war, which had led to the most disastrous results; and this was passed by a majority of 305 against 148. The fate of the coalition cabinet, as it was called, which had been formed at the season and for the purposes of peace, was sealed, and in consequence of this vote its members resigned office. A new one was constructed, chiefly, however, from the materials of the old, with certain partial changes in the distribution of office. As it now stood, Lord Palmerston was first lord of the treasury; Lord Cranworth, lord-chancellor; Earl Granville, president of the council; Duke of Argyle, lord privy-seal; Earl of Clarendon, foreign secretary; Mr. Sidney Herbert, colonial secretary; Sir

George Grey, home secretary; Lord Panmure, secretary for war; Mr. Gladstone, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir James Graham, first lord of the admiralty; Sir William Molesworth, public works; Sir Charles Wood, president of the board of control; the Marquis of Lansdowne, without office; Lord Canning, postmaster-general; Mr. Cardwell, president of the board of trade. Of these, Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert resigned office. A new reconstruction of Lord Palmerston's cabinet was found necessary, the most remarkable change in which was the appointment of Lord John Russell to the office of secretary of state for the colonies, in the room of Mr. Sidney Herbert. Among the other changes, Sir G. Cornwall Lewis took the place of Mr. Gladstone; Sir C. Wood, of Sir James Graham; Mr. V. Smith, of Sir Charles Wood; Lord Stanley, of Mr. Cardwell; and Lord Carlisle, in the secretaryship of Ireland, that of Lord St. Germain.

From the opening of parliament in 1855, until the 14th of August, when it was prorogued, the debates continued to be almost exclusively occupied with the war, of which every event was made the subject of investigation and comment. They were new subjects for parliamentary eloquence, as well as an exhaustless source of patriotism, party feeling, and ambition, and although the sittings were long, few questions of a purely social character had room for introduction. Of the 141 ministerial bills which were introduced, 108 passed into law, 32 were withdrawn, and 1 was rejected in the House of Lords. Of those which were passed that had no immediate connection with the war, the following enumeration in the royal speech at the close, which was read by the lord-chancellor, will convey a distinct though summary idea:—

"Her majesty, in giving her assent to the bill which you presented to her for the local management of the metropolis, trusts that the arrangements provided by that measure will lead to many improvements conducive to the convenience and the health of this great city. The abolition of the duty on newspapers will tend to diffuse useful information among the poorer classes of her majesty's subjects.

"The principle of limited liability, which you have judiciously applied to joint-stock associations, will afford additional facilities for the employment of capital; and the improvements which you have made in the laws which regulate friendly societies will encourage habits of industry and thrift among the labouring classes of the community.

"Her majesty trusts that the measures to which she has given her assent for improving the constitutions of New South Wales, Victoria, and

Tasmania, and for bestowing on these important and flourishing colonies an extended power of self-government, will assist the development of their great national resources, and promote the contentment and happiness of their inhabitants."

With the commencement of 1856, the feelings and the fears of commercial depression had abated, and commerce and manufactures had returned to their healthy condition. But more than even the fluctuations of trade, was the interest of the war upon the public attention. The increase of our experience in the conducting of warlike operations, the force and efficiency to which our army in the Crimea had been raised, and the abundance of our resources for carrying on the conflict, combined with the feeling that enough had not as yet been effected to counterpoise our reverses and accomplish the objects of the enterprise, made the prospect of peace generally regarded with indifference, if not with dislike. It could only be a truce at the best, instead of an enforced peace upon an ambitious enemy; and Russia would be certain to resume her projects of eastern aggrandisement as soon as her strength was renewed and an opportunity afforded. While such was the state of the public mind, the session of parliament was opened by her majesty in person; and in moving the reply to the royal speech, which was congratulatory upon these pacific prospects, the Earl of Gosford in the House of Lords gave distinct expression to the general feeling on the subject. Having declared his full belief in the necessity and justice of the war, he stated that he had looked forward with joyful anticipations to the probable result of the campaign of 1856. But the scene had changed, and he found himself suddenly, and somewhat reluctantly, an advocate of peace. The nation was only now beginning to shake off the rust of a long repose, and to make great preparations for continuing hostilities; it was natural that there should be on the part of the public a certain reluctance to suspend them; but it was doubtful how far this feeling should be indulged if the terms of peace would prevent the aggressions of Russia, not only against Turkey, but in other quarters, and leave no opening for future dispute. Thus far in his advocacy of peace he was ready to go, but no farther, and he trusted the negotiations would be brought to a satisfactory conclusion.

On the 5th of May the treaty of peace was debated in both houses, and every article was scrutinized and commented upon with a freedom of opinion that forms the best characteristic of a British parliament. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that each article had its eulogist and opponent. Into those conflicting opinions, however, it is not the duty of the historian to enter,

until time has tested them, and separated the false from the true. In the House of Lords, which was filled to overflowing by an eager audience, the Earl of Ellesmere moved the address upon the treaty; and in the classical eloquent speech which he delivered on the occasion, there were two subjects upon which there could be no diversity of opinion. One was a just tribute to the peaceful but painful heroism and self-devotion of Miss Nightingale, whose part in the war could not be too highly commended. "My lords," said the noble speaker, "the agony of that time has become a matter of history. The vegetation of two successive springs has obscured the vestiges of Balaklava and Inkermann. Strong voices now answer to the roll-call, and sturdy forms now cluster round the colours. The ranks are full, the hospitals are empty. The angel of mercy still lingers to the last on the scene of her labours, but her mission is all but accomplished. Those long arcades of Scutari, in which dying men sat up to catch the sound of her footstep or the flutter of her dress, and fell back on the pillow content to have seen her shadow as it passed, are now comparatively deserted. She may probably be thinking how to escape, as best she may, on her return, the demonstrations of a nation's appreciation of the deeds and motives of Florence Nightingale." The other part of the well-merited eulogiums of the eloquent peer was upon Lord Raglan, from whose head-quarters during the awful winter of complicated trials, "had radiated a moral force, a serene and unquenchable spirit of faith, and trust, and duty, which did resist, and which alone could have resisted, the combined influences of weather, privation, and fatigue, superadded to the constant changes of a defective military position, threatened in front, flank, and rear, by a brave, an able, and outnumbering army. The spell prevailed: not even discomfiture, far less disgrace—for discomfiture, and even destruction under such circumstances might have come without disgrace—fell on the banners of England." It was a noble and true, as well as a brave-hearted testimony in behalf of a departed hero, whom it had become too much the fashion to identify with some of the worst errors and mischances of the war. "I am sure," added Lord Ellesmere, in allusion to the return of peace, "that from Balaklava and Kadikoi to the ravine of the Tchernaya and the heights of Inkermann, while England's renovated battalions are shaking the earth with their tramp, and extorting alike from constant allies and former foes that ungrudging admiration which true soldiers love to feel even for 'foemen worthy of their steel'—amidst that pomp and circumstance of war's display without its terrors, and the interchange of hospitalities

between reconciled antagonists—there will be a branch of myrrh in the festival goblet, when the cup is fullest and the revel is at its height, which will make the draught bitter but wholesome. There will be a thought and a sigh for one who should have been there. They will miss among the crowds of officers of many nations the armless sleeve, the noble form, which in the hour of battle they had never far to seek—that countenance which by its winning expression was in itself a passport to the soldier's heart. Yes, there will be a thought and a sigh for him who established and maintained the footing of England on that soil, and but for whom, as I devoutly believe, the graves on Cathcart's Hill would have been now, like the *tumuli* which record in that country the reign of extinct dynasties and forgotten sovereigns, the sole memorial of the achievements and the fate of an English army."

After this speech, which was listened to throughout with profound sympathy, the Earl of Ellesmere moved the address congratulatory of the peace, which was to the following effect, and after much discussion passed by both houses:—

"To assure her majesty that, while we should have deemed it our duty cheerfully to afford her majesty our firm support if it had unfortunately been found necessary to continue the war, we have learned with joy and satisfaction that her majesty has been enabled to re-establish peace on conditions honourable to her majesty's crown, and which fully accomplish the great objects for which the war was undertaken.

"To express to her majesty the great satisfaction which we feel at finding that, while those alliances which have so mainly contributed to the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war, have been equally effective in the consolidation of peace, powers which have not taken an active part in the war have combined with the belligerents to give additional firmness to the arrangements by which the repose of Europe is in future to be protected from disturbance.

"To state to her majesty that we rejoice that, notwithstanding the great exertions which the late war has rendered necessary, the resources of the empire remain unimpaired.

"To express our hope that the peace which has now been concluded may, under the favour of Divine Providence, long continue to shed its blessings over Europe, and that harmony among governments and friendly intercourse among nations may steadily promote the progress of civilization, and secure the welfare and happiness of mankind."

To this address, which was presented to the queen by both houses at Buckingham Palace on the 8th of May, the following was her majesty's reply:—

"I receive with sincere pleasure the loyal and dutiful address which you have presented to me on this occasion.

"I heartily thank you for your cordial co-operation in the measures which I considered necessary for the prosecution of a war, which, in conjunction with my allies, I have been enabled to conduct to an honourable and successful termination, by the full accomplishment of the objects for which it was undertaken.

"It is most satisfactory to me to feel that peace has been re-established on a basis which affords the best security for its permanence, and I trust that, by God's blessing, it may long continue to promote the progress of civilization, and the happiness and welfare of mankind."

The rest of the sitting in both houses during that day was chiefly occupied in passing a vote of thanks to the officers of the navy, army, and royal marines who had taken part in the operations of the late war, and to the officers of the several corps of militia, for their zealous and meritorious services both at home and abroad. In the lords, the vote was moved by Lord Panmure, the secretary of war; and in his enumeration of the services both on land and sea, he gave a succinct view of the late conflicts and their results. Beginning with the navy, he observed that in the Baltic it had maintained the most difficult of all blockades for two years without the loss of a single ship. It had reduced one of the strongholds of the enemy; it had swept the sea of every vessel belonging to Russia; and confined to port the whole of the large navy which that power could command. In the Black Sea, it had attacked the fortresses of Sebastopol and Kinburn; and by the operations in the Sea of Azof had rendered the most valuable assistance to the army. During the course of the war, it had also furnished transport to 435,000 men and 54,000 horses. He then reviewed the services of the army from the date of its landing at Varna, its courage in the field, and its endurance and fortitude under privations and disease; and he compared its condition during the winter

of 1854 with its present state, to show the efficiency into which it had been brought through the efforts of its officers and commanders. In point of health it could bear comparison with the army at home. He then read from official returns an account of its losses from every cause, which amounted to 270 officers and 22,467 men. This was an amount which, compared with the losses of the enemy, gave us cause of thankfulness that our share had been such a light one. In the commons, where the same motion was made by Lord Palmerston and seconded by Mr. D'Israeli, the latter bore the following eloquent testimony to the worth and valour of our enemies:—"While I would join with the noble lord in the fullest expression of thanks, even to our allies—if formally we might offer them—let us remember that there are some who were not our allies, who were not the soldiers of our sovereign, to whom it would be not only generous, but, in my mind, wise to do justice. The father of poetry has told us that the strength of a conqueror cannot be more surely estimated than by the character of him whom he has conquered. Sir, the men whom the forces of the queen and her allies had to meet in the great struggle which is now concluded were no common men. The legions that triumphed under Suvaroff and conquered at the Borodino, although defeated at Sebastopol, have proved themselves foemen worthy of the united chivalry of England and of France. In doing this justice to our late opponents we are, in fact, only placing the achievements of our fellow-countrymen and our allies in their true aspect and proper position. Sir, I have great pleasure in seconding the motion of the noble lord; and if it were not presumption, I would express my opinion that when the verdict—I will not say of posterity—but that when the calm and unimpassioned verdict of the time in which we live is given upon these events, it will be acknowledged that in the late struggle our country has shown all those qualities which maintain a nation's greatness, and which prevent the decline and fall of empires."

CHAPTER XXI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1857—1858.

VICTORIA.

The Crimean war followed by the Indian revolt—Dangerous increase of native soldiers in the Anglo Indian armies—Danger to be apprehended from the Bengal army—Its mutinous spirit on the subject of greased cartridges—Conspiracy among the sepoys at Barrackpore—Breaking out of the rebellion at Berhampore—The rebels in that quarter disarmed—Mode of disseminating a rebellious spirit through the provinces—Report that the Hindoos were to be forced into Christianity—Alarm occasioned by it—Proclamation of government refuting the report—The rebellion breaks out at Meerut—The mutineers defeated and driven to Delhi—Their sanguinary excesses in Delhi—Mutiny of the city—Murder of the Europeans there—Suppression of the rebellion at Meerut—The rebels disarmed at Ferozepore—Measures of government to suppress the rebellion—Advance of British troops for the recovery of Delhi—They defeat the rebels at Badulee Ke-Serai—They defeat them again near Delhi—Blockade of Delhi by the British—Rebellion breaks out at Fettehghur, Allahabad, and Bundelcund—Cruelties perpetrated on the British by the rebels—Rebellion at Azimghur and Benares—Redeeming circumstances in the rebellion of these two places—Sharp measures for the suppression of the mutineers at Benares—Rebellion at Lucknow—Preparations of the British in that quarter to resist it—They are closely besieged in the residency—Extent of the rebellion throughout India—Its breaking out at Cawnpore—Nana Sahib—His previous history—He attacks Cawnpore—Murder of the Europeans there on their surrender—General Havelock sets out for the recovery of Cawnpore and relief of Lucknow—His rapid and splendid career—His numerous victories—He enters Cawnpore—His severe chastisement of the rebels in Cawnpore—He sets out for the relief of Lucknow—He gains a victory at Unao—His three victories at Busherat Gunge—He falls back on Cawnpore—He defeats the rebels at Bhitoor—Siege of Delhi—Commencement of active operations against the city—Storming of Delhi—Capture of the king and his sons—Execution of the king's sons—Aid given to the British by native soldiers and chiefs.



SCARCELY had Britain congratulated herself on the successful termination of the Crimean war, and begun to enjoy the return of peace, than she was startled by the tidings of a new arena that had been opened, and by a fresh demand upon her military energies and resources. In this case, also, it was to be no war with aliens, but with a people who were living under our sway; while the prize at stake was the fairest, richest, and largest portion of our foreign empire, which had broken out into rebellion, and was on the point of being lost to us for ever. India had risen in deadly revolt against our rule, while its leaders were those native armies whom we had trained to victory, and by whom our eastern supremacy had been hitherto maintained. The tidings were received with a shudder of dread and sad foreboding. Was India, then, to be lost to us even as America had been? Had the season arrived when these rich kingdoms of the East, after having been enjoyed successively by Portugal, Holland, and Britain, were to pass, as they had been wont, into the hands of new masters, or be thrown back into their ancient anarchical independence?

The nature of our hold upon India was so anomalous, that the reflective had constantly doubted of its permanence. Our conquests had been chiefly effected by native armies, and continued to be ruled by their instrumentality; but it was unreasonable to think that the mere military allegiance of the sepoy would be always

superior to those ties of nationality which connected him with the vanquished. And even if he remained insensible to the calls of patriotism and religion, it could not be expected that he would be always superior to the inducements of selfishness and ambition. He had learned his own strength, and been taught how to use it, so that he might now conquer on his own account, instead of winning kingdoms for alien taskmasters. As if also to teach these men their own strength and resources, the native armies in our service had now increased to an alarming amount as compared with the European soldiers. Each of the three presidencies, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, had its own army; but while they mustered in all 300,000 men, of these there were only about 43,000 who were British. Of all these armies, the most efficient for useful service, as well as the most prompt for revolt, and the most to be feared in such an event, was the army of Bengal, consisting of 118,600 native, and only 22,600 European soldiers. Its cavalry were for the most part Mahometans, men imbued with all the pride and bigotry of the Koran; its infantry were the *elite* of Hindoostan, being chiefly recruited from the people of Rajpootana and Oude, the most warlike and high-spirited of the Indian races, and by whom the utmost purity of the Brahminical caste was supposed to be inherited. It was from this army accordingly that most danger had for some time been apprehended. A single random spark would be enough to set its whole religious bigotry in a blaze. And

even already, a deep cause of offence existed in the Bengal army, on account of the annexation of the kingdom of Oude by the East India Company in 1856. The people of Oude regarded this transference of their national independence, such as it was, with indignant silence, while their countrymen in the army shared in their feelings. By this act they thought not only that their national rights were trampled under foot, but their religious superiority as Brahmins of the highest class regarded with equal contempt, and destined to a similar overthrow.

These and other such causes, which had been gathering and growing for years, had already matured into a deep and widely-extended conspiracy for the overthrow of the British dominion in India; but the particulars of the plan, and the persons who devised it, are still involved in obscurity. It is supposed, however, that the court of Persia was the principal focus of the conspiracy, and that the Mahometans of the north of India were its chief agents and disseminators. Those men, who might be termed the Norman aristocracy of Hindoostan, owed an especial grudge to the British by whom they had been supplanted; and they endeavoured to work upon the credulity of the Hindoo soldiery, by assuring them that the British intended to overthrow their creed, and compel them to become Christians. This was enough to remind them of the conversions of Tippoo Sahib, who propagated Islamism by fire and sword. It is supposed that these Mahometan intriguers intended to replace the old King of Delhi upon the throne of his ancestors, and to rule under his name; and it is known that they were endeavouring to incite Dost Mahomed, the King of Cabool, to prepare for the invasion of the Punjab, as soon as the revolt of the Bengal army, upon which they had calculated, should leave that territory defenceless. Even these representations might have been ineffectual with the Hindoo soldiers, had they not been apparently confirmed by an act of the British government itself. This was the affair of greased cartridges, that served as the commencement of rebellion and signal of outbreak. The Enfield rifle, an improvement upon the Menié, had been introduced at the commencement of 1857 into the Bengal army; and as greased cartridges were necessary for its effective use, these were issued to the troops along with the weapon. A report immediately started up and flew abroad, that the grease employed in the preparation of these cartridges consisted of a preparation of the fat of cows and pigs—the first of these animals being the objects of Hindoo adoration, and the last of Mahometan abhorrence. The first occasion on which the rumour was heard was the following: At Dumdum, where there was a school of

practice for the new Enfield rifle, a sepoy soldier, a Brahmin, was asked by a man of low caste to be permitted to drink out of his lotah, or vessel of water, to whom he replied, "I have scoured my lotah, and you will pollute it by your touch." "You think much of your caste," said the other angrily, "but wait a little, and the Europeans will make you bite cartridges soaked in cow and pork fat, and then where will your caste be?" The sepoy reported these words to his comrades, and they quickly reached Barrackpore, at which several native regiments were stationed. It was in vain they were assured by the government that no such grease had been used in the preparation of the paper in question, and that if they had scruples in the matter, they were at liberty to procure their own ingredients at the bazaar. The report still continued to strengthen at Barrackpore among the four native regiments stationed there; and on the 6th of February, a sepoy revealed to an officer the plot of his companions, who were alarmed with the fear of being compelled to abandon their caste and become Christians. From his revelation it appeared that these regiments intended to rise against their officers, and after plundering or burning down their bungalows, to march to Calcutta, and there attempt to seize Fort William, or failing in this, to take possession of the treasury.

This state of things was too alarming to be neglected, and measures were taken by the British commanders and officers to still the apprehensions of the native soldiery. They were publicly addressed on parade with the assurance that there was no design to make them Christians; that they could not become such without being able to read, and to understand the rules that were written in the Christian's book; and that nothing but their own free choice and request, after they had so learned, could admit them to the privilege of baptism. The issue of the obnoxious ammunition was stopped, and plans were suggested by which the cartridge might be used by tearing off the end, instead of putting it to the mouth and biting it. Native officers were also appointed to learn the process of cartridge-making in which the forbidden articles were to be excluded. But the alarm had grown too strong to be put down by such assurances or concessions: a rebellion was inevitable even where the original cause had dwindled into a mere pretext or watchword. The first open manifestation was at Barrackpore, on the morning of the 26th of February, when the 19th regiment of native infantry were ordered out on parade. Percussion caps were about to be issued to them, but these the soldiers refused to receive, declaring that it was still doubtful how the cartridges were made; and on the evening of the same day they assembled on

parade by their own authority, broke open the *bells* (small oval buildings) in which their arms were piled, and having taken possession of the weapons and ammunition, carried them off to their lines. Their commander, Colonel Mitchell, ordered them to pile arms and disperse, and on their refusal, called up the cavalry and artillery; but they still refused to obey until these troops were withdrawn, which was done accordingly. For this concession, the colonel was tried by a court of inquiry, and censured. It was resolved also to disband this dangerous regiment, and accordingly it was marched off to Barrackpoor, where the 52d and 84th queen's regiments were stationed to disarm them. But on the 29th of March, two days previous to the disbanding, while the 19th was at Barrackpoor, the rebellion commenced in bloodshed. A sepoy of the 34th regiment of native infantry, having intoxicated himself with *bang*, discharged his musket at Lieutenant Baugh, and shot that officer's horse; the lieutenant fired a pistol at his assailant, but missed him, and was wounded in return by the madman, as was also the sergeant-major of the corps, who went to the lieutenant's assistance. The mutineer, whose name was Mungal Pandey, was seized, tried, and sentenced to be hanged; and on the scaffold he expressed his regret for the crime, and tried, but in vain, to persuade his fellow-soldiers to return to their duty. As for the 19th regiment, it was drawn up on parade in the square of Barrackpoor, surrounded by the two British and several native regiments—and for a moment it was doubted whether the latter might not side with the 19th, and offer battle to the 52d and 84th. But no such outbreak occurred: the rebels surrendered their arms, and were marched off under an escort of cavalry to Chinsurah, bewailing their infatuation, and petitioning when too late to be readmitted to the service.

It was not, however, by such checks that the spirit of revolt was to be suppressed, or even retarded; it was diffused like a pestilence far and near by mysterious agencies which the authorities could neither detect nor surmise. One of these was the transmission of a kind of little unleavened cakes, called *chupatties*, a symbol which the Europeans did not understand, but which seems to have been as significant to the natives as the fiery cross to the Highlanders of Scotland, and used for a similar purpose. A *chowkodar*, or village policeman of Cawnpore, gave two of these cakes, the common food of the poor, to another *chowkodar* in Futtehghur, telling him to make ten more, and give them to five of his brethren of the nearest station, with a similar

charge to each; and thus at every hour these runners were multiplying among a class of men who were spread over India, and whose mischievous errand was least liable to be suspected.



A CHOWKODAR OR VILLAGE POLICEMAN.²

The circulation of *chupatties* commenced in Oude and elsewhere in the beginning of 1857, and European conjecture was utterly at a loss to penetrate this Indian mystery, which subsequent events made only too intelligible. Reports also were industriously spread in the bazaars that the missionaries had petitioned the Queen of Great Britain to enforce the use of the greased cartridges, in order to compel the Hindoos to become Christians. They even pretended to give the very words of this petition, which, they alleged, were the following:—"Tippoo made thousands of Hindoos become of his religion, while your majesty has not made one Christian. Under your orders are sepoys of all castes. We therefore pray you to adopt this plan—namely, to cause to be mixed up together bullocks' fat and pigs' fat, and to have it put upon the cartridges which your sepoys put into their mouths, and after six months to have it made known to the sepoys how they have thereby lost their caste, and by this means a certain road will be opened for making many Christians." They added, that the queen was highly satisfied with this petition, and had given her assent to it. Notwithstanding the absurdity of this report, it was so well suited to the credulity and ignorance of the people, and gained such belief, that the governor-general, Lord Canning, in council, was obliged on the 16th of May to issue a proclamation on the subject, disclaiming any attempt to interfere with the castes or religion of the people, and warning

¹ Hence the name of *Pandies*, which was afterwards given to the rebel sepoys by the British soldiers in India.

² From *Isiatic Costumes*, a series of coloured engravings from drawings taken from life.

them against the arts of those who attempted to withdraw them from their allegiance.

But this proclamation was too late, and even had it been earlier it would have been equally useless. The rebellion had already broken out in full violence, and in those districts where it could be least resisted. Of the European regiments in the presidency of Bengal, the greater part were dispersed over the whole extent of our Indian empire, and isolated among a hostile people. One important military station was Meerut, thirty-five miles to the north-east of the city of Delhi, between the Ganges and the Jumna, where there were cantonments on an extensive plain near the town, consisting of barracks and lines for European and native infantry, cavalry, and artillery. At this place were two regiments of native infantry and one of light cavalry, comprising in all 2700 men, and an European force of one regiment of infantry, one of dragoons, and a troop and company of artillery, numbering 1717 men, the whole being under the command of Major-general Hewitt. On the 6th of May, when cartridges, which, to avoid offence, had been made for the purpose, were offered to the native cavalry, eighty-five troopers refused to receive them. They were tried by a court-martial for their disobedience; eighty were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for ten years, and five for six years; and on the 9th, after their sentences were read to them on parade, they were put in irons and conducted to jail. But their companions sympathized in their rebellion; their jail-guards were sepoy, and the European troops were posted at the distance of three miles from the native camp. Everything seemed to tempt a rescue, accompanied with violence and lawlessness. On the following morning, which was Sunday, the native regiments rose in mutiny, fired upon their officers, and after making a rush upon the prison, from which they rescued not only their fellows, but upwards of 1000 convicts who were confined there, they set the building on fire. The wildest license now prevailed in Meerut, where the excesses of the rebellious sepoys were aided by the liberated prisoners; the Europeans were attacked wherever they could be found, and several British officers, with their wives and children, were massacred with circumstances of aggravated atrocity. While bungalows were blazing in every direction, and the streets filled with the hurrying rush of the murderers, and shrieks of the dying, the two British regiments in their remote encampment were preparing for church parade; but as soon as the alarm reached them, they marched against the native lines, assailed them with volleys of grape and musketry, drove the mutineers from the encampment, and pursued them in their

retreat, cutting down a considerable number on the way. But as the chase was conducted by only a party of carabineers and riflemen, and as the night was very dark, the main body of the mutineers, consisting of the 3d light cavalry and 20th infantry, were enabled to make good their retreat to Delhi.

Such was the day of horror which prevailed over Meerut and its neighbourhood on this memorable 10th of May; the scene was now to be shifted to Delhi, where three regiments of native infantry and a battery of native artillery were stationed, but not a single company of British soldiers. At an early hour on the morning of the 11th a handful of horsemen, not above thirty or forty in number, came galloping in headlong speed to the city, though their approach excited no alarm. But they were an advanced party of the light cavalry, who had fled from Meerut; and they were the harbingers of the atrocities that were to follow, and the chief actors in their commission. They rushed in at the Calcutta Gate unchallenged, and had no sooner entered the city than, raising the cry of "*Deen, deen,*" their shout equally for a battle-charge or a massacre, they attacked and cut down every European they met in their way. The military cantonment was about two miles distant, and from this place, in consequence of a notice sent to the brigadier, the 54th native regiment with two guns were sent to quell the mutiny. They steadily marched to the city and promptly entered by the Cashmere Gate; but here the mask was dropped; for no sooner did the insurgent body of light cavalry approach than the sepoys withdrew from their officers, leaving the latter exposed to the fierce horsemen, who came upon them at full gallop, and shot them down with their pistols. After this the murderers and sepoys fraternized, and as the main body from the retreat of Meerut continued to pour in, Delhi was now in possession of the rebels—nothing remained to the British but the powder magazine, with two officers and three or four sub-alterns in charge of it. But such as it was, it was the only refuge left to the British dominion in Delhi; and while the work of murder was going on within the city, where the shameful atrocities of Meerut were exceeded, not only upon strong men, but helpless women and unoffending children, the rebels assailed the magazine with their whole united force. The place was gallantly held by the handful within, and the first attacks repelled by volleys of grape; but thousands still pressed forward, and scaling ladders were applied, so that the walls were on the point of being won. But calculating upon this chance, Lieutenant Willoughby, who was in charge of the magazine, had laid a train to that

department which contained the gunpowder; it was fired at his signal; and instantly the building, with hundreds of sepoy, were sent flying into the air. During the smoke and confusion the few defenders managed to escape, with the exception of the gallant Willoughby, who, scorched, blackened, and all but killed by the explosion, succeeded in reaching Meerut, but only to die soon after. While this hasty siege had been going on, such of the British residents, both gentlemen and ladies, as had escaped the first onset of the murderers, endeavoured to find a rallying point, for either shelter or an honourable death, and the greater part repaired to the Flagstaff Tower, in front of the cantonments, where a company of the 38th native infantry and two guns were stationed. The tower itself was strongly built, and might have resisted an attack, while several officers of the 38th had still hope that their soldiers might be recalled to a sense of duty. But at a quarter before four o'clock in the afternoon, while they were remonstrating with them, a glare was suddenly seen in the distance; it was the explosion of the magazine in the city; and as if it had been a signal gun to action, the sepoy rushed to their arms, and the Flagstaff Tower, no longer a safe place of shelter, had to be abandoned by its inmates, who retreated, some to Kernoul, and others to Meerut. Another attempt was made to hold a small fortified bastion called the Main-guard, within the Cashmere Gate, that was soon filled not only with men, but with women and children, and reinforcements were sent for from the cantonments; but at five o'clock these treacherous guards, on whom they had depended, suddenly opened a fire upon them, and commenced a massacre from which only a few escaped. Even the palace, to which many of the Europeans fled, was no protection. There sat the old titular sovereign, weighed down but not softened by the load of more than fourscore years; there, too, were his sons, to give active spirit to his relentless apathy, and encourage the murders that were perpetrated in his name; and all who fled to its courts in the vain hope of safety, or were allured thither by promises of protection, were there murdered, not only, as was alleged, by the express commands of the princes, but even in their very presence. Within a day or two not a British resident was left alive in Delhi.

While the conflagration was thus kindled in which our whole Indian empire was so soon to be enveloped, the electric wires which extended across Hindoostan from Calcutta to Lahore, with branch lines to the principal military and civil stations, were in active operation. On the 11th of May, a telegram announced to the authorities at Lahore the revolt of the previous day at Meerut, and these news were followed on the 12th by an account of the massacres and occupation of Delhi. When the tidings arrived Sir



THE FLAGSTAFF TOWER, DELHI - From a photograph

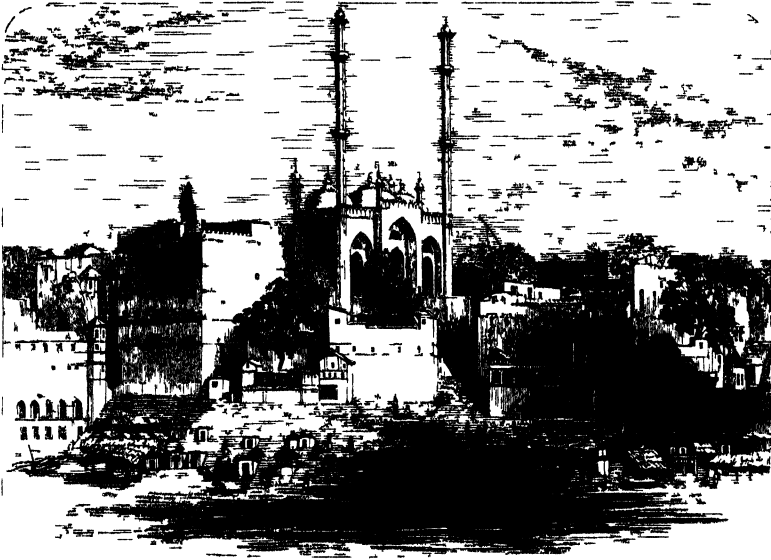
John Lawrence, the chief commissioner of the Punjab, was absent at Rawal Pindee; but the judicial commissioner, Mr. Montgomery, at this crisis fortunately assumed the direction of affairs, and promptly repaired to Meean Meer, the military cantonment of which was six miles distant. It was well that he did so, for at this station, where there were three native regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, with the 81st British regiment and some artillery, the sepoy had matured a plot to seize the fort at Lahore, break open the jail, and massacre all the Europeans. Their design was discovered, and measures were concerted between Mr. Montgomery and Brigadier Corbett, the commander at Meean Meer, to defeat it. On that evening a hall was to be given by the residents to the officers of the 81st, and to lull suspicion the ball was allowed to go on. But on the next morning the troops were drawn up on parade, ostensibly to hear a general order read; the five companies of the 81st, with their artillery, were stationed in the rear of the native regiments; and the latter, after a few sentences addressed to them, were commanded to pile arms. The sepoy for a moment hesitated: but they found that twelve guns were pointed at them loaded to the muzzle with grape-shot; that at a

single word of command, the lighted matches would be applied; and slowly and moodily they yielded to the necessity, and piled their arms, which were instantly removed in carts by the European soldiers.

The rapid action of the telegraphic wires was equally effectual in other quarters. At Ferozepore, south of the Sutlej, was a very large magazine of military stores; but the 45th native regiment of infantry, which was stationed at this place, had put themselves in communication with the rebels of Meean Meer, and agreed to act with them in the revolt. But on the same day (the 13th), when Brigadier Jones was advertised of the proceedings at Delhi, he quietly moved the native troops out of their entrenchments, and filled their place with a detachment of the 61st British infantry, and twelve pieces of cannon. Thus finding themselves suspected, the sepoys endeavoured to effect their purpose by open violence, and to win back the entrenchments by scaling-ladders, with which they had been previously furnished; but their attempt was repelled and the magazine saved. On the same eventful day, also, when the report of the disarming of the rebels at Lahore was transmitted to Peshawer, the principal officers of that quarter decided upon the formation of a moveable column, whose head-quarters were to be at Jhelum, and which was to "move on every point of the Punjab where open mutiny required to be put down by force." By these decisive proceedings the most important limb of the conspiracy was lopped off, and the best of its strength paralyzed. It was from the Punjab that the greatest danger was apprehended, both from the military spirit of the Sikhs, and the recentness of their subjugation, which still rankled in their memories. Other less important attempts at mutiny, which were on the eve of breaking out in other parts of the country, were either suppressed or abandoned. The next movement on the part of the British government was to be the recovery of Delhi, for which the securing of the Punjab was a necessary step; and accordingly, Sir John Lawrence, Mr. Montgomery, and the other officers in that quarter, bestirred themselves in raising fresh troops, Mooltanese, Sikhs, and men of the hill tribes, who had not been infected by the mutiny, and were ready to serve against any power on the inducements of good pay and plunder. At the same time, Lord Canning, the Governor-general of India, recalled the troops stationed in Persia, and sent for reinforcements from Bombay and Madras, from Burmah and Ceylon, from the Eastern Settlements and the Mauritius, and above all, from England, to put down a rebellion in which so many kingdoms were united, and to maintain which so many armies were in the field.

The commander-in-chief in India during these proceedings of the terrible outburst, was General the Honourable George Anson. He was at Simla when they commenced, having retired thither to avoid the heat of the plains; but as soon as the alarm reached him he proceeded to Umballa, where he collected as many troops as could be mustered, and proceeded towards Delhi. But he died at Kurnool, from an attack of cholera, on the 27th of May. He was succeeded in the command by Major-general Reed, who was worn out with age and sickness, so that this new commander-in-chief was obliged to devolve his charge upon Major-general Sir Henry Bernard, at Alleepore, on the 8th of June, and when he was within a single march of Delhi. Such were the effects of succession by the rule of seniority at a season when the prime of strength, activity, and promptitude was loudly and suddenly called for. The main body under Reed, which was joined to Bernard's own forces, was still further increased by Brigadier-general Wilson, who had marched up from Meerut to join them, defeating on his way in two attacks a strong body of the Delhi insurgents, who had attempted to intercept him, and capturing twenty-six of their guns; and on the 8th, a little after midnight, General Bernard advanced from Alleepore, and found the enemy awaiting him in a strongly fortified position at Badulee Ke Serai. His light artillery could make no impression against the heavy cannon of the rebels; but they were driven from their entrenchments by a gallant bayonet charge of the 75th regiment, and they fled, leaving their guns behind them. Having thus far cleared the way, the British army advanced to the attack upon Delhi; and for this purpose General Bernard divided his force into two columns, one of which, under the command of General Wilson, advanced upon the city along the main trunk road, while the other, headed by himself, proceeded through the cantonments which the rebels had burned and destroyed, and upon a ridge beyond which he found them posted in a strong position, well defended with artillery. In this, as on other occasions throughout the war, they were turning the lessons they had learned against their instructors; but it was merely as humble imitators, and as schoolboys in rebellion against their teachers: the genius of the master-spirit to strike out new paths, or even to follow up the old to their highest result, was equally wanting among them, and hence the disadvantage under which they constantly laboured, notwithstanding their overwhelming numbers and vast resources. Their position was taken in flank and rear, and carried by a rapid flank movement to the left on the part of General Bernard, and the rebels, abandoning their guns, were fain to take to flight, while

General Wilson's column pressing forward, over high walls and through gardens, drove the fugitives back into the city. The British troops having then re-united, established themselves before Delhi in a camp about two miles to the north of the city, with the old cantonments in their front, the river Jumna on their left, and a canal in their rear. Here upon ground high and rocky, and admirably suited for the siege, they were obliged to stand on the defensive for months,



BENARES from the River —From an original drawing by T. Longcroft, Esq.

owing to the smallness of their numbers, and the immense force of the rebel sepoys within the city. The entire amount of the European army who thus established themselves upon blockade before Delhi did not exceed 3000 bayonets, with a detachment of Ghoorkas, who during these encounters aided the British, and served them with admirable courage and fidelity.

During the course of these events that led to the siege of Delhi, the instances of revolt in the several portions of our Indian empire continued to multiply in still closer succession, but to these, important though they were, we can only devote a brief notice. At Futtehghur it was thought advisable, when the rebellion had approached the neighbourhood, to send off the ladies and the children for safety to Cawnpore, and they were embarked in boats upon the Ganges, when, on hearing false reports of the safety that was still to be enjoyed at Futtehghur, a considerable part of them were tempted to return. Here, however, the mutiny broke out on the 18th of June; the fort in which the Europeans had taken refuge was attacked, and, after a desperate but fruitless resistance, its inmates, to the number of 100, including women and children, embarked on the Ganges on the 4th of July, soon after midnight, but were fired upon from the banks by the sepoys; and in consequence of the stranding of one of

the two boats, nearly all on board were killed or drowned, while those who escaped landed at Bhittoor, only to be murdered by Nana Sahib, who had his residence there. At Allahabad, where the mutiny broke out in the beginning of June, the circumstances that accompanied it were still more atrocious, for there the European officers, to the number of fourteen, were butchered on the parade ground by their own sepoy soldiers, the military station was destroyed by fire, and for several days the city was wholly given up to plunder and havoc, in which 100 Europeans were killed. This state of outrage continued until troops were sent up from Benares, by whom the place was recovered, and a severe chastisement inflicted on the rebels. A similar outbreak took place at Jhansi in Bundelcund on the 4th of June, where such of the British residents as could not make their escape from the town retired into the fort, determined to sell their lives as dear as possible. Although they were only fifty-five, including women and children, they maintained the defence four days under an incessant fire of cannon and musketry, and only surrendered on the promise that all their lives should be spared. But no sooner had the rebels got possession of the fort than they violated their promises, and put all their prisoners to the sword. On the 3d of June the revolt broke out at Azim-

ghur, nearly opposite to Benares, but accompanied with such circumstances of forbearance as to make this act, as compared with the other outbreaks, almost seem a virtue; for although the mutineers plundered an escort conveying treasure to Benares, they formed a square with the officers within to protect their lives, and brought carriages for the safe conveyance of the women and children, whom they actually escorted ten miles on the road to Guzeepore! At Benares, where a rebellious *emeute* commenced as soon as the news of the outbreak at Azimghur arrived, a small company of 200 British soldiers maintained themselves against nearly eight times that number of Sikhs and sepoy who suddenly rose upon them, and held their position in the mint until British reinforcements were sent to their aid, and Benares, the Athens of Brahminical learning, recovered from the revolters. It is gratifying to add, that while this conflict at Benares was at the hottest, seventy Sikh soldiers who had been placed in guard of the government treasury, amounting to six lacs of rupees, defended their trust to the last, and restored it entire to our troops when the insurrection was quelled. This rebellion, which had nerved the most timid to such deeds of daring and endurance on the part of the Europeans as will form a fruitful theme

for future Indian story, had also its natural effect in hardening the feelings to the stern modes of suppression and retribution which had to be adopted, and caused deeds to be regarded with toleration which, at other seasons, could not even have been heard of without a shudder. Writing on the 29th of June, a British resident mentions the permanent establishment of the gibbet at Benares, and adds—"Scarcely a day passes without some poor wretches being hurled into eternity. It is horrible, very horrible! To think of it is enough to make one's blood run cold; but such is the state of things here that even fine delicate ladies may be heard expressing their joy at the rigour with which the miscreants are dealt with."

When the rebellion commenced it was of the utmost importance to insure the safety of Lucknow, the capital of the lately annexed and still discontented kingdom of Oude, containing about 700,000 inhabitants. Accordingly, after the 3d of May, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was acting as chief commissioner there in the absence of Sir James Outram, made active preparations for the defence of the residency; and among other measures, he repaired the Muchee Bhawun, an outlying citadel opposite the stone bridge across the Goomtee river, and considered as the key



THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW — From a view in the Illustrated London News

to Lucknow. The native force at Lucknow consisted of more than 4000 men, having about sixty European officers: the British troops did not number in all 1000. Here the mutiny, after seven or eight weeks of indignant threats and murmurings, broke out on the evening of the 30th of May, at the military cantonments which were at some distance on the north side of the river Goomtee, and the commencement was with the usual deeds of violence: the *sepoys* burned down some of the buildings, and fired into the mess-

room of the officers, in consequence of which two were shot dead; but on bringing up a part of the 32d regiment and the artillery, the rebels, after some loss, forsook the cantonments, and retreated towards Delhi. It was merely the first murmur of the storm that was to gather round Lucknow; and aware of this, Sir Henry Lawrence redoubled his preparations for the strengthening of the defences, and multiplying the means of resistance. The most active of the rebellious emissaries were hanged on a gallows erected in

front of the Muchee Bhawun; two members of the royal family of Delhi, and a brother of the ex-king, of Oude, were secured and imprisoned in that fortress; and thousands of coolies were employed with spade and pickaxe in repairing batteries, stockades, and trenches. Well might there be stir and bustle, considering the importance of the place, and the number of civilians and the helpless who would have to be protected, as well as Lucknow itself, from an infuriated and merciless enemy. Everything available for war was brought within the residency, and among these were 200 guns without carriages, which were discovered in a garden, and which now bristled upon the walls and ramparts of the British defences. While thus employed, it was learned that a body of the rebels were advancing, and Sir Henry Lawrence, with 300 troops and a few guns, marched out on the 30th of June to oppose them, at the village of Chinhut, about eight miles from Lucknow. But the mutineers were so numerous that Sir Henry was defeated with serious loss, and in consequence of this disaster, it was found necessary to withdraw the British troops from the military cantonments to the residency. On the 1st of July orders were given to evacuate the place, and blow up the Muchee Bhawun. This was done accordingly, by which 240 barrels of gunpowder and 6,000,000 rounds of cartridges were lost, whether for attack or defence. The siege of the residency now commenced in earnest, and the defence made by the British is one of the most heroic episodes in the history of this disastrous rebellion. Hemmed in and all but overpowered, they continued their resistance with unabated constancy, notwithstanding their hopeless condition, and the disasters that multiplied upon them from day to day. On the 2d of July their brave commander, Sir Henry Lawrence, was mortally wounded by the explosion of a shell, and died on the 4th, after appointing Major Banks his successor, and Banks was killed by a musket-shot on the 21st. In this critical situation the siege of Lucknow was continued, while the heroic defenders procrastinated their resistance in the hope of relief, which was finally afforded, but not till after many delays and difficulties, which will fall to be mentioned in the course of our narrative.

In so complex an event as the Indian rebellion, it is difficult, especially within a narrow compass, to follow out the details of the different outbreaks, or even to comprise their names; and hitherto we have been obliged to present only the chief of them, as specimens of the whole. By the end of June the native troops had mutinied at twenty-two stations; and at two of these, we are told by the statements of this period, the rebellion had been signalized by the

massacre of women and children. Of these stations, one of the most important in the history of this rebellion was Cawnpore. This town, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, where the river is about a mile in breadth, is 115 miles north-west of Allahabad, and fifty miles distant from Lucknow, on the opposite side, and is there connected with the Lucknow road by a bridge of boats. The town itself, though large, is mean-looking and dirty, but being one of our principal military stations, its cantonments extended along the right bank of the Ganges nearly seven miles, forming in themselves a town of great size and very imposing appearance. About ten miles higher up the river is Bhittoor, the residence of Nana Sahib, a miscreant whose name has constituted the foulest blot of this otherwise foul rebellion, and whose memory will therefore be permanently gibbeted in every future record of India. This man, a compound of cruelty, craft, and cowardice, was originally named Doondoo Punt, and was the son of a Brahmin from the Deccan; but having been adopted in the eastern fashion as a son, by Bajee Rao, the displaced Peishwa of Poonah, Nana Sahib, on the death of the latter in 1852, claimed as his lawful inheritance the continuation of the pension of eight lacs of rupees which had been allowed by the British government to the peishwa in consequence of his surrender. But this Hindoo form of succession, by which childless princes could have continued successors to their rights at pleasure, had been repudiated by the Company, and the native claims upon it, which had died out with the extinction of these sovereign pensionaries who had no son of their own blood, were disallowed. Thus Nana Sahib, although already possessed of more than £4,000,000 by the death of Bajee Rao, was disappointed in his avaricious hopes, and he nursed the spirit of revenge in his fortified palace at Bhittoor, where he was allowed to retain a body-guard of 200 soldiers. These circumstances, with his advantages of an English education, may account for the readiness with which he threw himself into the rebellion, the importance which he acquired in it as a leader, and the fiendish malignity with which he pursued it to the close.

The condition of Cawnpore at the commencement of the general outbreak was such as to cause serious alarm. The native troops in the cantonments consisted of three regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, mustering in all 3800 men, having 115 European officers, while the other British troops scarcely exceeded 170. Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler was in command of the station; and as the cantonments were on a plain, and without any defences, he proceeded to throw up a breastwork of earth round the hospital and

several smaller buildings, which served as a shelter for the Europeans when the storm arrived. And its coming was not long delayed. The native regiments rebelled, and went off in a body to Nana Sahib, who now found himself in a condition to take the field. He therefore immediately marched upon Cawnpore, plundered

the treasury, and took possession of the magazine, that unfortunately had not been destroyed; and thus furnished with the sinews of war, he commenced on the 7th of June the siege of the slight earthen fortress that had been hastily thrown up. It was a defence better suited to resist a temporary riot than to withstand an army



CAWNPORE.—From a drawing by W. Carpenter, jun., engraved in the Illustrated London News

or hold out against a siege, and the astonishment was that it could have resisted for a single day, more especially when of the 900 persons contained within it 590 were women, children, and non-combatants. But this brave garrison continued their resistance till the 24th, although the cannonade of the besiegers was heavy and their attacks frequent, and although the heat, fatigue, and privations endured in the defence were such as might have quelled the bravest. At last, when courage had done its utmost, and endurance been wasted out, the garrison was induced to surrender, on the promise that they should be allowed to retire in safety to Allahabad. They were escorted by the rebels to the river side, but there the greater part of the boats prepared ostensibly for their embarkation were drawn up too high in the mud to be launched; and during the delay occasioned by this obstacle, three guns were fired from the Nana's camp, as the signal for the massacre to begin. Volleys of musketry were immediately opened upon the boats already launched, when they had reached the middle of the river, and out of the whole flotilla of about forty boats which were embarked on the 27th of June, only one escaped so far as to get ten miles down the river, when it was overtaken, and all within it were killed or taken prisoners except four men, who made their escape by swimming. Of those who survived the massacre at the embarkation, and who were carried back to Cawnpore,

the men were murdered, while the women and children were reserved for a more lingering death. All this was accomplished by the orders and under the direction of Nana Sahib; and when the foul work was accomplished, he issued proclamations in which he gloried in the deed, and justified his proceedings, by the charges he attempted to fasten upon the British government and its functionaries.

In the meantime Allahabad, situated at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, was the place of rendezvous for the British troops that could be sent from Calcutta, Benares, and other quarters, and Colonel Havelock, who had arrived at Calcutta from the Persian war, was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and sent to the recovery of Cawnpore and the relief of the garrison in Lucknow. This good and gallant veteran, who had entered the army in 1815, and who, notwithstanding his worth, had served twenty-three years before he attained the rank of captain, was now to exhibit, in one short and final campaign, such talents as might have won, and which now helped to recover, our Indian empire to its former rule. He arrived at Allahabad on the 30th of June, and set out from this place by a forced march under a burning sun, to attack the enemy. He was joined on the way by a body of troops under Major Renaud, which raised his force to 1400 British and nearly 600 native soldiers, with eight guns. On the morn-

ing of the 11th of July he found the rebels, to the number of 3500, strongly entrenched at Futtehpoor, having twelve pieces of cannon, with which they opened fire upon the British as they advanced. But their ardour was quickly damped by discharges of Enfield rifles, which killed them from a distance, and with a certainty, on which they had not calculated; they were speedily put to the rout, and they fled back to Cawnpore, leaving behind them their ammunition and baggage, and all their guns. This victory was won without the loss of a single European killed, but twelve were struck down during the fight by *coup-de-soleil*, for they had made a forced march of nearly twenty miles before this four hours' engagement commenced. The march upon Cawnpore was resumed, but on the 15th the victors were twice encountered by the rebels, first at the village of Aong, and afterwards at the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, eight miles from Cawnpore. In both engagements the revolted sepoys were completely routed, and Havelock pressed forward with the relief of Cawnpore all but within his grasp, when one of those atrocities was committed which are of unusual occurrence even in the wars of rebels and savages. When Nana Sahib learned that the British had won the bridge over the Pandoo Nuddee, and were advancing upon him by a rapid march, he resolved to evacuate Cawnpore; but to revenge himself upon the victors, by defeating the purpose of their coming, he gave orders that all the women and children whom he had imprisoned should be murdered. The infernal command was so faithfully executed by the ruffians who followed him, that not one woman or child was spared—all were mercilessly murdered, and their bodies thrown into a deep well by command of the Nana. After this atrocious deed, which was consummated on the 17th, he blew up the magazine at Cawnpore, and fled to his fortress at Bhitoor. In the meantime, the advance of General Havelock was retarded by a rebel army of 5000 men posted behind some villages in front of Cawnpore; but by a few skilful manœuvres, and the gallant daring of the 78th Highlanders, the enemy, although so greatly superior in numbers, and notwithstanding their desperate attempts to rally, were driven at every point from their positions and guns, and sent fleeing in wild confusion. The British entered Cawnpore in triumph—but where were the fruits of their victories and toils? They found nothing but the slaughter-house, on the walls of which the blood of the murdered was still warm—the well in which their limbs were still quivering with the recent death-agony. It was a sight over which the brave conquerors wept like women, until their tears were dried up by the burning desire of vengeance. Wherever a rebel was caught,

unless he could prove his innocence of the deed, he was instantly hanged. As for the chief rebels, they were compelled, previously, to cleanse a certain portion of the pool of blood, that was still two inches deep, where the murders had taken place—for to touch blood was, with high-caste natives, to incur damnation, however plentifully they might cause it to be shed—and when they shrank back in abhorrence, the lash of the provost-marshal drove them forward to the task. "No one," writes Havelock indignantly, "who has witnessed the scenes of murder, mutilation, and massacre, can ever listen to the word 'mercy' as applied to these fiends. The well of mutilated bodies—alas! containing upwards of 200 women and children—I have had decently covered in and built up as one large grave." And fearful would have been the doom of the chief offender if he had but ventured to wait the arrival of the British at Bhitoor. But Nana Sahib, the murderer of women and children, had performed a consistent part by running away from his strongly fortified palace, and in company of his numerous cut-throats, although they mustered 5000 men, with whom he might have made a decisive stand. On the 19th Bhitoor was occupied by the British; the evacuated fortress was destroyed, and thirteen guns found in it were carried away.

The relief of Lucknow was the next task to be attempted, and leaving General Neill in command at Cawnpore, Havelock crossed the Ganges into Oude, and resumed an exhausting march at the height of the rainy season, through an overflowed country, and under the heat of a withering sun. On the 29th of July he was confronted by a rebel army near the town of Unao. Their position was truly formidable, for their right was protected by a swamp that could neither be forced nor turned, their advance was drawn up in a garden inclosure, which had purposely or accidentally assumed the form of a bastion, while the rest of their forces were posted in or behind a village, the houses of which were loop-holed. The flooded state of the country on the British right, and the swamp on their left, made an attack upon the enemy's front unavoidable. It was gallantly made, although at every disadvantage, and with complete success: the village was set on fire, and its defenders driven out; and by a series of skilful movements on a narrow passage between the village and the town of Unao, the enemy, who were rallied, and drawn up in line upon the plain, were driven from their batteries, deprived of their guns, and put utterly to the rout. After a brief rest of only three hours, that was more than needful by the fatigue of such a victory, the British advanced against Basherat Gunge, a walled town on the road to Lucknow, with wet ditches, and provided with

every means of a strong resistance. But in spite of these obstacles, and a heavy cannonade, the earthworks were scaled, the entrenchments broken through, and the town captured. Here, however, General Havelock was obliged to pause in his hitherto victorious progress, for he was encumbered with his sick and wounded, and cholera had broken out in his little army. He therefore fell back upon Mungalwar, about six miles from the Ganges, to recruit his troops and wait for reinforcements, for he declared that to advance upon Lucknow in their present condition was to march to certain destruction. On the 5th of August, hearing that the enemy had again rallied at Buserat Gunge, he advanced against them and was again victorious, turning them both in front and flank, and driving them off the field with great slaughter. He then made preparations to return to Cawnpore for reinforcements, and had already sent his baggage across the Ganges, when he heard that the enemy had rallied for a third time at Buserat Gunge, to abide yet another trial upon that fated spot. With 4000 men and six guns, they now varied their mode of defence, but in vain; for Havelock, by a correspondent change in his attack, foiled all their arrangements, captured their redoubts, guns, and batteries, and drove them before him into a retreat that was soon changed into flight. Wearied and worn out with so many successes, as well as wounds, sickness, and incessant action under a burning sun, the army now recrossed the river and returned to Cawnpore, but not to rest, for they were almost immediately dragged again into the field by a strong body of the enemy who had mustered at Bhitoor, and were threatening to descend upon Cawnpore. Having united his force to that of General Neill, Havelock, on the 16th of August, advanced upon the rebels, who consisted of 4000 of the mutineers, joined with a portion of Nana Sahib's own troops, and who occupied a position which General Havelock described as one of the strongest he had ever seen. But after an hour of hard fighting, the rebels were driven from their almost impregnable defences with heavy loss, and compelled to retreat to Seorajpore, and if Havelock had possessed a few cavalry, not one of the enemy would have reached that place. Seldom, if ever, had so small an army made such marches and obtained so many victories in so short a space of time. Between the 12th of July and the 17th of August it had fought nine battles, and been successful in them all. Reduced by sickness and the sword to 700 men, they now took up their quarters at Cawnpore, to wait the arrival of reinforcements under General Sir James Outram, without which it was impossible for them to march to the relief of Lucknow.

But leaving Lucknow for the present, we must now turn our attention to the important siege of Delhi, before which the small force under General Bernard had established itself on the 8th of June. The first purpose of the besiegers was merely to maintain their ground and hold the rebels of the city in check, until the arrival of reinforcements should enable them to become the assailants, and they successfully resisted the numerous attacks that continued to be made upon them from the city. Reinforcements, indeed, they continued to receive, but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by the troops of rebels that poured into Delhi, now the great centre and stronghold of the revolt. On the 5th of July General Bernard died of cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Reed, who on the 16th was obliged from ill health to resign office to Brigadier Wilson. By the middle of the month the besieging army had been raised to 9000 men, of whom half were Europeans, and in every encounter they succeeded in repelling the enemy with heavy loss. One of these encounters was with a powerful body of the rebels, who had moved out of Delhi on the 25th of August, towards Nujifghur, about twenty miles off, with the intention of crossing the canal at that place, and attacking the British camp in the rear. Aware of this design, General Nicholson, at the head of 3000 men, made a day's rapid march, came up with them near Nujifghur, and attacked them with such spirit that he drove them across the canal with a single charge, capturing all their artillery, and blowing up the bridge, after which he returned in triumph to the camp with little loss. This important success, with the arrival of fresh reinforcements of native soldiers, and a siege train from Meerut, on the 4th of September, encouraged the British to turn the blockade into an active siege, which was commenced on the 11th, as soon as the batteries were completed. And it was no easy undertaking; for this ancient city of the Moguls and chief capital of India was strong in its fortifications, that extended about seven miles in circumference, and included an area of about three square miles, while it was defended by a numerous army that expected little mercy, and fought with the courage of despair.

After a heavy bombardment of two days from fifty-four siege guns, by which some of the best defences of Delhi were shattered and their cannon silenced, the assault was ordered on the morning of the 14th. While no quarter was to be given to the mutineers, no harm was to be inflicted upon women and children, and the soldiers were warned of the necessity of keeping closely together, instead of straggling from their columns. In the advance of the four columns of attack it was neces-

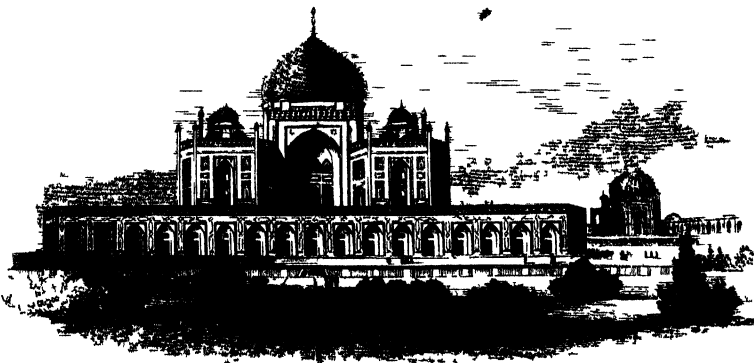
sary to blow open the Cashmere Gate, to give an entrance to the city, and this hazardous deed was performed, at the almost certain risk of death, by a gallant handful who devoted themselves to the work. Through the gap, the first, second, and third columns rushed and formed within the ruined gate, but as yet the outer works only were won; a fierce resistance was maintained from the interior defences, and from the city, which retarded the advance of the besiegers for several days, and it was not till the 20th that the whole external defences of Delhi were in our possession, and the gate of the strongly fortified palace blown in. And now all resistance was at an end. The old king fled from his palace, the inhabitants from the city, and the rebel soldiers from their bastions and ramparts—all that could escape were fleeing in confused crowds, some across the bridge of boats into the Doab country, some down the right bank of the Jumna, and some to the bottom of the Ganges and the Jumna, in their blind hurry to escape the vengeance of the conquerors. Thus Delhi was won, but not without a loss to the besiegers of 1178 in killed and wounded on the first day of assault, and 177 in the intervening days to the 20th

But before the hopes of the mutineers could be effectually crushed, it was necessary to obtain possession of the phantom of rebel sovereignty, the King of Delhi, and inflict justice upon his murderous family, and attempts were next made to discover the hiding-places in which they lay



THE PALACE OF THE KING, DELHI
From the Hon. C. B. Hardinge's Recollections of India.

concealed Lieutenant Hodson, who was commissioned for the purpose, soon found the old man, who could not flee far, and brought him back to Delhi. Learning that two of the king's sons had concealed themselves in the tomb of the Mogul sovereign Humaïoon, a huge pile of buildings at some distance from Delhi, Lieu-



THE TOMB OF HUMAÏOON, NEAR DELHI — From an oriental drawing in the East India House.

tenant Hodson on the following morning repaired to the place of refuge, with a company of 100 soldiers. He sent two natives into this palace of the dead, to persuade the princes to come forth; and as soon as they appeared they

were thrust into a carriage, and whirled off under a small guard towards Delhi. Lieutenant Hodson at the head of a few soldiers then entered the building, and there found above 5000 fugitives variously armed, whom he commanded

to throw down their weapons and surrender—with which order, being awed by his bold bearing, they instantly complied. He then returned to the city, but not far from the walls he found the carriage of the two princes, surrounded by a mob who were evidently attempting their rescue. Resolving that such offenders should not escape, Lieutenant Hodson dashed through the crowd, and exclaimed, “These are the men who have not only rebelled against the government, but ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameful exposure of innocent women and children; and thus, therefore, the government punishes such traitors taken in open resistance.” With these words he shot them both on the spot. The effect upon the mob was instantaneous,—electric; they submitted to the doom, while some Mahometans exclaimed aloud, “Well and rightly done! Their crime has met with its just penalty. These were they who gave the signal for the death of helpless women and children, and now a righteous judgment has fallen on them. Allah akbar!” The bodies were carried into Delhi, and thrown out in front of the Kotwallee, on the very spot where the blood of their victims had been shed; and thus, to the dullest of Asiatic perceptions, a display was given of a just and sure retribution, and of the full power of Britain to inflict it on all offenders. Soon afterwards, two others of the king’s sons, who had been equally guilty, were tried before a military commission, condemned to death, and executed. By these terrible acts of justice all hope of the restoration of the Mogul dynasty, or even the pretext of it, which the mutineers had held out,

was utterly destroyed. The last act of the recovery of Delhi was to appoint a flying column for the pursuit of the fugitives on the right bank of the Jumna, and into the Doab, and this was done on the 23d of September, the regiments that composed this force being known during the rest of the war under the name of *Greathed’s* column, from that of Colonel *Greathed*, its commander.

In this important capture of Delhi, it is worthy of note that the deed **was achieved** before a single soldier of the **many thousands** from Britain sent out for the recovery of India had landed upon its shores. What might not, therefore, be anticipated for the complete re-establishment of the British dominion when these troops had arrived? Another gratifying circumstance was the faithful devoted zeal of those native soldiers who remained true to their colours during all the weary months of siege, and the hearty co-operation of the Rajah of Putteeala, and Jheend Rajah, the former in quelling the revolt of Umballa, and the latter in the operations of the siege. Their services, as well as those of several khans, showed that all India was not against us—that there were many who could rightly appreciate the benefits of British rule, and maintain it in the field even against their own misguided countrymen. They were thanked by the governor-general in council, and in the proclamation delivered afterwards it was stated, “These true-hearted chiefs, faithful to their engagements, have shown trust in the power, honour, and friendship of the British government, and they will not repent it.”

CHAPTER XXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1857—1858.

VICTORIA.

Condition of the British garrison in Lucknow—Their difficulties and disasters during the siege—Their courageous resistance—Their hope of relief disappointed—General Havelock advances to their aid—His successful entrance into Lucknow—He reinforces the garrison and enables it to hold out—Sir Colin Campbell's masterly advance to the relief of Lucknow—His entrance into the residency—He extricates the garrison—Death of General Havelock—General Windham's battle with the rebels at Cawnpore—His troops driven back—They are relieved by Sir Colin Campbell—Jung Bahadoor joins the British—Diminished range of the rebellion—Sir Colin Campbell's capture of Lucknow—Excesses of the native auxiliaries at the capture—Campaign of Sir Hugh Rose in Central India—His victories and captures—His attack on Jhansi—Jhansi taken—Desperate resistance of the fort and city—Further victories of Sir Hugh Rose—Tantia Topse and the Ranees of Jhansi leaders of the rebels in Oude—Oude disarmed—Severe policy of the governor-general for the subjugation of the province—The commissioner of Oude remonstrates against it—Its condemnation by the East India Company—Resolution of the British government to substitute the rule of the crown for that of the Company over India—The resolution introduced into parliament—Protest of the Company against the proposed change—Difficulties opposed to it in parliament—Lord John Russell's fortunate interposition—Successful progress of the measure—A sudden arrest upon it—Lord Ellenborough in consequence resigns office—The India bill at length passed—Preamble of the bill transferring the government of India to the crown—Successful continuation of the war in India—General pacification of the country promoted by the transference of rule—Royal proclamation to the natives of India—Lenient conditions offered by it—Difficulties in the pacification of Oude—Resistance of the ex Queen of Oude—The rebellion in Oude quelled by Lord Clyde—The revolt of India subdued.



AFTER the capture of Delhi, the great object of interest was the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, whose condition was every day becoming more perilous. Already they had endured a long and harassing siege, in which active courage and patient endurance had been equally tried to the utmost; and upon any day, or at any hour, no alternative might be left to them but surrender. We have already mentioned the diligence with which the half-ruined building called the Muchee Bhawun had been repaired and fortified, and how necessary it was found, almost immediately after, to undo the work, by evacuating and blowing up the fortress. After the disasters of the 30th of June, Sir Henry Lawrence, the commissioner, had found that it would be impossible to maintain both the Bhawun and the residency, and that to leave the former in the hands of the enemy would be to give them the means of commanding the latter defences: he therefore destroyed it, and withdrew on the 1st of July, confining himself exclusively to the residency, in the hope of maintaining it until relief arrived. But on the following day he was mortally wounded by the fragment of a shell that alighted in the chamber where he was reclining on his bed, worn out with anxiety and sickness. Major Banks, whom he appointed his successor, was equally unfortunate, being killed by a musket-bullet on the 21st of July. Deprived successively of their two brave

leaders, the situation of the little garrison was perilous in the extreme. The neighbouring mosques and noblemen's houses, which Sir Henry Lawrence, from a regard to religious buildings and private property, had spared, although he was urged to destroy them, were manned by the enemy's sharpshooters, who kept up an incessant fire; and as they were within pistol-shot of the British barricades, every part of the residency was exposed to the muskets of about 8000 men, who discharged their volleys wherever a gap was found, or a living object was visible. Thus even the women and the children were comparatively under fire in the recesses of the innermost apartments, and the sick in the hospitals were exposed to the same mischievous annoyance, by which several lives were lost. Nothing could exceed the pertinacity of the enemy, who surrounded the British post with batteries mounting from twenty to twenty-five guns, which were protected by barricades that defied every attempt to silence them by musketry, and who constructed mines under the principal defences of the residency, by which its defenders were constantly in danger of being blown into the air. Every art of warfare which they had learned in the British service was adopted by the mutineers, who were confident in the thousands they could muster for the attack, and in the miserably limited means and numbers of those who resisted. But those who had such overwhelming odds to confront were

true to the long-established reputation of their countrymen; and never in our Indian wars were British valour and British indomitable resolution more conspicuous than in the defence which this small party maintained against such an ocean-tide of opposition at Lucknow. Exposed to incessant cannonade, and the fire of musketry, they never lost courage: kept on the alert by continual night alarms, in which, from the fewness of their numbers, all were obliged to be on the watch, they never allowed themselves to be surprised. To sleeplessness was added the nightly toil of moving heavy guns, repairing breaches, and other fatigue-duties; but every day found them awake, and ready for its active calls and dangers. When opportunity offered, they even assumed the aggressive, and in five sorties which they successively made, they spiked two of the enemy's

heaviest guns, and blew up several of the neighbouring houses, from which the fire had been especially dangerous. But wofully were their numbers thinned, not only by the casualties of such a defence, but by scanty and coarse provisions, which added small-pox and cholera to the list of their other calamities. And what the while of the heroines of Lucknow? They too have erected for themselves an imperishable record, and strong men became stronger at the spectacle of their unfearing, uncomplaining endurance. Many of them were made widows in the siege; and at the bedsides of the sick and the wounded, where every one was a Miss Nightingale, they found in active Christian duty the best-sources of Christian consolation and hope.

But human endurance, which in this instance seemed to be boundless, has its limits; and from



THE INTERIOR OF THE ALUMBAGH NEAR LUCKNOW —From Lieutenant Mechem's Siege of Lucknow

day to day many a wistful eye had looked into the far distance for the expected relief, only to be disappointed, while the messengers whom they sent out for tidings never returned. At length, on the twenty-sixth day of the siege, the garrison were cheered by a letter from Havelock's camp, informing them that the troops were on their march, and in five or six days would probably reach them. But six days elapsed, and no aid arrived. They did not learn until thirty-five long days had passed that the relieving force, after such strenuous efforts and signal victories, had been obliged to fall back upon Cawnpore. But their relief from Cawnpore was to issue at last, and not an hour later than the march could be commenced. At that city Sir James Outram, justly called by Napier the "Bayard of India," arrived on the 16th of September, with the reinforcements for which Havelock had been so anxiously waiting; and although, as superior officer and chief

commissioner of Oude, Sir James might have himself undertaken the relief of Lucknow, he chivalrously resigned the whole glory of the enterprise to General Havelock, who had already achieved such deeds in the attempt, offering to accompany him as a volunteer. Thus invested with a mission on which his generous heart was so keenly bent, Havelock crossed the Ganges at the head of 2500 men, among which were the gallant 78th Highlanders, to whom his previous victories were chiefly owing, and seventeen guns. The enemy, after retiring at his approach, attempted, on the 21st (September), to make a stand at Mungalwar, but after a four hours' fight they were defeated, and Havelock pressing forward, was within three miles of the residency of Lucknow, when on the 23d he found the enemy advantageously posted, with their left resting on the Alumbagh, an isolated building with gardens and inclosures, and their centre and right drawn

up behind a chain of hillocks. But the strategic skill and rapid movements of General Havelock, seconded as they were by the gallantry of Sir James Outram, were again successful; the enemy were defeated once more; and after halting his troops, that had marched three days in a heavy deluge of rain, and been scantily provisioned and badly lodged, the victorious commander effected his decisive advance upon the residency. What remained was a terrible march, along a road cut by trenches and crossed by palisades, with the houses loop-holed on either side of the way, and where progress was to be made at one step by detouring and the next by fighting, while night was fast coming on; but aware of the value of every moment, and dreading the consequences of delay to the besieged, whose danger was now at the climax, Havelock and Outram put themselves at the head of the 78th Highlanders and the Ferozepore regiment, with which they charged and surmounted every obstacle, entered the residency, and were welcomed by a long-drawn sigh of relief, that was followed by shouts of almost delirious triumph. Deliverance had reached the garrison—but through what a fiery furnace it had come to them! No wonder that Havelock himself looked back upon it with astonishment, accustomed as he was to dare all but impossibilities. "Our advance," he writes, "was through streets of flat-roofed, loop-holed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up, and thus each forming a separate fortress. To form an adequate idea of the obstacles overcome, reference must be made to the events that are known to have occurred at Buenos Ayres and Saragossa. I am filled with surprise at the success of the operation, which demanded the efforts of 10,000 good troops. The advantage gained has cost us dear. The killed, wounded, and missing, the latter being wounded soldiers, who, I much fear, some or all have fallen into the hands of a merciless foe, amounted, up to the evening of the 26th, to 535 officers and men." Among those who thus fell was the brave General Neill, a name distinguished in this unhappy war, who was killed on entering the gate leading to the Doolie Square. From the number of the fallen out of this small relieving force, an idea may be formed of the importance of the object at stake, and the earnestness of those who were engaged in the enterprise.

Though much had been done, the garrison of Lucknow by this last exploit had been reinforced but not relieved. A sufficiency of troops had arrived to lighten the labours of the overwearied defenders and insure their safety for the present, but not to withdraw them from the place around which the coil of siege, after the momentary interruption, was drawn as closely and strongly as

ever. Finding it impossible, therefore, to extricate the women, children, and non-combatants, General Havelock and his companions in arms



GENERAL SIR COLIN CAMPBELL.—From a photograph by Herbert Watkins.

resolved to remain with them and abide the brunt of conflict until General Sir Colin Campbell, the newly appointed commander-in-chief, should be able effectually to relieve them. This distinguished hero of the Crimean war had arrived at Calcutta from England on the 14th of August; but as he was obliged to wait the coming of reinforcements from home, it was not till the 9th of November that he was able to set out from Cawnpore for the effectual relief of Lucknow. Even then, important and difficult as was the task, his force amounted to only 4550 men and thirty-two guns. On the 12th he arrived at the Alumbagh, and there his difficulties commenced, as the residency was to be reached through the heart of the city, where every street, house, and wall was a fortress, a march along which would have been enough to have destroyed thrice the numbers he commanded. But he had been previously informed of all the localities of the city and suburbs, and the positions of the enemy, and he availed himself of this knowledge by making a detour to the right, as Havelock had done. It was effected with equal success, although against obstacles equally formidable; and, after a series of desperate skirmishes, he reached the residency on the 17th, his arrival being aided on the part of Havelock and the garrison by a sally, in which the enemy was routed and the way cleared for his entrance. And now to remove the women and children, the sick, wounded, and civilians, for he saw that the residency must be abandoned! This was a still more difficult task than to lead armed men into the place. But this also was suc-

cessfully accomplished. By a series of masterly feints Sir Colin distracted the attention of the enemy; and while he kept them massed together in the expectation of an immediate attack, he quietly removed the helpless during the afternoon and night of the 19th, along a line of posts which he formed on the left rear of his position, and conveyed them in safety to Dilkoosha, a palace belonging to the Kings of Oude, after which the troops of the garrison followed on the 22d, and all reached Dilkoosha in safety, without the loss of a man. In like manner the whole of the treasure and all the European guns were carried off in safety. So completely the while was the enemy deceived, that their fire was kept up on the old British positions many hours after they had been abandoned. Altogether it was one of the most masterly retreats under trying disadvantages which the history of modern warfare has on record. Only one event occurred to mar the joy of the rescued, and this was the death of the brave Havelock, who expired at Dilkoosha on the 24th, by an attack of dysentery, under which his enfeebled frame, worn out with such excessive exertions, rapidly sunk. Undistinguished during a long course of military service since 1815, except among his friends, who knew him to be a master of strategy in all its branches, he had no sooner attained a separate command, and found his right sphere of action, than he crowded within little more than two short months such a series of victories as would have sufficed for a lifetime, and made any commander illustrious. In that brief period he combined the rapidity of Napoleon with the caution and foresight of Wellington, and upon his own limited field was as successful as either, while the tidings of his victories, which reached home in rapid succession, made all men wonder who this new hero was, and why he had been neglected so long. The queen created him a baronet, but it was three days after he had expired at Dilkoosha, and thus the wreath that should have decked his brow could only be planted on his grave.

Sir Colin Campbell was now in full retreat to Cawnpore, where the ladies, children, and civilians, a helpless band of 2000 souls, might be left in safety before further military operations could be undertaken; and he had reached Bunnee on the evening of the 27th November, when he heard a heavy firing in the direction of Cawnpore, for which he could not account, as he had received no news from that quarter for several days. But there a desperate battle was going on, and the British arms were in danger. During the absence of Sir Colin, General Windham occupied the military cantonments which lay to the south of that city; but on learning that the Gwalior contingent

of rebels were advancing to attack it on the north, he marched on the 26th to encounter them before they could reach Cawnpore, and found them drawn up on the opposite bank of the Pandoo Nuddee, the bed of which river was at that time dry. The disparity between the two armies was alarming, for while General Windham's force consisted of only 1200 infantry, 100 cavalry, and eight guns, the rebels were about 25,000 men, well provided with artillery. They were gallantly charged, and their advanced troops were driven back; but on their main body coming up, General Windham retired his troops to the canal. On the following day the rebels commenced the attack with a heavy cannonade, that was kept up for five hours, under which the British were obliged to withdraw to their entrenchments after severe loss, while their tents and camp stores, which they were compelled to leave behind them, were burned by the enemy. It was this firing that arrested the attention of Sir Colin Campbell, and surmising that General Windham was attacked, he hurried forward to the rescue. On reaching the scene of conflict in the evening, he found the British shut up within their entrenchments, and the rebels in possession of the city. It was necessary to dislodge them; but before the attempt could be made, the helpless survivors of Lucknow under his charge had to be conveyed across the Ganges by a single bridge which the enemy had not destroyed, and it was not until the 30th that the last cart had crossed the bridge, while two or three days more were spent in having them safely forwarded to Allahabad. He was now in readiness for the fight; but his arrival had made the enemy cautious, and it was not until they had been reinforced by the rebels of Oude and the followers of Nana Sahib that they ventured, on the 6th of December, to make a decisive stand. But they were effectually beaten, with the loss of all their guns and ammunition, and wherever they attempted to rally they were met by British detachments, and so thoroughly routed and dispersed, that this Gwalior contingent as an army could no longer be found. Nor did Nana Sahib, who had sent reinforcements to the rebels, escape a merited chastisement; for troops were sent to Bhitoor who destroyed all his remaining property, discovered and seized his treasures which were concealed in the wells, and soon left him too poor to continue long his rebellion with any hope of success. While one powerful rebel chief was thus reduced to comparative helplessness, our government in India had obtained an effective ally in Maharajah Jung Bahadoor, the prime minister of the King of Nepal. This prince having offered his aid to the governor-general, which was gladly accepted, crossed the frontier with 10,000 Ghoorkas, among the most warlike

of the population of India, and in his advance he, on the Juanpore frontier, twice encountered and defeated a rebel army. He then, at the close of the year, established himself at Goruckpore, to check the rebels of Lucknow in any attempt they might make in an easterly direction after Sir Colin Campbell should have driven them from the city, an event which was anticipated as likely soon to take place. Indeed, all fear and foreboding as to the result of the Indian mutiny was now at an end. Reinforcements had been sent from Britain in such numbers that no native army could confront them successfully in the field; the British soldiers were confident in the valour and skill of their well-trying illustrious leader, while the rebels were so daunted by repeated defeats, that their courage and confidence were on the wane. The revolt was now in a great measure confined to Rohilcund, to the territory

between Agra and Allahabad, to Bundelcund, and to Oude, while the great metropolis of the insurrection after the fall of Delhi was the populous, warlike, and strongly-fortified city of Lucknow. To strike a mortal blow, therefore, at the head of the evil, by the final conquest of this place, was the aim of the commander-in-chief after he had effected the liberation of the garrison.

All being in readiness for this important enterprise, Sir Colin Campbell commenced operations by sending forward two regiments on the 1st of January, 1858, to prevent the rebels from destroying an iron suspension-bridge across the river Kallee Nuddee. He then commenced his own march two days after to Futteghur, where he remained till the 1st of February, restoring order in the disaffected districts of the Doab, after which he proceeded to Cawnpore, for the purpose of crossing the Ganges at that place; and to clear



CHUTTUR MUNZIL PALACE, LUCKNOW — From a photograph engraved in the Illustrated Times

his line of march, strong detachments were sent forward, by one of which, commanded by General Franks, a brilliant victory was gained over an army of rebels 21,000 strong, who were encountered and completely scattered at Badshahgunge, about two miles from Sultanpore. On the 5th of March Sir Colin was before Lucknow with his whole force collected, and his siege train brought up, the right of his line resting on Bibiapore and the Goomtee river, and his left stretching towards the Alumbagh. With such a force as was now arrayed against the devoted city, the issue could not long be doubtful. On the 9th the attack commenced, and by the 21st all the strong defences of Lucknow were stormed and won; the rebels were fleeing in every direction, and a scene followed such as only a rich eastern city could exhibit, when a large portion

of the victors are barbarians inflamed with the feelings of hatred, avarice, and revenge. It was now the hour of triumph for the Asiatic allies of the British, and they did not neglect the opportunity. "Those stately buildings," says an eye-witness, "which had never before been entered by European foot, except by a commissioner of Oude on a state day, were now open to the common soldier and to the poorest camp follower of our army. How their splendours vanished like snow in sunshine! The destruction around one, the shouting, the smashing noises, the yells of the Sikhs and natives, were oppressive." After a painful description of the spectacle, the writer adds, "It was late in the evening when we returned to camp, through roads thronged with at least 20,000 camp followers, all staggering under loads of plunder—

the most extraordinary and indescribable spectacle I ever beheld—coolies, syces, kitmutgars, dhooly-bearers, Sikhs, grass-cutters, a flood of men covered with clothing not their own, carrying on heads and shoulders looking-glasses, mirrors, pictures, brass pots, swords, firelocks, rich shawls, scarfs, embroidered dresses, all the 'loot' of ransacked palaces. The noise, the dust, the shouting, the excitement were almost beyond endurance. Lucknow was borne away piecemeal to camp, and the wild Ghoorikas and Sikhs, with open mouths and glaring eyes, burning with haste to get rich, were contending fiercely against the current, as they sought to get to the sources of such unexpected wealth." On the whole, it seems to have been but a renewal of the capture and sacking of Jerusalem, Babylon, or Nineveh, as they were exhibited nearly 3000 years ago, when war was comparatively young, and the passions of men at the wildest. How unfortunate it was for the British that the necessity of their position should have united them with such allies, and made them in some measure responsible for their deeds!

In noticing the leading events of this war, it would be unpardonable to omit the campaign that was carrying on in Central India by Sir Hugh Rose, at the head of the Malwah or Nerbudda field force of about 6000 men, of which 2500 were British. At the end of January Sir Hugh captured Ratghur, situated on a pear-shaped hill, and surrounded with precipices, except at the narrowest part, by which, however, the access was very difficult. Although one of the strongest forts in Central India, its difficulties were surmounted and the walls stormed in three days, and such of the rebels as escaped were obliged to use ropes to aid their descent down the rocks. He then advanced to the relief of Sangor, where an European garrison and about a hundred women and children had been closely besieged for more than half a year; and on his arrival the enemy were glad to raise the siege. Soon after, the Garakota fort, situated between the Giddaree and the Sonar rivers, yielded almost without a blow, although it was so strong that it might have withstood a siege for months against the whole assailing force. Sir Hugh Rose having thus dislodged the rebels from their most available defences, commenced at the end of February his march upon Jhansi, on the way to which there was a mountain-ridge with three passes, that formed the means of a military advance upon Jhansi. Judging that of these three Sir Hugh would select the pass of Narut, the most difficult of them all for his march, as the one least apt to be guarded, the rebels had barricaded and blocked it up with masses of rock, and stationed in it the Rajah of Banpore, with a

force of 8000 or 10,000 men. But Sir Hugh, making merely a feint of attack upon the Narut, threw his real advance on the 3d of March upon the pass of Nudinpore, where an entrance he knew was most practicable, although the enemy occupied it in considerable force. The rebel sepoys who lined it were driven from their shelters and through the gorge into the village of Nudinpore, which they had fortified, and where they attempted to make a final stand, but they were soon compelled to flee from it to the jungle; after this the forts of the passes were speedily taken, and Sir Hugh Rose was master of the whole country between Sangor and Jhansi, to the east of the Betwa river.

The attack of Jhansi itself was now the great object of enterprise. It was the richest city in Central India, and one of the most culpable in the massacres and plunders of the rebellion, so that there was scarcely a house in which there was not some booty that had been taken from the English. Its fortress also was strong, not only by its natural position, but the resources of art; and its walls, which were built of granite, from sixteen to twenty feet in thickness, were well embrasured for cannon and loop-holed for musketry, while the place was defended by a garrison of 12,000 men, headed by a fearless virago, the Ranees of Jhansi. Altogether, the siege was one of the most desperate undertakings of the war; but the capture of fort and city was certain to be followed by the downfall of the rebellion in Central India. Seven flying camps of cavalry were established round the city, which was about four miles and a half in circumference; and as the fort could only be breached from the south, where it was strongly fortified by a ditch, mound, and wall, batteries were erected against this quarter, and a heavy cannonade opened upon it on the 21st of March. But desperate was the resistance of the men of Jhansi, who were conscious of their crimes, and apprehensive of a just retribution. By the 30th of March the defences both of city and fort were dismantled by the British artillery, but as the ammunition of the besiegers was running short, they resolved to attempt Jhansi by escalade. The assault was made on the 2d of April, and the city was successfully entered by two storming columns, who fought their way through every obstacle until they met and were concentrated in the palace. "This was not effected," says Sir Hugh Rose in his graphic description of the siege, "without bloody, often hand-to-hand combats. One of the most remarkable of them was between detachments of her majesty's 85th regiment and 3d Europeans, and thirty or forty Velaitie sowars, the body-guard of the Ranees, in the palace stables under the fire of the fort. The

sowars, full of opium, defended their stables, firing with matchlocks and pistols from the windows and loop-holes, and cutting with their tulwars, and from behind the doors. When driven in they retreated behind their horses, still firing, or fighting with their swords in both hands, till they were shot or bayoneted, struggling even when dying on the ground to strike again. A party of them remained in a room off the stables, which were on fire, till they were half burned: their clothes in flames, they rushed out, hacking at their assailants, and guarding their heads with their shields." Such frantic deeds of despairing resistance, of which the foregoing is a specimen, were multiplied over the streets and buildings of Jhansi before it was taken; and it was well that there was nothing less than the utmost of British courage and firmness to confront them. When all was hopeless both for city and fortress, the Ranee gave the signal for flight, by mounting a gray horse, and making off with only four attendants, with a body of British cavalry in full pursuit; and on the night after, the rebels fled from the fort, leaving it wholly defenceless, but not until they had lost 5000 men in the siege and storm. The city was treated with more humanity than it had deserved or expected, and the British soldiers, after the storm had ceased, were to be seen everywhere sharing their rations of food with the wives and children of those who had been the murderers of their countrymen.

After the fall of Jhansi, the capture of Calpee was the next enterprise to be attempted, and Sir Hugh Rose, directing his march in this direction, encamped at Golowlie, on the Jumna, about three miles from Calpee, where he was attacked on the 22d of May by the rebels, who advanced upon him with great spirit and confidence; but after a hard fight their left wing gave way, and their whole army was put to the rout. On the following day he commenced an attack upon Calpee, in the form of a regular siege, expecting a stout resistance; but after firing a few shots, the enemy took fright and fled from the town, leaving it in the hands of the British, who there discovered a subterranean magazine containing an immense quantity of gunpowder and cannon, which had been stored for the maintenance of the rebellion. Besides these successes, other victories which had been gained by Generals Roberts and Whitlock made Sir Hugh Rose imagine that Central India was now completely cleared of the rebels, and that there would be no further occasion for the services of his troops in that quarter. This he announced to them in a farewell address, in which he complimented them on their gallant meritorious services during the arduous campaign. But his hopes were premature, for the war was not yet ended: the leader of the rebels

at Calpee, whose name was Tantia Topee, had retreated before the fall of the town, and in him the British found the ablest and most impracticable of all the chiefs of the rebellion. He retired to Gwalior, the capital of Scindia, whose troops he persuaded to fraternize with the rebels; and when the fugitives of Calpee fled, they joined these new allies, and drove Scindia from his capital to the British cantonments at Agra, after which they placed Rao Sahib, a nephew of Nana Sahib, upon the throne of Gwalior. These events called Sir Hugh Rose again into the field; but before his arrival, the principal rebels and Tantia Topee had left Gwalior, taking with them all the treasure they could find, and leaving the Ranee of Jhansi to abide the encounter, at the head of her rebels of Calpee and the mutineers of the troops of Scindia. Sir Hugh found them occupying the Moorar cantonment in the neighbourhood of Gwalior, dislodged and defeated them, and drove them in headlong flight into the capital. On the 19th of June, the rebels rallied upon a range of heights in front of the town, being headed by the Ranee of Jhansi, who was dressed in male attire, and fought gallantly like a common soldier; but they were defeated with the loss of twenty-seven guns, and also of their brave Amazonian leader, who is supposed to have fallen in the battle, as she never afterwards appeared. Scindia was thus restored to his capital and throne, and the rebellion in Central India being now at an end, the troops of Sir Hugh Rose were parted into garrisons for Jhansi, Gwalior, and other parts of the country.

With the fall of Lucknow, its capital, the kingdom of Oude might be considered as disarmed; and it now became necessary to determine the line of policy that was to be followed out in the government of this dangerous and rebellious province. This was soon announced by Lord Canning, the governor-general, then at Allahabad, in a proclamation which he issued on the 3d of March. His first object, he declared, would be to reward those who had been steadfast in their allegiance, and who had aided and supported the British authority; and after this, the nature of the reward was announced, and the persons who were to enjoy it. Six talookdars (land-owners) of Oude, including two rajahs, were named, and it was declared that these were henceforward to be the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands which they held when the province came under British rule, with such additional rewards as the government should judge fit to confer upon them—but that with these exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British government, to be disposed of according to its own judgment. To those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders, with their followers,

who should make submission to the chief commissioner of Oude, surrendering their arms to him and obeying his orders, an indemnity from punishment should be granted, provided that their hands were unstained with English blood murderously shed; but for any further indulgence they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. Those among them who should promptly come forward and support the chief commissioner in the restoration of peace and order, were to have their claims of restitution to their rights liberally considered; but those who had participated in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen were to be excluded from all mercy. Such was the proclamation sent to Sir James Outram, the chief commissioner, who neither relished its terms nor the ungracious power with which it invested him, and he lost no time in writing from his camp at Chinhut to Lord Canning, remonstrating upon the impolicy of the measure. There were not, he declared, a dozen chiefs and landholders who had not participated in the rebellion; and those who were thus to be summarily dispossessed would betake themselves to their domains, and continue their resistance. Hitherto, he alleged, they had been most unjustly treated under our settlement operations, and hence, when the rebellion was at its height, and their country overrun by the rebel soldiery, they had made common cause with the insurgents; and this being the case, they ought now to be treated rather as honourable enemies than as rebels. These, and other such considerations, were urged by Sir James Outram, but with little effect, for although Lord Canning added a short clause more definite in its promises of restitution to those who should give their aid in the establishment of peace and order, no abatement was made to the right of wholesale confiscation, and the punishment of general dispossession.

Had these resolutions been adopted at an earlier period, and when the progress of our Indian conquest was in full career, they might have been passed without question and acted on without scruple. But now the case was different. We had almost lost our hold of India, and this by the severity of our rule, originating in over-confidence in our power. Such was the general feeling at home when tidings of this widely-spread and all but universal rebellion in our eastern empire had arrived in England; and while reports followed of the victories which our arms were achieving in the East, the popular triumph was accompanied with the surmise that the rebellion had been provoked, and that justice must be done to India. This was manifested even in the India House, when the original draft of Lord Canning's proclamation had arrived; and

a despatch, in the form of a letter from the secret committee of the court of directors of the Company, was sent to his lordship, animadverting upon his resolutions, and enjoining their mitigation. We had annexed the kingdom of Oude to our own dominion without just cause, and notwithstanding its past services and fidelity to our alliance; we had deprived it of its king, and imposed upon it our own rule, and administered its revenues, without regard to those whom the change had reduced from wealth and distinction to utter destitution. Under these circumstances the hostilities carried on in Oude had rather the character of a legitimate war than that of rebellion, and its people were to be regarded rather with indulgent consideration, "than made the objects of a penalty exceeding in extent and in severity almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation." And in conclusion they added, "We desire that you will mitigate in practice the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude. We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people: there cannot be contentment where there is general confiscation."

But the days of the Company itself were already numbered, and this humane appeal was a graceful close to its existence. The great subject of importance in parliament during the session of 1858 was the suppression of the rebellion in India, and the means of retaining the country under our rule, and for this even the important question of parliamentary reform was postponed. The consideration of the re-settlement and better government of India was brought forward by a motion from Mr. Vernon Smith, the president of the board of control, for leave to bring in a bill "for enabling the East India Company to raise money in the United Kingdom for the service of the government of India." And then followed the question asked by Mr. T. Baring, "What was the government of India?" "The East India Company," he added "was supposed to be a dying body; who then was to have the control over the money? The house ought to understand who was to raise the money, and who were to spend it. If the government of India were to be vested in the crown, India should have the benefit of the credit of this country." The bill, reducing the loan from £10,000,000 to £8,000,000, was passed, but still the questions were asked, "What was the security? What were the future liabilities of the consolidated fund in regard to the finances of India?"

As it was now certain that measures were about to be introduced by ministers for altering the form of government in India, the Company

drew up a long, elaborate, and able petition to parliament, setting forth its past services and exertions for the benefit of India and the empire at large, and deprecating the withdrawal of their powers, and the transference of their rule into other hands. It was presented by Earl Grey to the House of Lords, and by Mr. Baring to the House of Commons; but notwithstanding their appeals in its behalf, Lord Palmerston introduced on the 12th of February the government scheme for the new administration of Indian rule. Against it Mr. Baring moved an amendment, that "it is not at present expedient to legislate for the government of India." Of the debate itself upon so important a subject, and in which the personal interests of so many were at stake, it would be impossible to give within our limited range even a bare epitome, ranging as the arguments did not only over the abstract merits of the question, but the whole history of the administration of the Company in India from its commencement to the present hour. After the debate had been twice adjourned, the amendment on the 18th was negatived by 318 to 173. In consequence of the downfall of the Palmerston administration, and the formation of a new government under the Earl of Derby, the progress of the question experienced a short delay; but on the 26th of March it was introduced as "the India bill No. 2, for the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the crown," the bill of Lord Palmerston, which was not yet abandoned, being described as No. 1. The bill No. 2 was introduced by Mr. Disraeli, the new chancellor of the exchequer. But during the adjournment for the Easter recess, this new bill was closely scrutinized, and with such general reprobation, that there was no hope of its passing into law, at least without considerable alteration. The influence of the government was also felt to be so seriously damaged by this failure, that it was thought they could not meet parliament again upon the subject except under a serious disadvantage. But from this dilemma they were so adroitly relieved by Lord John Russell, that it was supposed his interposition was the result of a preconcerted design. As soon as the chancellor of exchequer had made his statement at the re-assembling of the house, announcing among other things that the second reading of the India bill would be proposed as soon as possible after the budget, Lord John announced his proposal:—it was, that they should not proceed at once with the India bill of the government, nor with the rival bill of Lord Palmerston, but to take resolutions in a committee of the whole house, and thus practically to obtain a consultation between the queen's ministers and the House of Commons on the principles of the

future government of India. The proposal was eagerly accepted by the ministers, and by none more gladly than Mr. Disraeli himself, who a few days afterwards laid on the table of the House of Commons a set of propositions which were to be moved in the shape of resolutions.

The settlement of the question being thus simplified, the chancellor of the exchequer moved on the 26th of April that the house on the 30th should resolve itself into a committee, to consider the foregoing resolutions. This was agreed to; but on that day, when the house had resolved itself into a committee, Lord H. Vane moved a resolution, "that the change of circumstances since the first proposal by her majesty's late advisers to transfer the government of India from the East India Company to the crown, renders it inexpedient to proceed further with legislation on the subject during the present session." But so little was the idea of further delay relished, that the motion of his lordship was negatived by 447 to 37. The chancellor of the exchequer then moved the first resolution, that "it is expedient to transfer the government of India to the crown," which was agreed to without a division. The second resolution, which affirmed the expediency of providing that "her majesty should have and perform the power and duties relating to the government of India by one of her principal secretaries of state," was also agreed to, merely substituting in lieu of the last phrase, the words, "one of the responsible ministers of the crown." All at once, however, a crisis occurred which threatened not only to scatter the India bill to the winds, but to unseat Lord Derby's cabinet. Early in May, a copy of Lord Canning's proclamation to the inhabitants of Oude was published, and this was quickly followed by the publication of the condemnatory letter addressed by Lord Ellenborough, the president of the board of control, to the governor-general. But the most awkward part of the case was, that while the proclamation was presented entire to the House of Commons, it was given with some omissions to the lords. Lord Ellenborough explained the causes of this discrepancy as originating in mere accident, but neither parliament nor the public would be so answered; and harsh as Lord Canning's measures had been in the Oude affair, it was thought that the censures passed upon them by Lord Ellenborough had been harsher still. They had not only condemned a public man absent at a post of great responsibility, and under circumstances of no common difficulty and peril, but by their publication of both documents had prejudiced the question, and endangered the administration, who would be thought to have sanctioned this act of their colleague. Under such circumstances, Lord Ellenborough made what expiation

he could by resigning office. Even this self-devoted sacrifice, however, was insufficient to allay the storm which continued to rage in parliament till the Whitsuntide recess, and from which, not only a change of ministry was apprehended, but a reconstruction of parties, or even a dissolution of parliament. But the agitators themselves became at last ashamed of the form the discussion had assumed, by which the subject was narrowed to the case of the province of Oude and the indiscreet act of Lord Ellenborough, and the question resumed its original aspect on the 7th of June when the parliament had re-assembled.

In the foregoing sketch, enough has been stated to show the difficulty with which the settlement of this important subject was attended. We cannot even advert to the discussions that followed, in which every step was followed by a pause or a conflict: all this was only commensurate with the importance of the great question of the future government of our Indian empire, in which so many mistakes were to be amended and so many evils redressed. It was felt that upon the issue our dominion of the East was to be permanently established—that by a single blunder it might be lost to us for ever. The India bill finally passed the House of Commons on the 8th of July, and that of the lords on the 23d, and received the assent of the crown on August 2d, the last day of the session. There is a solemnity and vastness of meaning in the simple words by which the transfer is announced in the first clause of the bill, to which the grandeur of the decrees of the Roman senate can present no parallel:—

“The government of the territories now in the possession or under the government of the East India Company, and all the powers in relation to government vested in or exercised by the said Company, in trust for her majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company, and all territories in the possession or under the government of the said Company, and all rights vested, or which, if this act had not been passed, might have been exercised by the said Company in relation to any territories, shall become vested in her majesty, and be exercised in her name; and for the purposes of this act, India shall mean the territories vested in her majesty as aforesaid, and all territories which may become vested in her majesty by virtue of any such rights as aforesaid.”

While these discussions were going on in the British parliament, the progress of the war in India was such as promised both a speedy and successful termination. A strong garrison was left in Lucknow to control the city and its neighbourhood, while a campaign was opened against the district of Rohilcund, to which the

Lucknow rebels had retired. Every fort that was assailed by the British was taken, and every enemy in the field put to the rout—and hence the little interest that belongs to the narrative of this closing portion of the war. It reminds us of the monotony of the Roman armies, every advance of which was a conquest, and every battle a victory, and where a chance incident of defeat or disaster is welcomed by the reader as a change and a relief. In all these proceedings, also, were to be recognized the masterly intellect and military skill of Sir Colin Campbell, who directed each movement, and who, for his able services, was raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Clyde. The progress towards a general pacification was likewise promoted by the transference of the government of India to the British crown, and the natives were induced to reverence a sovereign power, more especially when aggrandized by remoteness and invisibility, in preference to the authority of men who were present, and known to be subjects like themselves. Accordingly, when a royal proclamation, which was transmitted to India, was published by the governor-general on the 1st of November, it called forth several native addresses to the queen, expressive of their loyalty and attachment.

In this proclamation it was announced to the native princes of India, that all engagements which had been made with them by the Company would be scrupulously maintained and fulfilled; that no extension of territorial possession was sought; and that no aggression upon it should be tolerated, or encroachment upon that of others sanctioned. It held itself bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bound it to all the other subjects of the British empire. Upon the important subject of religion, in which the rebellion had originated, the declaration was explicit: “Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure.” It was added, that all of whatever race or creed were to be freely and impartially admitted to such offices in her majesty’s service as they were qualified to hold. Those who inherited lands were to be protected in all rights connected there-

with, subject to the equitable demands of the state; and in framing and administering the law, due regard was to be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India. With regard to the late rebellion, a general pardon was granted for past offences, except to those who had taken part in the murder of British subjects, or who had given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators in revolt; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration should be given to the circumstances under which they had been tempted from their allegiance. To all others still in arms against the government, an unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion was promised, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits, and compliance with these conditions before the 1st day of January next. Having thus dealt with present difficulties and offences in the spirit of peace and conciliation, the proclamation thus announced the purposes of the new change of rule: "When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

The chief difficulty that still remained was the pacification of Oude, without which our government of India could not be fully re-established; and to effect this, such decisive measures were adopted, as could only be justified by the necessity of the case, and the warlike dangerous spirit of the people. A proclamation was issued by Mr. Montgomery, who had been appointed chief commissioner of Oude, ordering that all talookdars, zemindars, and native inhabitants of the province should deliver up to the servants of government at the nearest police station, within one month from that date, all their cannon, firearms, weapons, and ammunition, under pain of fine and imprisonment for one year, *with flogging*; and if a landholder, of the confiscation of his lands." The next step was to suppress the rebels who were still in the field, which was no such easy achievement, for they had made Oude their place of shelter and rallying point for their final stand, and were likely to defend it with the fierceness of despair. They had also for one of their chief leaders, the ex-queen of Oude, a woman of fearless courage and unyielding spirit, who issued a counter-proclamation to the people, warning them not to trust the promises of the

British government, and analyzing the proclamation of our sovereign, paragraph by paragraph, with all the shrewdness and caustic severity of a well-practised literary reviewer. The winter campaign was opened in November, and the Oude chieftains surrendered their hill-forts, or were driven from them after a short and useless resistance. One of these forts was Shunkerpore, which Bainie Madhoo, an insurgent chief, held out against the approach of Lord Clyde. The commander-in-chief ordered him to surrender unconditionally, promising that in this case he should have no cause to repent of his submission; and to this, Bainie Madhoo returned for answer the following curious proposal:—"If the government will continue the settlement with me, I will turn out my father. He is on the part of Birjies Kuddr, but I am loyal to the British government, and I do not wish to be ruined for my father's sake." In justice however it must be owned, that this unfilial tender was only a feint, for on the following night the chief abandoned the fort with all his followers, and outstripped the pursuit that was sent after him.

This unexpected surrender of the fort of Shunkerpore, for the reduction of which the whole British force had been concentrated, enabled Lord Clyde to separate his army into divisions for the prosecution of the war on every side; and such success attended all his operations, that the rebels, everywhere beaten, had no resource except to surrender, or betake themselves to the hills of Nepaul, where little else than a churlish welcome and precarious shelter awaited them. Thither Nana Sahib was driven after a ruinous defeat, to become an outcast and a hunted fugitive; and to this quarter also his brother, Bala Rao, betook himself, after attempting a final stand, in which his troops were beaten and dispersed, almost without resistance. Thus, with the close of the year, the rebellion in Oude, its last stronghold, had terminated, and an army, originally numbering 150,000, been routed and dispersed with comparatively little loss to the victors. Resistance indeed continued to be made, but it was the hopeless resistance of broken bands and fugitive chiefs, lurking among the fastnesses of Nepaul, beyond the British dominions, and urged by hunger or revenge; and with every attempt their numbers were diminished and their range circumscribed, so that what had lately been armies, were little more than troops of brigands, whose outrages the nearest military station was strong enough to suppress. The British empire was re-established in India upon a basis more august and imposing than before; let us hope that it will also prove more authoritative and enduring, and that the change from the rule of a Company to that of the sovereign, will

be conjoined with that parental solicitude and clemency on the one side, which is the source of loyalty and filial affection on the other. May the people of Hindoostan be no longer mere thralls and aliens, but British subjects in reality as well as in name. May the cruelties of conquest and the iniquities of usurpation be cancelled and forgot in a happy futurity for India!

CHAPTER XXIII.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1830—1853.

Difficulties in writing the history of religion as it now exists—Political history of the Church of England in the present day—Hostility of dissenters to the Established church—Their petition for its dis-establishment—Their petition to deprive the bishops of their share in the government—Petitions to admit the dissenters to university honours and privileges—Petition of the dissenters against church-rates—Extension of the means of spiritual instruction—Trial on the Lady Hewley bequests—Decision of the House of Lords on the subject—General alarm at the aggressions of Popery—England divided into sees by the pope—Precarious condition of the principle of church establishment—Demand for the revival of convocation—Origin of Puseyism—Its progress and Popish tendencies—The Oxford tracts—Opposition to Puseyism by the Archbishop of Canterbury—Defeat of Puseyism in the trial of Mr. Gorham—Doctrines of Puseyism—Its claims in behalf of the apostolic succession, and efficacy of the sacraments—The Plymouth Brethren—Origin and progress of the sect—Their creed, form of worship, and polity—Beginning of the Row heresy in Scotland—Its transplantation into England and adoption by Mr. Irving—Its fanatical manifestations—Its final transition into the "Apostolic Catholic Church"—Its creed, government, and forms of worship—The Mormons or Latter-day Saints—Origin of the sect—Their creed—Their form of church government—Interest attached to Scotland in the religious history of this period—Growing increase of the Evangelical party in the Scottish church—General awakening of the public mind to its religious rights—The Voluntary controversy in Scotland—Overtures from the Evangelical party against patronage in the presentation of church-livings—Contest between the Evangelical and Moderate parties on the subject—The veto-law proposed in the General Assembly—Its conditions—Its establishment in the Scottish church—Rapid progress of church extension—Opposition of patronage to the veto—Commencement of the conflict at Auchterarder—The trial removed from the church tribunal to the Court of Session—Decision given against the church—Similar case of Lethendy—Recusancy of the Strathgogie presbytery to the award of the General Assembly—Consummation of their resistance—Their deposition by the church—The crisis of the conflict between church and state—Final rejection of the claims of the Scottish church by the House of Lords—Convocation of the clergy at Edinburgh—Their resolve to terminate their connection with the state—Incredulity of statesmen about this decision—Meeting of the General Assembly in 1843—The Disruption—The seceding ministers constitute a General Assembly of their own—Address of Dr. Chalmers to the new General Assembly—Formation of the Free Church—General astonishment produced by the Disruption—Present condition of the Free church—Prosperous state of its finances—Missionary societies—Bible societies—Reduction of the price of Bibles in England and Scotland.



THE history of the national church during the present period may be briefly summed up. This brevity, although partly owing to the paucity of events that occurred during these thirty years, is still more necessary on account of the wideness with which the knowledge of them is diffused throughout every class of society, and the vividness and distinctness with which they are remembered. They are part and parcel of the existence of the present generation, and of them every reader can be an historian to himself. To touch, therefore, on but a few of them, however lightly, is enough to recall the subject to his own thoughts in all its amplitude and completeness. This brevity, however, is most of all demanded by the nature of the events themselves, which being still so recent, have rather the character of ex-

periments awaiting their issue, than actions of which the character may be judged by their results. A generation; or even a whole century may have to pass away, before they can be tested by their full development.

In that department of the subject which may be called the political history of the church, the first circumstance that arrests our notice is the open and systematic hostility displayed by the dissenters against the Establishment, which they no longer recognized as the church of the nation, or deserving of the exclusive patronage and support of the state. The different classes of dissent were now sufficiently numerous and powerful to offer such a manifestation, and make their arguments heard; and however they might differ upon their several theological distinctions, they found, in this opposition to the Established church, a bond of common union, as well as the

means of displaying their own weight and importance, which had hitherto been too little recognized. In 1834, therefore, the conflict commenced, by numerous petitions from different bodies of dissenters to parliament against the exclusive privileges of the church, and praying for its total dis-establishment. But so bold a demand was premature; it roused the whole church party into alarm and active opposition, and such a shower of counter-petitions in favour of the church succeeded, that dissenterism was out-voted and silenced. It was only, however, that the mode of onset should be exchanged for others less obtrusive; and the next attempt was against the dignitaries of the church, who were to be deprived of their power in the state and their place in parliament. The great fabric of the national church was thus to be displaced stone by stone, instead of being thrown down by a single attack. This mode of eversion was commenced in the same year by a motion of Mr. Rippon in the House of Commons, "to relieve the archbishops and bishops of the Established church from their legislative and judicial duties in the House of Peers." It was a gentle, unsuspected approach to the full measure of dis-establishment; and although it was out-voted by 125 against 58, yet the largeness of the minority was full of promise to the assailants, and encouraged them to go onward in their warfare.

Another ground of umbrage with the dissenters, was the exclusive possession which the Established church maintained in the universities, in which none of their party, however learned, could compete for the literary distinctions they had merited, without subscribing their adherence to the Establishment. The removal of this disqualifying distinction was the next attempt of the dissenters, who got up numerous petitions for the removal of the test requiring them to sign the Thirty-nine Articles before they could take degrees in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. As they had a considerable party within the colleges themselves, they endeavoured to have their application backed by petitions to the same effect from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and they were so successful that from the latter a petition subscribed by sixty-three graduates and office-bearers was sent, craving for the abolition of "every religious test exacted from members of the university, before they proceed to degrees, whether of bachelor, master, or doctor in arts, law, and physic." The motion, when introduced into parliament, was withdrawn, but leave was given to bring in a bill to that effect. The bill was passed in the commons, but rejected on the second reading in the lords, while the debates in both houses were sufficiently characterized, not only by abundance of classical zeal

on either side, but also of political and religious rancour. The friends of the church were as keen for the old-established privileges of the universities as they had been for those of the bishops. To soothe the dissenters for their defeat in a measure which they had so much at heart, and in which the justice of their claim was so apparent, a ministerial bill was introduced to relieve them from the burden of church-rates; but unfortunately this ill-concerted plan only deepened their resentment. In the ways and means for making up the deficiency they would not only have to pay their share, but assent to the justice of the rate itself, which formed the ground of their opposition. They had declared from the beginning that the connection between church and state was un-Christian and sinful, and therefore, in the present case, they would not pay a farthing, either directly or indirectly, to uphold a church establishment—it was with them a matter of conscience, and not a mere question about the saving of money. Another plan of conciliation similar in character had the same result. It was an attempt to gratify the dissenters by a ministerial bill allowing them to celebrate the marriage ceremony in their own chapels, instead of being obliged to repair to the parish churches; but as it still required the banns to be proclaimed in the parish churches, the dissenters naturally refused even thus far to recognize and acknowledge any paramount authority in the Establishment. In the following year this difficulty was happily got rid of by Mr. Peel's bill, which, in the case of dissenters, dispensed with the proclamation of banns, making the attestation of a magistrate, before whom the parties should appear, to be sufficient for the purpose.

The non-payment of church-rates was the next subject on which the church was to be in conflict with dissenterism. This was no doubt an attractive doctrine for many who cared little for the distinctions of creeds and sects, by which payment could be withheld and money saved upon purely conscientious principles; and accordingly, in several large towns, especially in Sheffield and Manchester, the payment of church-rates had ceased, while the law was insufficient to enforce it. To meet this deficiency in time to come, and especially to conciliate the dissenters, a plan was proposed in 1837 by Mr. Spring Rice, the chancellor of the exchequer. It was, to take the whole property of the bishops, deans, and chapters out of their hands, and consign it to the guardianship of a commission, by whose management such improvement might be effected, that after these dignitaries were sufficiently paid, enough would be saved for the purposes of church-rates. It was no wonder if at such a proposal the hierarchy were indignant: it would not only

commence a spoliation of the church that might go on unchecked, but reduce its chief functionaries to a state of pupillage that would lower them in the eyes of the community at large. Accordingly, in the lords, the prelates, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, protested earnestly against the proposal, which, after a very animated debate, was defeated. That such a proposal, however, should have been made, and from such a quarter, was proof of the critical position of the state church, and the progress that had been made by its opponents.

After this there was a temporary lull in the conflict between the two great parties, and in the interval a measure of general benefit was brought forward, upon which all parties could be in full accordance. It was the extension of the means of spiritual instruction, which were still found to have fallen greatly short of the increase of the population. The subject was brought before the House of Commons in 1843 by Sir Robert Peel; and he proposed a relief of the evil by the endowment of additional ministers, and the augmentation of small livings, to the amount in all of £48,000 per annum. From what source this money was to be raised was a ticklish question, considering the jealousy with which every grant to the church was watched; but for this difficulty Sir Robert had so carefully provided, that his plan was received with general acquiescence. He proposed that the sum in question should be derived, partly from the retrenchments which had been made upon the large or superfluous livings in the church, and partly from Queen Anne's bounty for the augmentation of small livings. The annual sum of £48,000, it was acknowledged, bore but a small proportion to the necessity of the case, and the purpose to be accomplished; but it was anticipated that this government movement would have the effect of stimulating private and individual benevolence, as had been the case in the government grant for church extension, by which the original sum might be more than doubled. Sir Robert Peel's proposal was passed with cordial unanimity.

In the following year the dissenters entered once more into the field, and with a grievance which was generally thought deserving of redress. At the close of the seventeenth century, and before the Puritan spirit of England had departed or merged into new forms, Lady Hewley had bequeathed several benefactions to chapels of Calvinistic Independents, for the comfortable maintenance of their ministers in all time coming. But the Calvinism of these chapels had slowly and insensibly dwindled into Socinianism, and Unitarian instead of Calvinistic preachers occupied their pulpits, and availed themselves without scruple of those comfortable endowments which

had been left for the support of a very different kind of instruction. The period, however, for such passive endurance had gone by; the awakening of the different religious communities, which had been going on during the earlier part of this century, had roused both Presbyterians and Independents to a sense of their duties and their interests; and they found that their best-endowed charges were occupied by clergymen who, under the orthodox name of Presbyterians, inculcated the doctrines of Arius and Socinus. There could be also no mistake about the matter, as the tenets of these heresiarchs were boldly preached without concealment or reservation. A prosecution was accordingly commenced for the dislodgment of these pastors, and the recovery of the endowments to the purposes of the original founder; but the difficulty of arraigning a heresy, and the proverbial delays of the law, together with the sanction derived from the prescriptive right of possession, were so greatly in favour of the occupants, that after fourteen years of litigation, they still held their places. Nothing less than an act of parliament could decide the controversy, and accordingly, in 1844, a bill was brought into the House of Lords by the lord-chancellor, for "confirming the possession of religious endowments in the hands of dissenters," while the specific object was to ascertain to which of the two contending parties Lady Hewley's bequests rightly belonged. To settle all such cases for the present, and prevent their recurrence in future, the bill proposed to vest the property belonging to voluntary endowments of dissenting chapels in the hands of that community by which it had been held for the preceding twenty years. In favour of this measure it was argued that sects changed their forms and opinions through lapse of time, so that it was often difficult after half a century to identify them, and that a twenty years' possession was in such doubtful cases the best right of occupancy. By such a conclusion the purpose of the original donor was nothing, and the difference between the creeds of Calvin and Socinus a thing too minute to be detected! Notwithstanding a very keen opposition in both houses, the bill was passed by a large majority, and the endowed churches became the property of the present occupants. The dissenters were indignant at such a conclusion, and denounced it as a measure for giving undue favour and political support to the Unitarians.

These contentions between the two chief portions of English Protestantism might have been carried to greater lengths, and attended with more deplorable results, had it not been for the aggressions and advance of their common enemy. But since the passing of Catholic emancipation, which the Papists of Britain had ac-

cepted as only the first of a series of concessions, their demands had become more exorbitant, and their pretensions more menacing than ever, while government having committed itself in the first instance by yielding, was obliged to continue in the same course of conciliation. Such was especially the case in 1845, when Sir Robert Peel brought forward his bill in parliament for the endowment of the Maynooth college. The demand was a signal to all classes of Protestants to forget for a while their minor differences, and unite against the common danger; and accordingly churchman and dissenter met on one common field, and agitated against the measure with equal cordiality. But strong though they were in their union, they were unable to withstand the progress of that conciliatory spirit which was now the great political principle of the day, backed also as it was by some of the best of both parties, who measured the aims of Popery by the standard of their own moderation and sense of justice. The Maynooth grant was therefore passed, the particulars of which have been detailed in a preceding chapter; and as a state endowment of Popery, it remained a fruitful ground for opposition and protest, on which all other classes of religionists could be at one. Accordingly, the subject has continued to be a theme of parliamentary overture and popular petition to the present hour.

But if anything could tend to reconcile churchmen and dissenters, and make them forgetful for a while of their mutual feuds, it was the great Popish aggression of 1850. In this case, the Roman conclave, forgetful of its wonted caution, and trusting too much in the conciliatory spirit of our government, ventured to parcel out England into twelve Popish episcopal sees, as if the kingdom had already been wholly recovered to the spiritual dominion of Rome. This was a home appeal to the state itself, and to the political forbearance upon the subject of religious differences on which our statesmen had placed such confidence: it was a sudden flash of lightning by which the gulf was revealed, towards which they had been so contentedly marching. It was now time both for religionists and politicians to unite when church and state alike were thus rudely assailed, and our civil as well as religious liberties proscribed by one and the same Papal bull. Accordingly, as if it had been an affair of yesterday, we can vividly remember the universal national indignation that was roused at the insult—the cordiality with which every class, party, and sect arrayed themselves as one compact Protestant phalanx against it—and the lubricious softness and dexterity with which Popery receded, and wound itself out of its dangerous position. But is the attempt con-

clusively abandoned? Or does the infallible church relinquish a claim which she has once advanced, and attempted to reduce to action? These are questions that still continue to agitate the heart of British Protestantism; and if they can only make it more wary of future danger, and more anxious for the cultivation of a spirit of Christian union among its own discordant members, this frustrated attempt of Romish usurpation will yet prove one of the best of national benefits to Britain.

Amidst the rapid increase of dissenterism, and its growing hostility to establishments, an apprehension had been growing during the present period that the bond of connection between church and state would at no very distant period be dissolved. But this was a consummation which the friends of the Established church could not contemplate without alarm, and to avert it every expedient was suggested, while not a few had been adopted. This was manifested in a more tolerant and conciliatory spirit towards the dissenters; the stricter lives of the clergy, and a more careful discharge of their duties; the retrenchment of the higher salaries of the church, and the increase of the means of spiritual instruction. But still it was felt as if these remedies were in vain—as if the inundation was still advancing that would sweep away the barriers of state protection, and reduce all parties of religion to one common level. Among the various expedients suggested for the protection of the church a very common one was that of Convocation, in which the clergy assembled should meet, not in empty form as hitherto, but for permanent sittings, and with full power to legislate for the church in whatever its interests were concerned. But this *imperium in imperio* was too terrible for statesmen to contemplate; it would be a meeting before which even the “*omnipotence of parliament*” would stand rebuked, and in no long time might grow into a conclave as irresponsible and arbitrary as that of Rome itself. Nor were even the most anxious of the clergy less averse to such a measure. Independently of the invidious position in which it would place them with relation to the state on one hand and the community on the other, it would revive into fresh vigour all that contrariety of opinion and all those controversies which had prevailed in the church since the days of Elizabeth. Notwithstanding these considerations, Lord Redesdale ventured in 1851 to introduce into the House of Lords a motion for the “renewal of the synodical action of the church by the revival of convocation.” As might be expected, the proposal had not the slightest chance against the arguments that were brought against it, and it failed accordingly. The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke

the mind of the more considerate of the clergy on this occasion. He feared that such a revival of convocation would only revive dissension and controversy. If the assembling of convocation, he added, were to end in reconciling some conflicting rubrics, or in supplying the deficiencies of others, the result would be little worth the cost. Thus far you would disappoint; go farther and you would excite. In stating the superior advantages of the Church of England as it now existed, his grace also said that during the last thirty years it had founded a thousand new parishes at home, and established twenty new episcopal sees in our colonies abroad.

But even more dangerous than the avowed antagonism of Popery and the hostile attacks of dissenterism, was the rise of a party within the church itself that divided the best of its members, and threatened to rend the whole fabric asunder. We allude to that innovation which, under the name of Tractarianism or Puseyism, had its origin about the commencement of the present period; which continued to grow from year to year in strength, numbers, and importance; and which attracts notice and excites alarm even at the present hour.

The divisions of Protestantism so prevalent in England, the land of universal toleration, had tended from the beginning to unsettle the faith of the weak or the inquiring, and throw them into that state of uncertainty in which an infallible church is welcomed as a relief. But although Popery was at hand to receive them, they recoiled from such an alternative, well knowing the price it exacted and the odium to which it would subject them, so that the conversions from the Church of England to that of Rome had hitherto been few and of small account. While matters were in this condition, a body of clergymen at Oxford, with Dr. Pusey, professor of Hebrew in the university, at their head, began to publish a series of pamphlets, under the title of "Tracts for the Times," which were continued at short but irregular intervals until 1841; and as these productions were written by men of high name, and were distinguished by great learning, talent, and eloquence, they arrested attention, and were very widely circulated. The opinions which at first they announced were sufficiently startling; but as they went onward, they increased in boldness, and inculcated a creed that was neither Protestantism nor Popery, but a compound of both, laying claim alternately to the independence of the former and the infallibility of the latter. During the eight years of their continuance, ninety of these tracts appeared, and a party in the church was formed, which, under the name of Tractarians, Anglo-Catholics, or Puseyites, was numbered by thousands. But it was

not by tracts alone that the principles of this new creed were inculcated: they were also illustrated by novels, by poems, by poetry and architecture—by every means that could convey them into high places, and make them alluring to all who were of refined taste and sensitive temperament. The progressive growth of the system, its character under its full development, and the modes by which it was recommended, were nothing more, perhaps, than an undesigned and uncalculated result; but had it been a crafty device of the Jesuits themselves to bring back souls by whatever means to Rome, it would have been accounted a masterpiece of Jesuitism. For however alluring it was at first, and however complete in appearance, it was soon discovered by many of its converts to be only a compromise, and having gone thus far, they felt as if consistency required them to complete the journey. It became accordingly a sort of half-way house, in which the pilgrims made only a temporary sojourn; and the numbers that went onward from it to Popery, both among the clergy and laity, caused this to be regarded as an inevitable result. The eyes of the public were opened, and an outcry so loud was raised against the movement that an answer was necessary; and in 1839, Dr. Pusey, in a letter to the Bishop of Oxford which he published, endeavoured to show that the doctrines of the tracts had no such tendency, being fitted rather to check the progress of ultra-Protestantism, than support the cause of Popery. But the contrary of this continued to be manifested by the numerous secessions to Romanism, which were still on the increase; and the young students designed for the church who had embraced Anglo-Catholicism, felt that they could not take orders by subscribing the Thirty-nine Articles consistently with their present opinions. This was bringing matters to too conclusive an issue, and to satisfy the conscientious misgivings of such persons, Mr. Newman published Tract 90 of the series, in which he endeavoured to prove that an Anglo-Catholic might subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles without any religious inconsistency. But it was an attempt to prove too much; the university condemned the tract; and public feeling was so strong that the series was discontinued. Mr. Newman himself also refuted his own statements, and showed the impossibility of such a compromise, by seceding in 1845 to the Church of Rome, an example which was followed in the course of a few months by a considerable number of the clergymen of the Church of England, whom the tracts had infected with the doctrines of the new Oxford school.

It was now too late to deny or conceal the Romish tendencies of Puseyism, and accordingly

from this period those who held such opinions and still retained their livings adopted a more open course of action. Not satisfied with preaching the doctrines, they also introduced the forms



REV. DR. PUSEY — From a print entitled *a Recollection*

of Popery, and lighted candles upon the altars; bowing before the cross and using the sign of it, the intonation of the church service, and preaching in a surplice were introduced, under the plea, either that they were part and parcel of the earliest and purest period of our Reformation, or that they were in themselves decent and edifying, and conformable to the general practice of Christendom. Moreover, in the repairing of old churches and the building of new, a devout, scrupulous adherence was manifested to the peculiarities of medieval religious architecture, and no building was regarded as the house of God unless it was a gospel of stone and lime—a revival of the devotional structures, with their quaint allegorical ornaments, that had taught the eyes of the people of England in the days of the earliest Plantagenets. These were startling innovations; but the remissness of the prelates had been still more strange, for they either had looked on in utter silence or protested against them in little more than a whisper. But in 1845, when the evil had grown to a height, and toleration was no longer a virtue, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a letter to the clergy and laity of his province, requesting them to beware of introducing changes without the general acquiescence of the people, and warning them of the risk of division from any such attempts. A check was the consequence; but, owing to the gentle style of the letter, the interruption was only partial and temporary—the tide rallied and returned in full strength; and not only several congregations in

the country, but some of the richer ones in London, adopted those Anglo-Catholic practices which the Primate of all England had condemned.

A more decisive stand, originating in a personal grievance, was made in 1847. In that year Mr. Gorham had been presented to the living of Bramford-Speke, induction to which was refused him by the Bishop of Exeter, because in a lengthened examination, chiefly on the subject of baptism, he had refused to assent to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. Mr. Gorham appealed to the court of archbishops, but there the prelate's decision was confirmed, upon which the case was transferred to the judicial committee of the privy council, who, after considerable delay and discussion, reversed, at the beginning of 1850, the decision of the inferior court. This was a discouraging blow to the Anglo-Catholics, and a large secession followed, so that during that and the following year, nearly one hundred clergymen abandoned the church and went over to the Romish communion. Previously, the example of the Church of Scotland at the Disruption had awoken among them the inquiry as to how far civil authority, and especially the right of the crown, extended in ecclesiastical matters and the government of the church; but the question assumed double vigour in consequence of this decision in the case of Mr. Gorham. Hence the motion for the revival of convocation and the exercise of synodical action made in the House of Lords in 1851, of which mention has been already made. The supremacy of the sovereign as head of the English church is still the subject of Puseyite controversy; and while this party are opposed to it, they feel that by remaining in the church they acknowledge that supremacy, and expose themselves to the charge of inconsistency. This they endeavour to avoid by declaring that their submission is under the saving clause "as far as is permitted by the law of Christ." But the law knows no such exception, and allows of no mental reservations, and a royal edict would give them no alternative but submission or secession. In the meantime the controversy still goes onward, and the party is increasing in numbers and in boldness; but as fast as accessions are made to it the increase is balanced by an equal proportion of members who leave its equivocal communion for that of Rome.

Of the doctrines of the Anglo-Catholics, as they are given in the Oxford tracts and numerous publications of the party, a short sketch will suffice. Their avowed aim was to bring back the Protestant church both in doctrine and practice to a complete harmony with Scripture and the Anti-Nicene fathers, and reject everything which had accumulated since the first Nicene council in A.D. 325. Here, therefore,

Scripture alone was not recognized as the test and standard of religious truth: on the contrary, early tradition was admitted as an equal authority; and instead of conceding the right of private interpretation to every individual, they bound him to receive the meaning of Scripture solely as it was held, or said to be held, during the first three centuries of Christianity. "Catholic tradition," as one of the tracts explains it, "teaches revealed truth, Scripture proves it; Scripture is the document of faith, tradition the witness of it; the true creed is the Catholic interpretation of Scripture, or scripturally proved tradition; Scripture by itself teaches mediately and proves decisively; tradition by itself proves negatively and teaches positively; Scripture and tradition taken together are the joint rule of faith." In this way, as only the learned in theology have access to tradition, the clergy would exclusively become the authoritative exponents of Scripture, and dictators of the popular faith. In this way, also, from such a remote, unsatisfactory, and contradictory source, the germ of every subsequent corruption in the Christian church can be easily derived, whether for ritual or doctrine. As the clergy were to be invested with such extraordinary power, it was necessary to find for them a divine commission; and this was done by the doctrine of apostolical succession. "Our ordinations," says Dr. Hook, "descend in an unbroken line from Peter and Paul, the apostles of circumcision and of the Gentiles. These great apostles successively ordained Linus, Cletus, and Clement, Bishops of Rome; and the apostolical succession was regularly continued from them to Celestine, Gregory, and Vitalianus, who ordained Patrick bishop of the Irish, and Augustine and Theodore for the English. And from those times an uninterrupted series of valid ordinations has carried down the apostolical succession in our churches to the present day. There is not a bishop, priest, or deacon among us who may not, if he please, trace his spiritual descent from Peter and Paul." By this revival of the doctrine of apostolical succession, which ecclesiastical history fails to establish, and which the wisest and most learned of our churchmen had gladly abandoned, the clerical claims to an authoritative right in the interpretation of Scripture was established, to the full satisfaction of Puseyism, while all other churches, except the Greek, the Roman, and the English, were thrown down to the level of mere schisms, and branded as heretical.

Another great source of clerical authority was the power of the sacraments as inculcated by the Anglo-Catholic teachers. The efficacy of these sacraments to procure divine grace and insure salvation was inherent, they alleged, in them-

selves; but to possess this efficacy, they must be administered by a priest who could lay claim to the apostolical succession. Thus the eucharist, when administered by the hand of such a clergyman, was in itself a communication of every spiritual benefit, which, if given by another, would only be 'an unmeaning ceremony or a downright profanation. But to invest the eucharist with this mysterious power, it was necessary for Puseyism to have recourse to the doctrine of transubstantiation; and this accordingly was done by the Oxford tractarians at an early stage of the controversy. They boasted of their church as being the sole depository of the body of Christ to his people, and Dr. Pusey alluded to their clergy as "intrusted with the awful privilege of making the body and blood of Christ." This, however, was felt to be dangerous language in a Protestant church, and from clergymen holding its appointments, so that a phraseology was adopted, by which the doctrine might be rendered less specific and repulsive. Accordingly, they stated that the body of Christ in the sacrament, although really present, is so only spiritually and after a transcendental manner, and not with the material qualities of a body, or with "bones and sinews," as the Council of Trent has asserted. But disguise the subject as they might by obscure words and unintelligible distinctions, their sacrament was a mass in which the real presence was contained, and to which the power of salvation was attributed. Another doctrine of Puseyism in connection with the sacraments, was that of baptismal regeneration, in which the graces bestowed by the "baptism of the Spirit" are attributed to that which is administered by water. "Whosoever has been baptized," says one of the tracts on this subject, "was thereby incorporated into Christ." "Our life in Christ Jesus begins, when we are by baptism made members of Christ and children of God." "Baptism is the channel through which God bestows justification, and faith is the quality through which we receive it."¹

Such were the principal doctrines of Puseyism as the system continued to expand, until it touched so closely the confines of Popery, that it was difficult to distinguish where the one ended and the other commenced; and in this manner a preparation was made for the absorption of a passive and negative system of belief into one that was active and positive. But while so learned and so logical a creed was rising into existence in the halls of Oxford, the seat of Greek erudition, patristic study, and medieval taste, another, equally remarkable but for its opposite qualities of simplicity and nakedness, was commencing its existence in the illiterate seaport

¹ *Faiths of the World*, in the article "Anglo Catholic," by the Rev J. Gardner, M.D.

town of Plymouth. We allude to the sect who, in consequence of the locality in which they first appeared, are known by the name of the Plymouth Brethren. This was in 1830, and in twenty years they had so greatly increased, that they numbered 132 places of worship, and 6000 or 7000 adherents. This indeed gives but a small proportion for each congregation, but the smallness of these congregational groups can be accounted for by the character of their simple polity, which is favourable to the assembling of little communities for social worship, rather than crowds for an imposing ritual, and the allurements of well-trained eloquence. In doctrine, the Plymouth Brethren hold several of those extreme opinions which were so prevalent among some of the sectaries during the period of the Commonwealth. All articles, creeds, and confessions they regard as a denial of the sufficiency of Scripture; a regular ministry and an established ritual they denounce as a refusal of the all-sufficient guidance of the Holy Spirit. All believers, they allege, are a spiritual priesthood, and every brother who possesses the gift of preaching is not only authorized, but also bound to exercise it for the edification of the church. In their meetings, therefore, any one who believes himself prompted by the Spirit may freely address the assembly, and should any one conceive himself so gifted as to devote himself exclusively to preaching, he must do it on his own spiritual responsibility, and exercise his office without appointment or ordination. Being thus independent of a regular ministry, the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are administered among them by lay brethren, and the last is observed among them once a week. As may be expected from the foregoing account, their idea of a Christian church is not that of an ecclesiastical organization, but a religious union and brotherhood—a body united under one spiritual head. With this simple polity, which resembles that of the Quakers, they combine certain practical doctrines which, under a vitiated state of society, would be certain to lead to unhappy practical results. They allege, that as all true believers have been delivered by Christ from the law as a rule of life, the preaching of the law to such is worthless legalism, and a denial of that perfect work by which Christ has made his people free. They also maintain that, being in a state of grace already, a Christian has no need to ask for blessings which he has already received, but only for an increase of them. These doctrines, and the completely republican character of their church government, have not only considerably increased the numbers of the community in England since the census given in 1851, but have been favourably received in America;

and in that congenial soil, the Plymouth Brethren, from the rapid growth of their cause, appear to have found their best resting-place and home.

While Puseyism had been springing up in the Church of England, it is worthy of note that a similar system, with an equally Romish tendency, was originating in the Scottish church. Its first manifestations, which appeared in the parish of Row, and the town of Port-Glasgow, on the banks of the Clyde, occasioned it to be called the Row heresy; while its pretensions, which aimed at the infallible interpretation of prophecy, the gift of tongues, and the working of miracles, were a source not only of great popular attractiveness, but of wild fanatical excess. The delusion, however, was chiefly confined to silly women; and on account of such supporters, as well as from the overstrained fervour of its absurdities, it would have been confined to its own narrow locality, and soon have died out, had it not been adopted by a heresiarch whose talents and reputation were fitted to give it publicity. This was the celebrated Edward Irving, who, after delighting by his pulpit eloquence the British metropolis, where he had been settled towards the close of the preceding period, was now astonishing it by his daring and heretical theories. Numbers of his excited followers, on hearing of the movement on the Clyde, hurried to the spot, to examine the portent, and judge of its reality; and as they had been previously hungering and thirsting for miracles, they quickly caught the infection, and hurried back to London, to communicate it to their fellow-worshippers. And strange was the exhibition now afforded by Mr. Irving's congregation that assembled at the Scots Church in Regent Square! The religious services were interrupted by the harangues of the inspired; women started up and in strange tones poured forth a jargon of words which none could understand, but which were assumed to be inspired by the same power that had imparted the gift of tongues on the day of Pentecost; even the lame were commanded to walk, and the dead to rise to life, by those confident thaumaturgists, who were astonished at the non-compliance of their patients, and in whom want of faith alone, they declared, had been the cause of the failure. And of all the deluded none exceeded Mr. Irving himself, whose morbid intellect it inspired with fresh activity, and to whose eloquence it furnished a new and exciting theme. The latter days, he declared, had come; the miraculous powers of the church were restored; the millennium itself was at hand. But the Church of Scotland could no longer tolerate the unsoundness of his preaching, and the extravagant displays of his congregation; and in 1830 he was deposed from his local cure as minister of the

Scots Church in Regent Square by the presbytery of London, and finally, in 1833, from his standing as an ordained minister, by the presbytery of his native Annan. For these exclusions, how-



REV. EDWARD IRVING

From a print by Meyer, after a drawing by A. Robertson

ever, Mr. Irving cared little, surrounded as he was by prophets and prophetesses, who were of higher account with him than presbyteries and general assemblies; and on his expulsion from Regent Square he betook himself to a building in Newman Street, which his people had fitted up as a place of worship, and where he organized his congregation into a separate and distinct church. They were now placed under a fourfold ministry of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors, Mr. Irving himself being ordained as the angel of the church of Newman Street. In 1834 he died at the age of forty-two, worn out by a life of intellectual excitement, and the feverish labours of his latter years in supporting and propagating the doctrines of his new system. His followers, who were numerous, had at first been called Rowites, from the parish in which the excitement had commenced; but this name, which designated a small class of people who soon became ashamed of their aberration, passed into that of Irvingites, from the name of their great leader: this title also was soon abandoned for that of the "Apostolic Catholic Church," which they claim for their numerous and influential body, and by which they are now generally known. It may be stated, however, that in assuming this name they do not claim an exclusive right to hold it. They deny that they are sectaries or separatists of any kind, and consider themselves as members of the one

church baptized into Christ; while their great mission, they allege, is to reunite the scattered members of the one true church, the body of Christ. The only standards of belief which they acknowledge are the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds. But while they profess to be guided by these in their interpretation of the Word of God, they have a boundless latitude in reserve, by the authority they attribute and the credence they yield to the dictates of their prophets, which they receive as inspiration. They also believe in transubstantiation, and hold that the elements of bread and wine in the eucharist are the real body and blood of Christ. On this account the consecrated elements are constantly kept in a receptacle or pix upon the altar, and towards these the priests and people reverently bow on entering and leaving the chapel.

In the government of the "Apostolic Catholic Church," and in its forms of worship as well as its doctrines, those changes have entered that might have been expected from the members of which it was latterly composed, and the nature of its organization. Hence the disappearance of its early presbyterianism, and the various phases it afterwards presented, according to the prophet or the inspiration that might for the time predominate. Their first ministry was fourfold, consisting of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors; and in the ordination of a pastor, he was first designated by the prophet, after which the apostles ordained him by the imposition of hands. In this way, the sentence of deposition from the ministerial office pronounced by the Church of Scotland on Mr. Irving was removed by a prophet, when the former was to be appointed angel of the congregation in Newman Street. The same prophetic authority also decreed the appointment of elders and deacons, the former being invested with a priestly character, and the latter with the right of teaching. Afterwards, in 1835-6, the apostles, twelve in number, retired to Albury, to formulate their new church, and after a year of study and discussion they produced a constitution modelled somewhat in the form of a Jewish tabernacle, so as "to give an idea of the true relation and adjustment of the machinery of the universal church." This, however, was still found insufficient, and in 1838 the apostles, by the command of another prophecy, spent two years in visiting most of the European countries, to collect from their several churches whatever portion of divine truth could be found valuable in each; and in 1844 they again departed upon a similar mission. It was no wonder therefore if both in its ritual and forms of worship, this "Apostolic Catholic Church" soon comprised the varieties of the Eastern, Western, and Protestant churches, with a

strong infusion from those several sects which arrogate to themselves a superior and more direct heavenly inspiration. As might have been expected also, the more pompous and alluring ceremonial of the Church of Rome has obtained the preponderance in these importations, so that in their form of worship the Apostolic Catholics could scarcely be distinguished from those "worshippers of the beast," upon whom Irving until the hour of his death had never ceased to pour such terrible denunciations. Such a half-measure has produced the same effect that a similar process has wrought in Puseyism, by making this church a sort of resting-house on the way to Rome. Here, however, its transitions have not finally terminated, as it adheres to the doctrine of development, at least in ritualism, and holds out to its people the prospect of new rites and ceremonies more perfect still, which, in due time, will be revealed to their prophets and apostles.

After this explanation, the principal features in the public worship of this church, as being of uncertain duration, may be briefly announced. In framing their liturgy, they endeavoured to "combine the excellence of all preceding liturgies;" and while it largely partakes of the service-book of England as well as that of Rome, it is almost identified with the latter in its recognition of the real presence in the sacramental elements; its prayers for the dead; its intonations, chantings, and music; its variety of postures and evolutions. The priests and the numerous sacerdotal office-bearers, who of themselves almost form a congregation, are distinguished in their costume by the alb and girdle, the stole and chasuble, the surplice, rochette, and mosette, according to their offices and the functions to be performed; while a latitude is still given to the inspired men and women of the congregation to break forth upon the service with whatever divine revelation may at the moment be vouchsafed to them. Like the Puseyites also, they attach great importance to symbolical representations; and therefore while the walls of their churches are plentifully adorned with richly painted texts and allegorical figures, they have two lights burning upon the altar, to indicate the divine light by the institution of prophets and apostles, and seven before the altar, to represent the divine light communicated through the sevenfold eldership; while the incense which is burned during prayer, is to remind the people of the sweet incense of the prayers of the faithful ascending before the throne of God. So costly a ritual, and such a numerous priesthood, would be difficult to maintain, were it not that, besides free-will offerings, every member is required to give a tenth of his increase, that is, of his income of every description, for the support of the church and ministry.

A church so alluring in its form of worship, and so gratifying in its promises of novelty and change, has secured many followers, and the party is numerous not only in England and Scotland, but also in Ireland, in America, and several places of the Continent.

But still further removed from the authority of revelation, and wilder in its origin, its character, and doctrines, is the sect which has sprung up during this period under the name of "Mormons," or "Latter-day Saints." It originated in America under the notorious Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont in the United States; and the sect was first organized at Manchester, in the state of New York, on the 6th of April, 1830. Into the history of this vulgar arch-deceiver, Smith, it is unnecessary to descend; it is sufficient to state that he pretended to have received his new gospel engraved upon thin plates of gold, from the hands of an angel; that, though it was written in an unknown and obsolete language, he was divinely inspired to read and interpret it; and that after he had delivered this Koran chapter by chapter to his first followers, the number of converts rapidly grew into congregations in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. As the doctrines they taught were subversive not only of divine revelation, but the rules of common morality and civil government, the sect was driven from the different states into Missouri, from which they were soon after obliged to emigrate to Illinois, where they built their famous city and temple of Nauvoo. But here the popular hostility followed them: in 1844 Joseph Smith himself was murdered by an insurgent mob; and finding themselves still unsafe, the Mormons finally retired in 1847 to the Salt Lake Valley, far in the interior of America, where they formed their state of Deseret, in which they are still located.

Notwithstanding their loose morality and the wildness of their religious tenets, these Mormons or Latter-day Saints displayed that fervent zeal for proselytizing by which every new sect is distinguished; and their missionaries were active in making converts not merely throughout each of the United States, but in several of the countries of Europe. Not only in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden have their efforts been attended with great success, but even in England and Wales, in which latter countries, in 1851, they had more than 30,000 converts; and since that time their number has greatly increased, notwithstanding their frequent emigrations to the parent community in the Salt Lake Valley. In our own country, however, the extravagant doctrines of the Latter-day Saints are somewhat abated, and their worst practices repudiated or at least avoided, especially polygamy and the right of

self-government, which no European state would tolerate. Their principles of belief, as set forth by Joseph Smith, their hierophant, are the following:—

“We believe in God the eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

“We believe that men will be punished for their own sins and not for Adam’s transgression.

“We believe that through the atonement of Christ all men may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel.

“We believe that these ordinances are: 1st, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; 2d, Repentance; 3d, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; 4th, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

“We believe that a man must be called of God ‘by prophecy, and by laying on of hands,’ by those who are in authority, to preach the gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

“We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church—viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, &c.

“We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, &c.

“We believe the Bible to be the word of God as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

“We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God.

“We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the ten tribes. That Zion will be built upon this [American] continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisaical glory.

“We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

“We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates; in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law.

“We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul—‘We believe all things; we hope all things;’ we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek thereafter.

Notwithstanding the temperate appearance of this creed, it will be seen at once that all is not announced. The Book of Mormon is to be received with the Bible as of equal authority, and even the revelations now existing are liable to

be superseded by those which are still to follow. But of all these strange doctrines, as well as the flagitious license allowed by Joseph Smith and his successors, the European converts are kept in ignorance, until they have hastened to the land of promise in the far West, where they find themselves inclosed within the verge of a watchful and vigorous theocracy, from which they are not permitted to escape. This government at its head-quarters consists of a presidency of three persons, a college of twelve apostles, and a council of twelve high-priests, with numerous local rulers under the titles of prophets, priests, elders, bishops, teachers, deacons, and evangelists or missionaries. The order of their priesthood is twofold, that of Melchizedek and that of Aaron; and every Mormon is required to give a tenth of his income for the support of the clergy, and a tenth of his time to the temple and other public works. Their sabbaths are merry festivals rather than days of solemn devotion, and are signalized by songs, dancing, and feasting. Infant baptism they denounce as sinful, on which account the rite is delayed until the child is eight years of age, at which period he is reckoned accountable; he is then baptized by immersion; and regeneration, which is supposed to be begun by the rite, is perfected by the laying on of the hands of the Melchizedek priesthood, through which he is baptized by the Holy Ghost. Such importance, also, is attributed to this sacrament that they have a baptism by proxy, in which a person is baptized in lieu of a dead friend, by which the deceased secures in the other world all the privileges of a Latter-day Saint, unless he has committed the unpardonable sin. In the Lord’s Supper, which is administered every Sabbath, they use water instead of wine, and the bishops carry round the bread and a pail of water, with a tin or glass cup, to administer the elements to the people both young and old, who receive them in their pews. That such a system should have obtained a footing in Britain might be wondered at, did we not know the hungering for religious novelty which forms a characteristic of the age, and the multitudes of ignorant and enthusiastic persons who will always be found in every community, however elevated its general character and however abundant its means of religious instruction. It must be kept in mind, also, that they have received the Mormon delusion in its simplest and least repulsive form. Recent events in America, where the system has suffered a ruinous blow, have led to the expectation that its ramifications throughout Europe, already languishing, must speedily expire. But even at the worst, although it has matched the wildness of the Anabaptist heresy of Munster in the sixteenth century, and been accompanied with similar outbreaks, it may

yet like it undergo a tanning process, in which it will be as difficult to recognize the successors of Joseph Smith and Brigham Young as those of John of Leyden and Knipperdoling.

But the great scene of religious interest and the chief arena of church controversy and contention during this period was Scotland, where a keen conflict was waged, not by the church united against dissenterism, but by one great division of the church against another, and the result of which was not the mere formation of a new sect, but the rending of the church itself in twain. We allude to the Disruption, not only the most important event in the whole history of the Church of Scotland since the days of Knox and Melville, but fraught with consequences yet undeveloped to Christendom at large, as a great trial and experiment upon the connection of church and state, and the expediency of church establishments in general. To this startling and unexpected issue the long conflict that had been waged in Scotland against church patronage since the time of the union was to come at last, and the persistency of the Scottish character, after nearly a century and a half of disregarded opposition and protest, to be finally and fully vindicated.

Since the commencement of the present century, a visible change had begun in the Scottish church, which had gone on during the whole of the preceding period. It was the rise of the Evangelical party, with which the sentiments of the bulk of the people had been so long identified, and the depression of their opponents, the Moderates. And to this change the progress of events had naturally tended. That revival of liberal opinions which formed the great characteristic of the earlier part of the nineteenth century, was felt in the church as well as the state, and the people had become as indisposed to clerical, as they were to royal and political domination. They had also found that they could make their voice heard not only in the choice of their political, but their spiritual rulers and guides. Another cause, and connected with the preceding, was the high talent and energy of the new leaders of the popular party; and in such men as Sir Henry Moncrieff, Dr. Andrew Thomson, and Dr. Chalmers, their claims were not likely to be either silenced or disregarded. A third cause was to be found in the acquiescence of the Moderates themselves to the new state of things, who either from choice or necessity yielded to the current which they could no longer hope to resist. Not only was their opposition to the doctrines of evangelism less decided, but in many cases their most distinguished adherents became the advocates of those religious principles which their predecessors had been wont to oppose. In this manner the warfare against the Moderate

party was no longer a controversy in behalf of Arminian or even Arian principles, but a contest for a higher style of orthodoxy, and a more constitutional system of ecclesiastical government.

While the Evangelical party had thus grown so powerful that at the commencement of this period they could almost counterpoise their opponents, there were new agencies at hand by the operation of which their strength and efficiency were greatly augmented. One of these was the passing of the reform bill, which, by the recognition it gave to the popular choice in the right of government, was certain to give an impulse to that republican element which forms so essential a part of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. By this sweeping measure such a general spirit of inquiry was awakened, that even in remote Scotland, and amidst its ecclesiastical polity, hitherto so little regarded in high places, popular abuses could no longer hope to escape detection, or a parliamentary indifference to the popular will be safely continued. Another source of strength was derived from the conflict of dissenterism against the Established church, which was waged in Scotland with greater ardour, and more decisive results, than those which had distinguished the same agitation in England. Animated by a consciousness of their strength, and by the new spirit that had been awakened against public grievances, the seceders of Scotland hoped that the time had come for the overthrow of the Established church, and the substitution of a clergy wholly supported by the voluntary benevolence, as well as elected by the choice of the people. This was called the Voluntary Controversy, which commenced in 1831, and reached its height in the following year. The chief arguments of the dissenters were derived from the condition of the church as it had lately existed under the ascendancy of Moderatism—a fertile store-house of weapons fitted for their purpose—and the case which it enabled them to make out bore a formidable appearance in behalf of their claims, and against the church establishment. It happened also from such a mode of warfare, that the Moderates were compelled to be silent—they could not deny the evidence of facts, and the natural consequences that were deduced from them. In this emergency, the Evangelical party of the church came forward and maintained the brunt of the controversy; and this they did successfully, by showing that these evils were accidental abuses, not inevitable consequences. They took their ground upon the principles of the church itself, as they were formulated by its standards before Moderatism was heard of; and in this position, which they could assume with a good grace, the perilous attack of dissenterism was met and repelled.

It was felt, however, by the Evangelical party, that however pleasant such a victory might be, the proper end had not yet been attained; and that so long as the evils complained of were continued, the opposition to church establishments was liable to be renewed. And first of these was patronage, in which Scottish dissenterism itself had not only founded its strongest argument, but from which it had derived its very existence. It was of this evil, and the disregard of the people's choice, that the popular party had complained, and for its amelioration at least, if not its entire removal, the Voluntary controversy had been a very urgent warning. This was now to be the great subject at issue, and while the conflict of the church against the enemy from without was at its height, the internal conflict commenced which was to go on without a pause, until it ended in a final DISRUPTION. It was at the General Assembly of 1832, that this new beginning was made, by overtures from three synods and eight presbyteries, to the following effect:—"That whereas the practice of church courts for many years had reduced the call to a mere formality; and whereas this practice has a direct tendency to alienate the affections of the people of Scotland from the Established church; it is overtured, that such measures as may be deemed necessary be adopted, in order to restore the call to its constitutional and salutary efficiency." But here the Moderate party took the alarm, and the proposal was rejected by a majority of forty-two. At the next year's Assembly, forty-five similar overtures were presented on the subject of calls, an increase of numbers that compelled attention; and a long debate followed on the subject, in which it was clearly shown that the right of the people to the choice of a minister was established by the original constitution and laws of the church, and that no pastor should be intruded upon them contrary to their will. Upon the subject of these overtures two motions were brought forward. The first was by Dr. Chalmers, in which he proposed that efficacy should be given to the call of a minister, by declaring that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families, who were resident in the parish and communicants, expressed with or without the assignment of reasons, should be sufficient to set the presentee aside, unless it was clearly established that this dissent was founded in corrupt and malicious combination, or not in any personal objection to his ministerial gifts and qualifications, either in general, or with regard to that particular parish. The other motion, which was by Dr. Cook, the leader of the Moderate party, proposed that it should be competent for the heads of families to present their objections to the presbytery; that the presbytery should consider these objections,

and if they judged them unfounded, or originating from causeless prejudices, should proceed to the settlement of the presentee; but if they judged them well founded, that they should reject the presentation. This last motion, which gave to a majority, or even the whole parish, no greater right than had belonged to any individual, was carried by a majority of 149 to 137. It was significant, however, that this majority, so small in itself, was obtained chiefly through the laic portion of the Assembly, as there was a majority of twenty ministers in favour of the motion of Dr. Chalmers.

All being thus prepared for a successful aggression upon the law of patronage, the subject was again introduced at the Assembly of 1834. The public interest upon the question had been excited in no ordinary degree: it was the reform bill of the Scottish church; and upon its passing, not only the tranquillity of the nation, but the permanence of its ecclesiastical establishment depended. The 350 members of which this great representative meeting of the national church consisted, had its usual proportion of the lay element in its ruling elders, who were in number to the clerical as four to five; and as the Moderate and Evangelical parties were now nearly, if not altogether balanced, while every single vote was of importance, each member was at his post, and the Tron Church, Edinburgh, in which the meeting assembled, was thronged with anxious spectators. The motion, which was made by Lord Moncrieff, son of the Rev. Sir Henry Moncrieff, the late leader of the Evangelical party in the church, was substantially the same as that of Dr. Chalmers in the preceding year, and was to the following effect.—"That the General Assembly having maturely considered the overtures, do declare that it is a fundamental law of the church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people; and that in order to carry this principle into full effect, the presbyteries of the church shall be instructed that if, at the moderating in of a call to a vacant pastoral charge, the major part of the male heads of families, members of the vacant congregation and in full communion with the church, shall disapprove of the person in whose favour the call is proposed to be moderated in, such disapproval shall be deemed sufficient ground for the presbytery rejecting such person, and that he shall be rejected accordingly, and due notice thereof forthwith given to all concerned: but that if the major part of the said heads of families shall not disapprove of such person to be their pastor, the presbytery shall proceed with the settlement, according to the rules of the church: and further declare, that no person shall be held to be entitled to disapprove, as aforesaid, who

shall refuse, if required, solemnly to declare in presence of the presbytery, that he is actuated by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a conscientious regard to the spiritual interests of himself or the congregation: and resolve that a committee be appointed to report to an interim diet of the Assembly, in what manner, and by what particular measures, this declaration and instruction may be best carried into full operation." Such was the amount of modification that was sought in the law of patronage. It was merely a vindication of the old law established in the standards, and illustrated in the history of the Church of Scotland, that "no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people." But was the church competent in itself to enact a law by which patronage was made to depend upon the will of the people, and its presentations to be only available when confirmed by the popular acceptance? This was admitted even by the Moderates themselves, and the right was clearly explained by Lord Moncrieff in the speech with which he prefaced his motion:—"I want no more," said this accomplished master in civil and ecclesiastical Scottish law—

"I want no more than what is contained in the act of 1690, qualified as it is by the act of Queen Anne, and the laws of the church by which that act is ordered to be carried into effect. The act of 1690 gave the election to the elders and heritors being Protestants. But did it rest there? No. It goes on to assert the powers of the church in a material point, ordaining that the heritors and elders are to propose the person to the congregation, and if they disapprove of him, the reasons are to be given in to the presbytery, by whose determination the collation of the minister is to be completed. The act of Queen Anne in 1712 repeals this act only so far as relates to the presentation of the minister by the elders and heritors; it alters nothing as to the manner in which the individual is to be presented to the congregation, and it is still in force on this point. Was it not recognized by the act of Assembly in 1736 and 1782? and is it not recognized in the con-

stant practice of our presbyteries sending the individual to the congregation to preach before them?" The debate preceding the settlement of this important question lasted from eleven o'clock in the forenoon till eleven at night, and it ended in the success of Lord Moncrieff's motion by a majority of 184 to 138. Thus was the veto established as the law of the Church of Scotland.

This recognition of a great popular right, which had been so long and so vainly demanded, was not the only triumph obtained by the Evangelical party. In the preceding year the Moderates themselves had recognized the churches erected and partly endowed by parliament as parochial charges, by investing their ministers with parochial authority, and the right to a seat in church courts. These privileges, which were granted to the churches lately established in the more destitute districts, and especially in the Highlands, had at the same time been sought for the chapels of ease, but this demand the Moderates rejected. These chapels had been erected by the congregations themselves, who also possessed the right of electing their own pastors; and it was thought that their admission into church courts would strengthen the popular



REV. DR. CHALMERS
From a portrait by John Faed, R. S. A.

party, more especially as a great increase of such chapels was confidently anticipated. The demand was renewed at the Assembly of 1834, and with greater effect. It was evident indeed that the new plan of church extension, at the head of which was Dr. Chalmers, needed such encouragement and support: for while six hundred dissenting chapels had been erected in Scotland during the course of a century, only sixty-three chapels of ease in connection with the Establishment had been erected, whose congregations had no sessional courts or share in the government of the church. The anomalous position of such ministers in a church of Presbyterian parity, and of congregations thus excluded from the common rights of a worshipping people, together with the urgent need of more churches, were so strongly enforced, that the admission of chapels of ease to the status of parish churches was decreed by a large majority of 152 to 103. The beneficial effects of this

measure were quickly manifested by the result. In one year alone, after the passing of the act of Assembly, sixty-four new churches were built or in the course of erection, being one more than the number that had been raised during the whole of the previous century.

The veto act was now established; but would its merely negative character be sufficient to neutralize a positive evil? And when it came into exercise, would the patrons themselves be ready to submit to the authority by which it had been passed? These inevitable questions were soon to be answered in a very unwelcome fashion. In 1834, the minister of Auchterarder, a parish in the south of Perthshire, died, and Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate of the church, was presented to the living by the Earl of Kinnoull, its patron. But where was the parochial call, the most essential passport of a presentee? It was forthcoming indeed, but signed by no more persons than the earl's factor and two individuals, who had appended their names to the document commencing with, "We, the heritors, elders, heads of families, of the parish of Auchterarder"—which contained a population of three thousand souls! This would have been sufficient in the preceding century, especially if backed by a troop of dragoons; but these times had passed away, and this mere verbalism of a call was opposed by 287 out of 330 church members, who subscribed their dissent to Mr. Young's admission as their pastor. Thus, by the new law he was decisively vetoed, and the presbytery, as in duty bound, rejected the presentation. But Mr. Young appealed to the synod; and on this higher court confirming the sentence of the presbytery, he appealed to the last and highest of all, the General Assembly. Here also the rejection, after being carefully considered, was confirmed by a large majority, and the presbytery of Auchterarder, thus justified, refused to induct the presentee. This ought to have been conclusive, more especially as by the veto-law, and during the whole course of these church-court trials, the civil rights of the rejected preacher to the manse, glebe, and stipend were recognized, independently of his discharge of the functions of a minister, so that he could claim them let whosoever might be elected as the pastor of Auchterarder. But this was an alternative the shame of which was too much for patronage to endure—and herein was felt the first great difficulty of the veto-law: like other half measures, it only complicated the evils which it had been designed to remove. The earl and his protégé removed their case to the Court of Session, thus acknowledging the right of a merely civil tribunal to enforce a preacher's admission into the ministerial office. Upon this monstrous footing indeed the decision of the court was not

placed, although it virtually came to that conclusion; for it decreed that the presbytery of Auchterarder, by refusing to induct Mr. Young, had acted to the harm of the pursuers, and contrary to their duty and to certain statutes, and especially to the act of Queen Anne confirming the rights of patronage. They were not to be forced to invest him with the ministerial office, but only punished for refusing to do so. This decision was given in March, 1838, on the strength of which Mr. Young's law agent demanded that his client should be taken on trials for his induction; and on the refusal of the presbytery of Auchterarder to comply, he threatened its members with a prosecution for pecuniary damages. As civil pains and penalties thus impended over the presbytery, it was commissioned by the General Assembly to appeal to the House of Lords; but there, after a long discussion, the sentence of the Court of Session was confirmed. On receiving this decision, the General Assembly in 1839 decreed, by a majority of 204 to 155, that no further opposition should be given by the Auchterarder presbytery to the claims of Mr. Young to the emoluments of the benefice, but also, that the principle of non-intrusion as a fundamental principle of the Church of Scotland should not be abandoned or compromised. It was likewise resolved that, as by carrying this principle into effect it now appeared that the legal sustentation of the ministry may be suspended, and as they were desirous of avoiding any collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, a committee should be appointed, for the purpose of considering in what way the privileges of the national Establishment and the harmony between church and state may remain unimpaired; with instructions to confer with the government of the country if they shall see cause.

This case of Auchterarder was only the commencement of the warfare, and a new and still more severe trial of the veto-law was to succeed at Lethendy. The minister of this parish being old, infirm, and unfit for duty, Mr. Clark was appointed by the crown his assistant and successor: but when he was about to be ordained, a majority of the male heads of the congregation protested against his appointment, in consequence of which it was set aside in terms of the veto act. The old minister died, and the crown issued a new presentation in favour of Mr. Kessen, who was acceptable to the people. Encouraged however by the decision of the Auchterarder case, Mr. Clark obtained from the Court of Session an interdict against the appointment of Mr. Kessen; but this the presbytery rejected as illegal, and fortified by the authority of the General Assembly, they ordained Mr. Kessen on the 13th

of September, 1838. In consequence of this, Mr. Clark again appealed to the Court of Session, who pronounced the presbytery guilty of breaking the interdict, and summoned its members to their bar. They went accordingly, and were there punished with a severe rebuke, and warned that their next offence of the same kind would be visited with a still heavier penalty.

The next trial which the veto had to encounter was that of Marnoch. This parish having become vacant in 1837, Mr. Edwards, who had been the minister's assistant for three years, received a presentation from the patron; but he had been so unacceptable to the parish, that when his call was presented, it was signed by only one parishioner who was entitled to vote, and the names of three heritors who signed by proxy; while against his admission was a protest subscribed by 261 heads of families, out of a roll of 300 communicants. In spite of this rejection, Mr. Edwards insisted upon his claim, and in this case he had the presbytery of Strathbogie to second him, who brought a charge of intriguing and caballing on the part of the parishioners of Marnoch before the synod of Moray; but the synod condemned the conduct of the presbytery as illegal, and ordered them to find the presentee disqualified by the rejection of the people for being minister of Marnoch. The presbytery then appealed to the General Assembly in 1838, on the plea that they only wished to interpose the highest authority of the church to justify their rejection of the presentee; upon which the assembly reviewed their previous proceedings, and authorized them to reject Mr. Edwards. He was set aside accordingly, and a new presentation was given by the patrons in favour of Mr. David Henry. But with the whole church thus against him, Mr. Edwards would not yet yield: he appealed to the Court of Session, and obtained from it a decision interdicting Mr. Henry from presenting himself to the presbytery for ordination, and the presbytery from proceeding to his induction. Encouraged by this powerful aid, the presbytery of Strathbogie resumed its opposition, by a vote for delaying proceedings until the question should be legally decided; against which decision an Evangelical minority protested, and appealed to the synod, by whom the case was referred to the final decision of the next General Assembly. But confident in the protection of the civil power the presbytery would not await the decision of the highest church court, and for their contumacy, the recusant ministers, seven in number, were suspended from their clerical office by an authoritative sentence of the Assembly's commission. Against this sentence the ministers appealed to the Court of Session, requesting them

to remove it, and prevent the verdict from being published in their parishes, or the ministers of the Assembly from preaching in their churches, churchyards, or school-houses; but although much of this was beyond the power of a civil court, it did what it could to the utmost—it barred the churches, churchyards, and school-houses against the entrance of the ministers commissioned by the Assembly, so that they were obliged to announce its sentence of suspension, and preach to the people in the open air. But the seven still continued in the discharge of their clerical offices; and not content with this defiance of the church in its collective capacity, they proceeded to crown their rebellion by admitting the rejected presentee to the ministerial charge of Marnoch. They accordingly took Mr. Edwards on trials, found him duly qualified, and on the 21st of January, 1841, proceeded to his induction. The whole nation was astounded at their hardihood, and none more than the parishioners of Marnoch, who could scarcely believe the testimony of their senses when they saw the presbytery assembled in the church for ordination, notwithstanding their protest, and the high authority with which it was corroborated. Having seen that this was a reality, they arose and departed, leaving the strangers who had come from a distance as the only witnesses of those solemn services by which their souls were consigned to the care of a stranger whom they had so expressly rejected, and whose voice they would not hear.

The church had now arrived at a crisis where to pause or recede was equally impossible; and, had it been united, its advance would have been irresistible. But it was still a divided body, and the party so long in the ascendancy and so lately held in check, were beginning to take courage in the prospect of state support, and prepare for a fresh encounter, with the civil power for their ally. When the Assembly's commission in March, therefore, passed a vote of sympathy with the parishioners of Marnoch, and when the Assembly itself in May, 1841, decreed a sentence of deposition upon the seven Strathbogie ministers, rescinded the settlement of Mr. Edwards, and ordered the presbytery to proceed with the induction of Mr. Henry, the Moderate party rallied for fresh opposition. Invoking the state to aid and support them, and representing the opposite party as rebels, they identified themselves with the deposed martyrs of Strathbogie, whom they still recognized as ministers, and encouraged to hold out by preaching in their pulpits and assisting them in their clerical public duties. And by which of these parties was the Church of Scotland represented? Statesmen in London were at a loss to decide, and even their Scottish

advisers were in many instances bewildered. To enlighten them on this question a public manifestation was necessary; and accordingly an extraordinary meeting was held in the West Kirk of Edinburgh on the 25th of August, which was attended by 1200 ministers and elders, who unanimously passed a series of resolutions asserting the freedom of the church from secular control, and maintaining the principle of non-intrusion. This, it might be thought, was evidence enough of the prevailing spirit of the church, but unfortunately it failed to convince; and when a second appeal was made to the House of Lords upon the case of Auchterarder, in consequence of the Court of Session having decreed an action against the presbytery for refusing to ordain Mr. Young, the sentence was confirmed by the lords. This final decision was conclusive in every such case where nothing opposed the imposition of a minister upon a parish except his rejection by the people. It was also decided by the House of Peers as an incontrovertible principle, that all church courts, even in their spiritual functions, were subject to the coercion of the civil magistrate.

By this summary process the great controversy of the Scottish church for nearly three centuries was settled at once, and by a downright blow. But would the blow be submissively received? Would no reaction follow? The history of Scotland scarcely warranted such an illogical conclusion. Even at the best such a secession must ensue as would rend the church in twain, and make it a matter of indifference to which portion of the fragments the title of an Establishment should be awarded. Something, however, it was still necessary to do in order to avert such a national calamity; and accordingly a circular was issued by thirty-two of the oldest and most respected ministers of the church, inviting their brethren from every part of Scotland to a conference which was to be held upon the subject at Edinburgh. In reference to the late decision of the lords, the invitation stated: "Without entering into the legal merits or demerits of the judgment, its undoubted effect is to place us in a position where we may represent, with all deference to the legislature, that the specific statute rested on by the civil court has now for the first time, and in opposition to all former opinions, been so construed as to place it in direct conflict with the constitution unalterably secured to the national church of this country. We can, therefore, present this alternative to the legislature, and crave their own decision upon it—Whether they will destroy the constitution of the church or remodel this particular statute: and, so long as we have the faith of treaties and of coronation oaths for our securities, we may hope that the legislature will yet

respect the privileges assigned sacredly and inviolably to our church, and which, both at the Revolution and at the union of the kingdoms, were declared to belong to her without any alteration for ever." This meeting, known as the Convocation, was held in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, 1842, and was attended by 465 ministers. The sittings were continued for a week, and the discussions were accompanied with careful deliberation and with devotional services. It was felt that the decisions of the civil courts were subversive of the constitution of the church, and, unless a remedy was devised, must end in its destruction. But what, in such a case, would be the most efficient remedy? and what would be their duty if no such remedy was granted? A fresh "non-intrusion" measure was suggested, but speedily negatived as hopeless, while a holding-on to the Establishment under such repeated injuries would only provoke fresh aggressions that might end in a popular revolution. The gentler as well as safer course was to retire from an Establishment in which they could no longer remain with the approval of their own consciences and in consistency with their past professions. This conclusion was intimated in two series of resolutions. By the first it was declared that the second judgment given by the lords in the Auchterarder case was subversive of all spiritual jurisdiction and fatal to the very existence of church government. By the second series it was declared to be the duty of the church to terminate its connection with the state should no redress be granted. Having thus decisively committed themselves upon the issue, the ministers retired to their homes and prepared themselves for the worst.

It was no wonder if these decisions were sufficiently perplexing to our statesmen, presenting as they did an alternative which statesmen have seldom to encounter. It was something new for them to be told that so large a body of churchmen, after so long a period of deliberation, had consented to renounce all the proverbial comforts of their position rather than recede from their principles; and they thought that when it reached the abandonment of manse, glebe, and stipend, the *argumentum ad crumenam* would prevail. In this belief they were fortified by representations from Edinburgh, which assured them that not forty, perhaps not even twenty of these clergymen would retire, when the crisis actually arrived. No hope of redress was therefore held out; and the day for the meeting of the General Assembly arrived, on which the protesters must redeem their pledges. It was the 18th of May, 1843—a day memorable in modern Scottish history; and St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, in which the Assembly was held, was filled with a crowd of anxious spectators. After

the usual preliminaries were finished, and when the business of the house should have commenced, the Rev. Dr. Welsh, the moderator of the Assembly, stood up to address the lord-commissioner. But it was only to announce the final resolution of himself and his brethren, and to bid the Assembly a last farewell. "According to the usual form of procedure," he said, "this is the time for making up the roll; but in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges—proceedings which have been sanctioned by her majesty's government, and by the legislature of the country; and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution, so that we could not now constitute this court without a violation of the terms of the union between church and state in this land, as now authoritatively declared, I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons which have led me to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the house, I shall now proceed to read." He then read the protest which had been prepared and sanctioned three days previously at a meeting of the brethren, and at the close, he laid it upon the table before the clerk of the Assembly, bowed to the lord-commissioner, and retired. This final movement was the signal of departure, and a long train followed composed of city and country ministers, men of the highest distinction for worth and talent, and holding some of the best livings of the church and the universities; and of those ruling elders, the lay element of the Scottish ecclesiastical government, who had resisted every aggression of the state upon the rights of the church until resistance was unavailing. The promise was fulfilled; the dreaded event had taken place; and those who remained in the half-emptied building gazed at the dissolving view as if yet only half assured of its reality. Nor was the popular feeling out of doors less lively, as soon as the long train appeared, and marched silently and slowly downward to the distant hall which had been hastily prepared to receive them in the anticipation of such a departure. From the crowded street, from the crowded windows and housetops, a thunder-peal of approbation welcomed them, while many strong men sobbed, or turned aside under feelings too big for utterance. The ministers who had thus left their all behind them were the chosen and cherished of the people; they had vindicated their high characters by the voluntary endurance of a penalty tantamount in modern ecclesiastical reckoning to that of martyrdom itself; and now, as homeless and bereaved men, they were going forth to the wide world ignorant as yet of what might await them. This, then, was in very deed

the Disruption!—a great ecclesiastical revolution which a grievance of two centuries had produced at last. And yet, unlike other great national changes, in which the popular feeling is wound up to the uttermost, it was a revolution at the climax of which not a blow was struck, not a threat uttered. But not the less was it pregnant with most momentous consequences, both to the present age and to generations yet unborn. It was a great silent movement, such as religious principle alone could have produced, and such a country as Scotland have exhibited.

As a new General Assembly was to be held, and a new church constituted by those who had forsaken the old, the departing members repaired to the appointed place at the Canonmills, a suburb lying at the foot of the hill at the northern extremity of Edinburgh. The building which received them was a disused gas-work that had been erected upon the model of a Moorish palace or *hambra*, and in its chief hall 3000 expecting spectators were already assembled to welcome them. A new moderator of the Assembly was to be elected, and Dr. Chalmers, the father of the movement, was appropriately called to the chair; new church office-bearers were to be appointed, which was done with equal unanimity; and the usual religious solemnities were observed, and the business of the Assembly commenced, as if each member had already found his place after nothing more than a momentary interruption. At the opening speech of the venerable moderator, after a short history of the claims of the church and their rejection by the legislature, Dr. Chalmers thus continued:—"We now make a higher appeal from our constitution, which has been disregarded, to our conscience, which tells us that the ecclesiastical ought not to be subjected to the civil power in things spiritual. We are therefore compelled, though with great reluctance and deep sorrow of heart, to quit the advantages of the British establishment, because she has fallen from her original principles, in the hope that we shall be suffered to prosecute our labours in peace on the ground of British toleration. These are the principles that have occasioned the movements of this day, and brought us together on the present occasion. And now, reverend fathers and brethren, it is well that you should have been strengthened by your Master in heaven to make the surrender you have done of everything that is dear to nature, casting aside all your earthly dependence rather than offend conscience, incur the guilt of sinful compliance by thwarting your own sense of duty, and run counter to the Bible, our great church directory and statute-book. It is well that you have made for the present a clear escape from this condemnation, and that in the issue of the contest between a

sacrifice of principle and a sacrifice of your worldly possessions you have resolved upon the latter; and while, to the eye of some, you are without a provision and a home, embarked on a wide sea of uncertainty, save that great and generous certainty which is apprehended by the eye of faith, that God reigneth, and that he will not forsake the families of the faithful. We read in the Scriptures, and I believe it will be found true in the history and experience of God's people, that there is a certain light, and joyfulness, and elevation of spirit consequent upon a moral achievement such as this. There is a certain felt triumph, like that of victory after conflict, attending upon a practical vindication which conscience has made of her own supremacy when she has been plied by many and strong temptations to degrade or to dethrone her. Apart from Christianity altogether, there has been realized a joyfulness of heart, a proud swelling of conscious integrity, when a conquest has been effected by the higher over the inferior powers of our nature; and so among Christians too, there is a legitimate glorying, as when the disciples of old gloried in the midst of their tribulations, when the Spirit of glory and of God rested on them, when they were made partakers of the divine nature and escaped the corruption that is in the world, or as when the apostle Paul rejoiced in the testimony of his conscience." The venerable and eloquent speaker did not forget that this was also an opportunity for warning, and therefore he solemnly added—"But let us not forget in the midst of this rejoicing the deep humility that pervades their songs of exultation—the trembling which these holy men mixed with their mirth—trembling arising from a sense of their own weakness: and then courage, inspired by the thought of that aid and strength which were to be obtained out of His fulness who formed all their boasting and all their defence. Never in the history of our church were such feelings and such acknowledgments more called for than now; and, in the transition we are making, it becomes us to reflect on such sentiments as these:—'Not me, but the grace of God in me,' and 'Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.'"

Thus was the Free Church of Scotland constituted, and its first General Assembly held. The sittings continued from the 18th to the 30th of May, and during this period a great variety and amount of business was transacted. And foremost of these was the deed of demission, by which the retiring clergymen announced their abandonment of the Established church and the

livings they held in it, which was subscribed by 474 ministers. A new machinery was needed for instant action, involving the erection of churches and schools, the sustentation of ministers and teachers, the support of missions at home and abroad—for all those schemes of evangelization, instruction, and active benevolence of which the ministers of the Free church, while in connection with the Establishment, had been the principal founders and supporters. But never had Scottish ardour been so tempered with calculation and prudence as upon the present trying occasion. Instead of waiting and hoping to the last, and thus incurring the risk of being taken at unawares, the rejection of their demands by the state and the necessity of a separation had already been anticipated, and every preparation made for such an event, so that when it arrived, it by no means came upon them unprovided. Even before its arrival, 687 associations had been formed throughout the country, and by their exertions in raising funds, should a disruption be found necessary, £232,347 had been raised within two months, which, by the contributions that afterwards arrived from London, Ireland, and America, was raised to £366,719. There was thus a fund awaiting it, both for present emergencies and future action, of which the Free church could avail itself at the outset.

In these associations and these contributions, the unmistakable sympathies of the people had been announced, and the course they were likely to pursue, by which the ecclesiastical disruption should become a great national movement. In almost every case, the bulk of the congregation followed the retiring minister; the Established churches over the land were suddenly half-empty; and in some of the more remote counties, such as Ross and Sutherland, the exodus was so complete, that little more was left of the old order of things than the ministers themselves, with their door keepers and church-officers and a few conservative heritors. But even more remarkable than the disruption among the clerical order at home, were the effects of it among the Scottish missionaries abroad—men whose spheres of action had been assigned, and means of labour furnished by that revived evangelical spirit of which this great movement was the result. However remote from the seat of action, they had watched every proceeding with the most intense sympathy; and as soon as tidings of the crisis reached them, they formally abandoned their connection with the Establishment, and joined the Free Church of Scotland. This, too, was done so promptly, so spontaneously, and universally, notwithstanding their separation from each other, and lack of the means of mutual concert, as showed their convictions upon

¹ Buchanan's *History of the Ten Years' Conflict*, vol. ii. chap. xiv. xv.; Hetherington's *History of the Church of Scotland: Annual Register*, 1843; Martineau's *History of the Last Thirty Years: Disruption Memorials*, &c.

which side the right lay, and how well prepared they were to follow it.

So signal a commencement took the whole British public by surprise. But it was not to them alone that the sensation was confined. Into every country where the report went forth, there was a feeling of astonishment not unmingled with sympathy and respect. They had read of the sacrifices and struggles at the Reformation, when princes abandoned their thrones, and communities perilled their national liberties, rather than abandon the cause of religion, and do violence to their consciences. But so long a reign of political utilitarianism had succeeded, that these sacrifices had been deemed the characteristics of an age that had for ever passed away—exploits that exclusively belonged to a romantic period of the world's history, and which men might read of, but could never hope to see again. But, lo! that season had returned; even the nineteenth century could furnish an army of martyrs and confessors; and thoughtful inquiring men, whom the tidings had roused in different continental countries, repaired to Scotland that they might witness the phenomenon with their own bodily eyes, and record it in their books. But all this only made the enemies of the Disruption more indignant, and they declared that it was nothing more than a spasmodic throes that would speedily be followed by utter prostration. In spite, however, of their angry predictions, the first effort was but the commencement of a permanent habit, and the Free church still exists as a solid reality. An idea also of its steady increase may be formed from the fact, that it now possesses in Scotland 875 places of worship and numbers 846 ordained ministers, independently of those congregations which it has in England and Ireland, on the Continent and in the colonies. It has two colleges, one at Edinburgh and another at Glasgow, besides a theological hall in Aberdeen, at which 194 students are educated for the ministry. It has also a home mission, with an annual revenue now nearly amounting to £10,000, by which the most benighted of our districts are pervaded with religious instruction, and in the working of which the missionary students are trained for the practical duties of the ministry. And even reduced to the secular but convincing criterion of pounds, shillings, and pence, the present condition of the Free church not only indicates the zeal and liberality of the people, but the stability of the cause. The following general abstract, showing the sums raised for the various objects of the Free Church of Scotland for the year from 31st March, 1858, to 31st March, 1859, is more illustrative of the subject than any amount of disquisition:—

Sustentation Fund, ...	£110,485	7	6
Building Fund, ...	41,179	2	0½
Congregational Fund, ...	94,481	19	6
Missions and Education, ...	55,896	11	0
Miscellaneous, ...	41,384	12	10
Total, ...	£343,377	12	10½

From the foregoing sketch of the history of religion in Britain during these thirty years, it will be distinctly seen that the age of apathy and indifference had expired; that the struggle of a new and better life had commenced; and that these convulsive efforts, painful though they might be, were proofs of vitality, and promises of a happy result. The cold dull repose of the valley of death had ended, and the moving of the dry bones was the needful prelude to the rising up of a living multitude. But while this stir was necessarily accompanied with much contradiction and contention, there was one great and holy object in which all sects harmonized, and upon the work of which they all heartily co-operated. It was that of missionary enterprise, which, having commenced with the present century, had been going on since the close of the preceding period with fresh impulses and a wider application. But the time has not yet arrived for writing the history of these missions, and we can only afford for them a passing notice. In England the following were the principal missionary institutions that arose during the present period, with the year of their establishment, and their field of operation:—

- 1840. Welsh Foreign Missionary Society—India.
- 1844. The (Free) Presbyterian Church in England—China.
- 1844. The Patagonian Missionary Society—Patagonia and South America.
- 1845. The Naval Missionary Society for the Loo Choo Islands.
- 1850. The Chinese Evangelization Society.

In Scotland, the following missionary societies were originated, viz.:—

- 1835. The United Presbyterian Synod Missionary Society—West Indies, West Africa, and Caffraria.
- 1842. The Reformed Presbyterian Synod—New Hebrides
- 1843. The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland—India, Caffraria.
- 1848. Home Mission of the Free Church.

In Ireland—

- 1840. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland—India.¹

The united expenditure of the British missionary societies averages nearly or about £600,000 per annum, an amount which is freely and cheerfully paid through the annual public appeal to British benevolence. This cordial response on the part of the Christian public is the more to be admired, when we take into account the difficulties and discouragements with which missionary enterprise has hitherto been attended, and

¹ Dr. Brown's *History of Missions*; Annual Missionary Reports.

the results as yet apparently so inadequate to such a numerous agency and liberal expenditure. But it is a trial of Christian faith; and it is patiently endured, in the full belief that the regeneration of the world is certain, however long delayed or obstinately resisted. Years of waiting and watching are not thought too much to be bestowed in fertilizing the desert, and rearing anew the cedars of Lebanon. We doubt not that the twentieth century will initiate a glorious missionary history to which the nineteenth was only a preparative.

While the missionary cause has been thus so active, its great instrument of action—the Bible—has accompanied all its movements, so that while no country has been too barbarous or remote for a Christian mission, no language has been deemed too rude or barren as a vehicle for Christian instruction. There is scarcely, therefore, a language or a dialect into which the Scripture has not been translated, or region into which it has not been introduced. In this good work the British and Foreign Bible Society has attained a pre-eminence worthy of the public confidence it has secured, and the vast machinery it has been able to put in motion; and to give an idea of the latter, it is enough to state that, while it has been the parent of many others, there are between 8000 and 9000 auxiliary societies belonging to it, which are extended like a net-work over Great Britain and Ireland, among our colonies, and in foreign countries.

While the wants of the heathen have thus been so amply cared for, by making a copy of the Bible accessible, and its language intelligible to all, the same solicitude has been manifested for the ignorant of our own country. It was soon felt that for every cottage to have a Bible, and every cot-

tager to be able to read it, was a hopeless wish, so long as the book itself was made so costly that the poor would not purchase it, or at least could not, without a heavy sacrifice. An agitation for cheap Bibles was the consequence, and it commenced in Scotland in 1839, when the profitable monopoly of the queen's printers to print the Bible had expired. The renewal of their patent was successfully resisted, chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. Dr. Adam Thomson of Coldstream, and by a decree of parliament a board was established in Scotland for granting licenses to print the authorized versions of the Scriptures. The effect of this has been, that the Bible, formerly one of the dearest, is now one of the cheapest books in circulation. In England, indeed, the monopoly of printing the Bible still belongs to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and to her majesty's printer for England; but in consequence of a controversy on the subject in 1840, the prices of Bibles and Testaments have been so greatly reduced as to place them within the reach of the poorest of the English community.

In this brief sketch of the history of religion from A.D. 1830 to the present day, we have only adverted to some of the leading points, and that, too, in a very scanty and cautious manner. But for this reluctance we are certain that the reflective reader will forgive us. Reminiscence and suggestion are what he chiefly demands when the subject has become so personal to himself; and to this modest limit we have endeavoured to confine our view, more especially as it is the history of action still going onward, and the result of which is still unknown. To our successors we bequeath the duty of recording its development.

CHAPTER XXIV.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM IV. (A.D. 1830), TO THE PRESENT TIME (1860).

Difficulties in the detail of Progress during the present period—Commercial position of Britain at the commencement of this period—Causes of her commercial pre-eminence—The cotton trade—Improvement in its manufactures—Extent of the cotton trade—Its effect in the increase of our manufacturing towns—Attempts to benefit our other manufactures at the expense of that of cotton—State of our linen and woollen manufactures—Our iron manufactures—Coal used instead of wood in the smelting of iron—Invention of the hot-blast—The coal trade of Britain—Relative money value of our exports and imports—Shipping and men employed in them—The Great Industrial Exhibition of 1851—Preliminary minor exhibitions—Universality of the invitation to the Industrial Exhibition of 1851—Erection of the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park—Its opening on the 1st of May—Desire to perpetuate the plan of the Exhibition—Erection of the new Crystal Palace at Sydenham—Its various collections—Its elevating, intellectual, and industrial tendencies—Improvement in the application of steam power—Desire to extend locomotion by steam to land as well as sea conveyance—The first experiments in land travelling by steam—The Stephensons—The Liverpool and Manchester railway—The first locomotive employed on it—Rapid multiplication of railways—The railway mania—Its effects—Railway travelling and its profits—Its dangers shown at its commencement—Parliamentary enactments for the safety of railway travelling—Highways and canals partially superseded by the railway—Increase of the means of comfortable living effected by industrial improvements—Statistics of this increase as compared with former periods—The grain and cattle markets of Britain and their supplies—Necessary inequality in the distribution of this abundance—Continued increase in the numbers and destitution of the poor—Facilities of Britain in furnishing means for the unemployed—Our colonies, and their adaptation to every class—Increase of emigration to the colonies—Our Australian colonies—The gold discovery—Its attractions to emigration—Immense returns from the Australian gold fields—Their effects in the rapid growth of these colonies—Persons fitted to succeed as emigrants—Wonderful effects of emigration upon the Irish—Immense remittances made by them to their friends in Ireland—Condition of the lower classes in Britain during the present period—Their increasing numbers and deterioration—Causes of this increase—Defective education for the lower classes—Restrictions on the transfer and sale of land by the strictness of the law of entail—Consequent decrease of our independent yeomanry—Decrease of our small farmers—Disappearance of our open air field-sports and pastimes—Multiplication of rural ale-houses and civic haunts of dissipation—Statistical amount of pauperism during the present period—Gross immorality in its mode of life—Prevalence of infanticide—Criminal convictions—Comparative criminal statistics of 1817 and 1857—Interposition of government to the growth of crime—Remedies of social science applied to the lowest orders—The national vice of drunkenness—Its hold upon the lowest orders—Institution of temperance societies—Their beneficial effects—Remedies for the classes immediately above the lowest—Cheap publications—Their origin, character, and purpose—Their good effects on the working and middle classes—Improvement of public education—Normal schools—Associations for public improvement—Progress of science—Electricity—Invention of the electric telegraph—Extent of its operations—Its modes of communication—Electricity applied to the service of the fine arts—Invention of the art of electrotypes—Photography—Its origin—Invention of the daguerreotype and calotype processes—Their improvements, application, and uses—Chemistry—Its extensive application—Its important uses in agriculture—Astronomy—Recent extension of astronomical discovery—Its discoveries applied to the improvement of navigation—Astronomical societies and observatories in Britain—Zeal of private students in the science—Lord Rosse's telescope—Star-clouds—Their perplexing character—Geology—Recently reduced to a science—Antagonistic theories of the earth by Hutton and Werner—Their followers, the Vulcanists and Neptunists—Smith's discoveries in the secondary rocks of England—Rapid improvement and extension in geological research—Practical application of the science—Geography—Revival of the attempt to find a north-west passage to India—Expeditions to the polar regions—Their discoveries and failures—Hopelessness of the attempt to discover the north-west passage—Explorations in Africa—The travellers Denham, Clapperton, Lander, &c.—Expedition to Negroland by Richardson, Overweg, and Barth—Communications between the Cape of Good Hope and the interior of Africa—Discoveries of Dr. Livingston—Expedition of Burton and Speke to the lake Tanganyika—Geographical discoveries of travellers in the interior of Australia—Discoveries in North America—Trigonometrical survey of the British Islands and India—Improvements in hydrography—Application of the improvements of science to the art of war—Its greater destructiveness—Probable results of the change—Exclusive cultivation of science during the last thirty years—Its effect upon literature—Present state of literature in Britain—Eminent writers of the last period who have been continued to the present—Authors in literature exclusively of the present period—Increase of female authorship—Predominance of novel-writing in the present day—Causes of this predominance—General character of our present novel-writing—Principal authors in this department—Female novelists—Periodical literature, magazines, and reviews—The newspaper—Influence of newspapers in the government of every country—Special adaptation of the newspaper for Britain—Universal demand for it—Origin and history of newspaper writing in Britain—Restrictions imposed on newspapers by a government tax—Effects of these restrictions—Their removal—

Consequent multiplication of newspapers—Poetry—Its present scantiness among us contrasted with the previous abundance—Causes of this dearth—Our living poets—Predominance of the poetry of action over that of words—Tennyson—His principal poems—His successful attempt to revive the ancient romance in poetry—Resources afforded to modern literature by our public libraries—Libraries of the universities—Library of the British Museum—Its origin, growth, and contents—Its accommodations for general study—Public libraries of Scotland—Progress of the fine arts—Painting—Discouragements of historical painting in Britain—Promise given of its revival in the decoration of the new Houses of Parliament—Unsatisfactory result—Prevalence of *genre* painting in the British school of art—The pre-Raphaelite school of painting—Its effects in producing greater correctness—Present state of our national school of painting—Influence of photography on art—Means used for the improvement of the public taste—Picture collections thrown open to the public—The National Gallery—Sources of its accumulation—The Turner, Vernon, and Sheepshanks collections—The National Portrait Gallery—Its regulations and tendencies—The Hampton Court collection and Greenwich Naval Gallery—The Scottish National Gallery—Art-Unions—Their effect in cultivating a general taste for art—Establishment of schools of design—Necessity for their establishment—Their beneficial effect upon our manufactures—Progress of sculpture—Our public monuments—Progress of architecture—Imitative tendency of our architects—Progress of music—Attempts to popularize it—The Volunteer movement—Reviews in London and Edinburgh—Effects of the movement—Conclusion.



WE now approach the last portion of our task—the history of the progress of the living generation—with misgiving of heart and a reluctant step. For let the character and spirit of the record be what it may, a history of the present period cannot fail to disappoint and to offend. Every man has viewed the period for himself, and in relation to his own principles, interests, or prejudices; and amidst such a contrariety, each reader will find that something has been omitted, something exaggerated, something misrepresented. It was not thus when we dealt with past events and with the dead, or described a state of society in every way inferior to the condition of the present day. The sympathy that could be excited for departed worth, and the self-complacency that could be flattered by the superiority of the living over the dead, are, in this case, exchanged for the feelings of a present struggle, of which every one has a personal share and his peculiar point of observation. In such a difficulty, the utmost we can attempt is lightly to touch the more important points of the subject—to be suggestive rather than communicative—and content ourselves with pointing out the path to be trod, rather than attempt to lead the way, and be the *cicerone* of every stage of the journey. To this limited duty we are also necessarily confined by the magnitude and complexity of the subject, for which whole volumes, instead of a single chapter, are usually found insufficient.

When the present period in the history of national progress had arrived, Britain had fully realized the important character for which she was destined: by her commerce and manufactures she had become the metropolis of the world. To this high position her whole career for years and for ages had been pointing. Her insular situation, which gave her the command of the whole ocean for her highway; her fertile

soil, which served as a capital with which she could advance her mercantile successes or encounter their reverses; the national character of her people, in which the interfusion of several races was combined with a harmonious blending of their activity, industry, perseverance, and inventiveness—all these had been the natural preparations for a destiny of which Tyre, Carthage, Palmyra, Holland were but imperfect types. And all these advantages, so greatly surpassing whatever had been possessed by former commercial states, were crowned by the nature of her laws and the character of her government. The imposts of feudalism, the restrictions of monopolies, the various taxes which an earlier age had imposed upon industrial activity and enterprise, had one by one been removed, and at no time more than during the earlier part of the present period. But more than all these combined, was the inviolability of property, and the liberty of the subject, which formed the great characteristics of the British constitution. Men might traffic where they listed, and afterwards enjoy the fruits of their industry without check or interference. Mercantile communities might construct works and invest sums to any amount, of which the distant returns could only be realized by their heirs, without the dread that all might be swept away, by either those anarchical or despotic revolutions to which other governments were liable. The vine and fig-tree under which our commercial wealth so confidently reposed were not the growth of a night; and though the passing winds might shake their branches, they could not loosen their roots. Such was the commercial conviction of our country amidst those national changes upon the Continent, by which governments had been subverted and dynasties overturned; and in this confidence, an extent of traffic had been undertaken, and an amount of capital sunk, that will form a rich inheritance for future generations.

The chief article of all this manufacturing

industry, and commercial enterprise and wealth, is cotton, which being sent to this country in its original state, is fabricated into every kind of clothing which luxury or comfort can demand, and sent out to every part of the earth. An inquiry therefore into this great staple of our trade demands our first consideration.

At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the boundless wealth contained in this branch of traffic began to be surmised, and the national ingenuity, aided by the resources of science, was on the stretch to devise expedients by which the tedious processes of preparing cotton manufactures might be simplified and improved. The methods invented for converting the raw material into yarn, and weaving the yarn into webs of every colour, texture, and variety, are among the noblest specimens of human ingenuity; and their reward is exhibited in the statistics of our cotton trade, as compared with its nature and results in former periods. This change has especially been perceptible since the year 1814. It was then that the remarkable fall commenced which has taken place in the price of cotton goods in general. Of this change it is enough to state, that, whereas in 1814, 100 yards of calico would cost 16s. 6d., 650 yards can now be had for 20s. 6d. The cause of this change has been partly owing to the great fall in the price of the material, but the main cause is to be found in the immense multiplication and improvement of our machinery. The same cause, instead of diminishing, has only proportionably increased the value of this department of our commerce, by extending the use of our cotton fabrics not only among the women of Britain, but over the whole world. This advantage, also, we are still enabled to retain, notwithstanding the rivalry of other nations, through our abundant resources of iron and coal for the application of steam, and the superiority of our power-looms and other cotton-working machinery.

Of the progress of our cotton trade an estimate may be formed, by the quantity of raw material imported into Britain during fourteen years of the present period. In 1840 it amounted to 592,488,010 lbs., in 1845 to 721,979,953, in 1854 to 887,335,904, and in 1858 to 1,034,342,176. To turn this raw material to account, our cotton manufactures alone are calculated to employ 542,000 weavers, spinners, bleachers, &c., and 80,000 engineers, machine-makers, smiths, masons, joiners, &c. The value of the products of this cotton manufacture is estimated at about £52,000,000 per annum, of which £17,000,000 are expended in wages to the several above-mentioned craftsmen, leaving a satisfactory profit to their employers.

The power of the cotton trade has been mani-

festated in the increase of our principal cities during the present period, as well as the general wealth it has created. Thus, Liverpool, which in 1831 had a population of 165,175 inhabitants, had increased in 1851 to 375,955. Glasgow, which in 1831 had 202,426 inhabitants, and in 1841 274,533, had increased in 1851 to 347,001 inhabitants. Manchester and Salford, which in 1831 had a population of 227,808, had in 1851, 367,232 inhabitants. But even the smaller cotton manufacturing towns of England have increased with equal rapidity. Thus the population of —

	Inhabitants.		Inhabitants.
Preston was, in 1780,	6,000	...	In 1851, 69,542
Blackburn	1801, 11,980	...	„ 1851, 46,536
Bolton	1801, 17,416	...	„ 1851, 61,171
Wigan	1801, 10,989	...	„ 1851, 81,941

Of the larger towns in the above enumeration, few have profited by the cotton trade so greatly as Glasgow, which was one of the first to avail herself of this source of commercial prosperity. It has been mainly through its prolific agency at the outset, and the great development of her iron and coal trade which followed, that her population, which at the commencement of this century was about 75,000, now falls little short of half a million, while in wealth as well as population, she is now virtually the capital of Scotland. The manufacture of muslins, which commenced in Scotland in 1825, has been since that period carried on almost entirely by Glasgow houses, one of which alone in 1857, when this department of industrial enterprise had reached its height, employed 500 men and 1500 women in the city, and from 20,000 to 30,000 females, partly in Ayrshire and other districts of Scotland, but mostly in Ireland.

The rapid predominance in the manufacture of cotton above every other commodity, created alarm in the minds of over-prudent statesmen, who foresaw, in this use of a foreign product, the depreciation of our own home-produced material, upon which the industry of our country had so long been exercised, and its commercial character mainly founded. What was to become of our linen and woollen manufactures, if the demand for their cloths was to be superseded by the other cheaper produce? The short-sighted expedient was adopted of laying a tax upon calico-printing, in order to bring up its price to that of linen and woollen stuffs. Accordingly, so early as 1774, a duty was imposed upon it of 3d. per yard, which in 1806 was raised to 3½d. But a more intelligent and liberal spirit had commenced with the present period, under which any kind of restriction upon any branch of manufacture and commerce was to find little favour; and on the entrance of Mr. Paulett Thompson into office, as vice-president of the board of

trade, in 1830, this tax upon calicoes was repealed. The effect of this wholesome measure was speedily apparent. In 1829 only 89,862,433 yards of all descriptions of printed goods were exported; but in 1841 the exportation of printed cottons alone amounted to 329,240,892 yards, of the declared value of £7,772,735. But bounties upon the articles of commerce were now as ungracious as restrictions, and therefore, during the same year in which this calico-tax was taken off, the bounty on the exportation of linen as well as of several other articles was withdrawn.

Of our linen manufactures a brief notice will now suffice. It was natural that they should yield to the predominance of cotton, more especially after the state patronage was withdrawn from them; and accordingly, the trade in linen, although still important, is not so great as in former periods. Throughout the United Kingdom the linen manufacture employs 133,000 hands, while its annual value is estimated at £10,000,000.

In our former notices of the mercantile progress of the country, the importance of its woollen manufactures was distinctly stated: these indeed constituted the chief source of its wealth, and as such were still worthy of cultivation: they also continued to be indispensable, as their products will be needed, let whatever other articles be used along with them, in furniture and clothing. It was fortunate also that the resources of improved skill and new materials were at hand for cheapening the price and thereby extending the use of woollen fabrics. The first step in this direction was made about the year 1834, when goods which had been manufactured from wool alone began to be made of worsted weft and cotton warp, by which the trade was greatly increased. Another improvement that followed in 1836 was the introduction of the wool of the alpaca or Peruvian llama, and subsequently the introduction of mohair, or goat's wool of Asia Minor. The final step was to combine silk itself with this mixture of common wool, alpaca, and mohair; and this, with the application of improved machinery, has so benefited our woollen manufactures, as to insure for them a ready market in every part of the world. The continued importance of this department of manufacture is attested by the fact, that there are 1282 woollen factories in England and Wales, of which 807 belong to Yorkshire alone. Of this county, the great woollen mart of the kingdom, the town of Bradford may be considered the centre and capital, where the worsted manufactures are most abundant, and have been best cultivated and improved. The fruits of this industry have been shown in the statistics of the town. In 1801 Bradford contained

only 13,264 inhabitants, but in 1851 they had increased to 103,782. In the first of these years it possessed no more than three mills, but in the last it had upwards of 160 in active operation.

Scarcely inferior in national importance are our iron manufactures, in the working of which Britain was inferior to other countries until nearly the middle of the last century, on account of timber only being used in the process of smelting, and the consequent failure which took place in this kind of fuel, so that more than two-thirds of the iron used in our island had to be imported from abroad. And yet, even so early as 1619, Edward Lord Dudley had invented a process for smelting iron with pit coal instead of timber; and in that year he took out a patent for the purpose, but the works erected by his lordship were destroyed by the ignorant rabble, and himself almost ruined by the loss. Thus affairs continued until the great scarcity of wood revived the memory of Lord Dudley's attempt; and about the year 1740 pit-coal was once more used in the making of iron at Colebrookdale, and two or three other places. And even then, thirty more years had to elapse before coal instead of timber came into general use. The progress of this change may be estimated from the following brief statement. In 1740 the quantity of pig-iron made in England and Wales amounted to about 22,000 tons; in 1788 it had risen to 68,000, in 1796 to 125,000, in 1806 to 250,000, and in 1820 to 400,000 tons. From the growing use of iron for many purposes not originally contemplated, and especially from the multiplication of steam-engines, and the construction of railroads, the produce of iron throughout England, Scotland, and Wales, which in 1825 amounted to 615,236 tons, had risen in 1848 to 2,008,200 tons. In 1857 the continuing rise had brought up the amount to 3,659,447 tons. The greatest improvement of our own day in the smelting of iron has been the invention of Mr. J. B. Neilson of Glasgow. Formerly, the air of the blast furnaces was uniformly at the temperature of the atmosphere from which it was taken; and the effect was, not only to produce a lower degree of heat, but to supply a quantity of moisture which is prejudicial to the process of smelting. This moisture, which is always more or less in the atmosphere, is most prevalent during the summer; and from this cause, the furnace could not work so well in that season as in winter. But by Mr. Neilson's invention of the hot-blast, the air is previously dried and heated to a high temperature; the consumption of fuel is lessened to a tenth of what was formerly used in heating the furnace; while the absence of moisture has a beneficial effect on the quality of the iron. This discovery, first used in Lanarkshire, and the rich

strata of ironstone and coal with which that county abounds, have proved a mine of wealth to the district, and a source of prosperity to Glasgow, by which that city has now become the second in the empire. The money value of our pig-iron, which in the present year is more than 3,500,000 tons, has been estimated in round numbers as worth £14,000,000, but the bar-iron that may be formed from it will amount to £19,000,000. Nearly a third of our iron is principally used in Great Britain and Ireland, in consequence chiefly of the great demand in railways, the building of iron ships, and the forging of iron cables; but our exports of all kinds of iron in 1857 amounted to 1,539,386 tons, worth in declared value £13,603,337.

This immense iron manufacture could not have been carried on without that almost exhaustless supply of coal that lies side by side with those metallic strata which are dependent upon its igneous powers. The use of British coal has therefore been in correspondent demand with the requirements for steam travel both by sea and land; and this increase of the coal trade is still rapidly going onward in consequence of the general adoption of steam agency in every European country, and the removal of the duties on its exportation. This consumption of coal in iron manufactures alone will be understood by the fact, that three tons of coal are required for the production of every ton of wrought iron. The total of coal exported from the United Kingdom in 1857 amounted to 6,483,416 tons, valued at £3,019,228. The coal shipped coastwise in the United Kingdom during the same year was from 9,000,000 to 10,000,000 tons. The coal imported into London alone in 1858, by common roads, railways, and canals, was 1,213,464 tons, and by sea 3,266,446 tons. And when will this richest, most useful, and most necessary of mines be exhausted? It is an important national question, which was answered by Dr. Buckland in the House of Commons in 1829, when he confirmed the statement that the coalbeds of South Wales alone contained fuel enough to supply England for 2000 years. And yet, if even all the coal of our island should last for only half that period, Britain will have attained, as a nation, a longevity of which no other country can boast. But upon such a distant futurity what heart, however patriotic, would dare to calculate?

Having thus given in detail our principal manufactures, which constitute the staple of our national stability and strength, we conclude by presenting a summary of them in the aggregate, by which their amount and importance will be more clearly recognized. In 1854 the total declared value of the exported produce and

manufacture of the United Kingdom amounted to £97,298,909. Of this the value of £64,400,587 was sent to foreign countries, and £33,698,313 to India and our colonies. In 1855, the value of the manufactures exported was £95,346,429; in 1856, £115,544,154; and in 1857, £121,769,396.

Other articles, not the produce or manufacture of Great Britain and Ireland, constitute a portion of our national commerce, and must be taken into account. Including these in the table of exports and imports, the progress of our commercial industry and wealth during the present period may be estimated from the three following years:—

	Exports.				Imports.			
There were in 1831,.....	£69,691,302	11	7	...	£46,245,241	6	6	
„ „ 1840,.....	110,198,716	0	0	...	62,004,000	0	0	
„ „ 1850,.....	190,101,394	0	0	...	106,101,607	0	0	
„ „ 1857,.....	285,863,927	0	0	...	136,215,849	0	0	

Turning from the mere money value of these articles, to the occupation they gave to men and shipping, the accounts of the same years are thus summed up:—

	Vessels.	Tons	Men.
1831. British and Irish,.....	12,248	2,006,397	119,143
Foreign,.....	5,158	758,368	39,769
1840. British and Irish,.....	17,635	3,101,650	170,339
Foreign,.....	10,326	1,831,366	79,550
1850. British and Irish,.....	30,576	6,044,662	317,810
Foreign,.....	14,259	2,238,860	115,395
1857. British and Irish,.....	37,014	5,510,154	284,135
Foreign,.....	23,460	4,863,191	...

In these brief statements, the adventurous enterprise, the wealth, the stability of the nation can be best recognized: they are the official returns of those silent campaigns and bloodless achievements upon which the power of Britain is founded, and by which her fame will be best perpetuated to the admiration and wonder of every future age. And now, then, for the grand review, in which the victorious armies of commerce should be mustered for public parade, its banners displayed, its trophies inaugurated! Such a parade, after careful preparation and upon an adequate scale of grandeur, was to be given in the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, in the memorable year 1851.

It is interesting to notice the first steps of a design so magnificent in its conception and so important in its consequences. They date no earlier than 1756—about the same time that the Royal Academy opened its public exhibitions in painting, engraving, and sculpture. It was then that the productions of art and skill were collected and displayed in London, for the purpose of stimulating public industry and inventiveness; and although these exhibitions were on a limited scale, they were found so useful, that the plan was adopted in France, and there continued with the happiest effect, even when it had long been abandoned in England. In the former

country, the exhibition was so excellent in 1844, and the benefits of the previous displays so apparent, that the English roused themselves from their remissness, and during the years 1847 and 1848 they re-opened their exhibitions, chiefly at the instigation, and by the aid of the Society of Arts, by whom the plan had been revived. So great was now the recognized importance of these industrial displays, that they became a subject of national consideration; and it was felt that something more was necessary than France or England had as yet attempted, to give them their proper development and effect. At this point, a happy idea occurred to his royal highness Prince Albert, the consort of our beloved sovereign: it was to gather together into one place the best specimens of contemporary art and skill, and the natural productions of every soil and climate, instead of the mere local or national productions of France and England. It was to be a whole world of nature and art collected at the call of the queen of cities—a competition in which every country might have a place, and every variety of intellect its claim and chance of distinction. Nothing great, or beautiful, or useful, be its native home where it might—not a discovery or invention however humble or obscure—not a candidate however lowly his rank—but would obtain admission and be estimated to the full amount of genuine worth. It was to be to the nineteenth what the tournament had been to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—a challenge at once and welcome to all comers, and to which every land could send, not its brightest dame and bravest lance as of yore, but its best produce and happiest device for the promotion of universal happiness and brotherhood. It was further adapted to the free, generous, enlightened spirit of the nineteenth century, that it was to belong exclusively to the people themselves of every nation, instead of being supported and controlled by their respective governments. And that nothing might be wanting to its character as a great competitive trial, the sum of £20,000 was set apart for the expense of prizes which were to be awarded to the successful competitors.

This world-wide proclamation went forth into every country, and was met with universal welcome: it was a challenge such as men had never heard, to an emprise in which every nation might hope to be the victor. There was accordingly a stir and a preparation which in its nature formed a new era in the history of national contests. Little time was to intervene, for the great competition was to be opened in London on the 1st of May, 1851. But the place for the specimens and the spectators!—what single tent could lodge the army of Xerxes and all its equipments? This question occurred some-

what of the latest, and the directors of the Exhibition were non-plussed: they found on calculation that no building on earth would suffice to contain a tithe of it. After many expedients had been proposed and rejected, Mr. Paxton came forward with his simple plan, which effectually solved every difficulty. It was, to erect a huge building in the style of a garden conservatory, in which iron and glass should be almost the sole materials, wood being introduced only in the fittings. This method, so new, and so startling for its simplicity, was at once adopted, and the result was a building in Hyde Park nearly twice the breadth, and fully four times the length of St. Paul's. Never before had architecture combined such vastness of extent and adaptation to a specific purpose with such simple means; and when the building was finished in the short space of five months, the world was astonished to see the place where but yesterday, as it were, there had been nothing but trim walks and green sward. It seemed to realize the magnificent conception of the greatest of our poets—

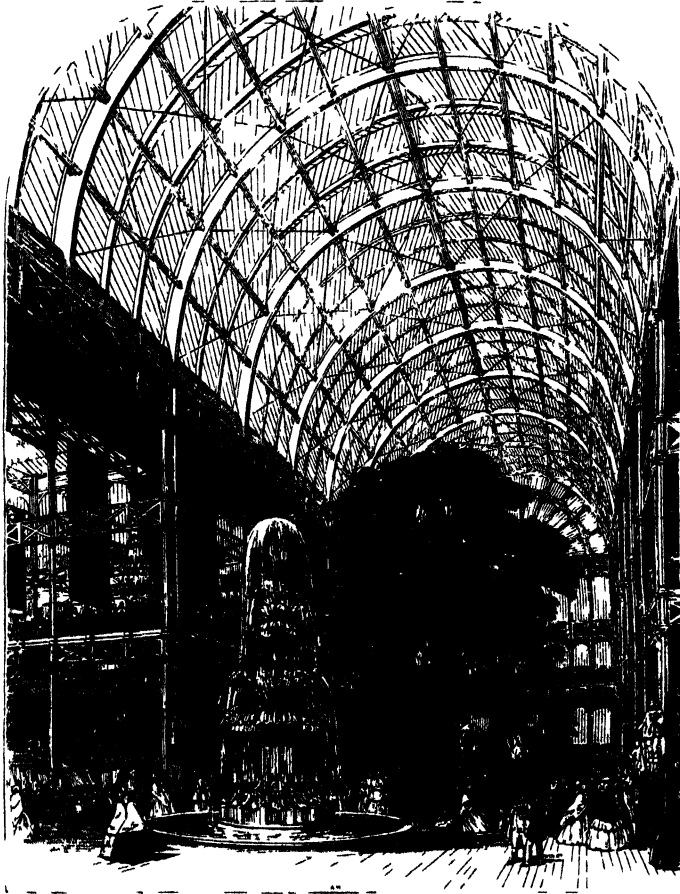
“Anon, out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation.”

With its iron framework that rose towards the sky in dark slender lines, and its walls of glittering crystal that seemed to float in mid-air like a vapour, it appeared indeed an exhalation which a breath of wind might disperse—a *fata morgana* that would disappear with a sudden shift of sunshine. But on looking more nearly, it was seen to be a solid edifice, the iron pillars of which were rooted deep in the earth; while within, the combination of light and lofty arches, with ribs forming a graceful metallic net-work, gave strength and security to the edifice.

The “Crystal Palace,” as it was appropriately called, occupied twenty-one acres of ground, and contained eight miles of tables. Of this ample space a geographical division was made for the accommodation of the specimens from different countries—the whole of the building west of the great transept being assigned to Britain and her colonies, while all the space to the eastward of the transept was allotted to foreign countries and their colonies. Of the profusion of specimens, natural and artificial, which were collected within such a space, we can only state in general terms that they were comprised under four great classes or divisions:—1. Raw materials; 2. Machinery; 3. Manufactures; 4. Fine Arts. Of the numerous subdivisions of these we have not space even for the names, comprising as they did a voluminous encyclopedia of the world of nature and art. The inauguration of the Crystal Palace, this eighth wonder of the world, as it may be justly called, was in a style of magnificence and

imposing ceremonial worthy of the occasion. Notwithstanding the shortness of the time, all was completed for the promised day and hour; on the 1st of May, 1851, at twelve o'clock, the gates were opened, and her majesty Queen Victoria, accompanied by her royal consort, Albert Prince of Wales, the ministers and officers of state, the princes, ambassadors, and commissioners of all nations in official, military, or court attire, entered in full procession, — and

amidst such a noble retinue many an eye was turned upon the spare form of the venerable Duke of Wellington, while many a heart regarded this scene of promised peace and prosperity as the last and best trophy of his many victories. A splendid throne had been erected upon a large platform, overshadowed by a silken canopy; and besides this royal seat which had been prepared for her majesty, her coming was accompanied with that auspicious attendant of her



THE GREAT EXHIBITION OF 1851 View in the Transept, looking north, showing the Crystal Fountain, &c
Drawn and engraved by J. I. Williams

many progresses, a brilliant sunshine, that lighted up the halls, their treasures, and the crowds arrayed in their choicest attire, who were assembled in myriads within the building. Never indeed had a sovereign stood amidst such a magnificent display, or one so completely indicative of national happiness and prosperity. When the queen ascended the throne the national anthem was sung by a chorus of 800 performers, accompanied with the magnificent notes of an immense organ, and the voices of the spectators; after which the royal commissioners, with

the prince consort at their head, read to her majesty the report of the proceedings of the commission. The pile and its purposes were then inaugurated by a prayer from the Archbishop of Canterbury, invoking a blessing upon the undertaking, and the Exhibition was opened amidst the congratulations of the queen, and the responsive gladness of her subjects, who felt in this event the triumph of arts over arms, and the best promise of their country's safety and prosperity.

The Crystal Palace had only been erected for

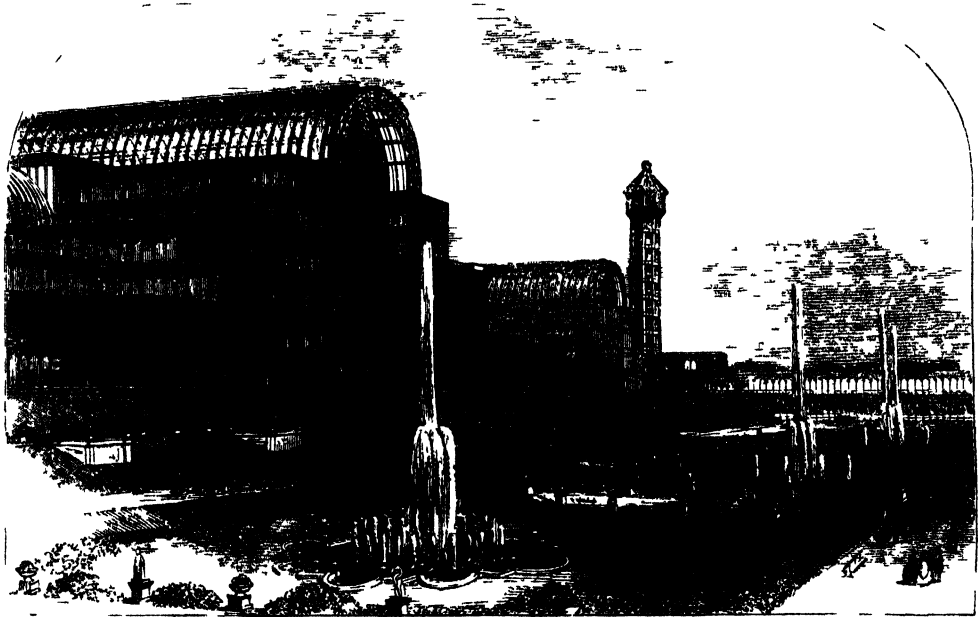
a temporary purpose, and that purpose was at length accomplished. The nations of the earth had met under its roof, and each had been benefited by the competition. Each had seen wherein its defects lay, and had learned how they might be remedied; while all had recognized the superiority of Britain in whatever best conduces to the substantial welfare of society. Nor had our own country been neglectful of the opportunity; and this began to be manifested in more enlarged and refined perceptions of the beautiful in every department of art, and every produce of industry. But must this palace be plucked up, as well as its treasures dispersed? Must such realities pass away like the fictions of an eastern romance, and their very lessons fade through time into an indistinct remembrance? The wish to preserve the building as a permanent repository for the works of industry and art, and the productions of nature, was both intense and general, and applications were made in the first instance to government upon the subject in the earlier part of 1852; but as the original destination of the Crystal Palace had been already fulfilled, government did not feel itself warranted to purchase the building. There was little fear, however, that its materials would be dispersed as useless; for independently of the public benefits of the institution, the structure itself might be turned into a profitable mercantile speculation. Mr. Leech, a private gentleman, undertook the adventure of purchasing the palace, and removing it to a more eligible site. Others were ready to join him; a company was formed, and shares issued in the usual plan of a great mercantile joint-stock enterprise; and half a million of money was quickly raised to begin the undertaking. To make the new palace a place of universal resort, by being of easy access, as well to secure the means of conveyance for the materials of the building, a place on a metropolitan line of railway, and near London, was necessary; and accordingly 300 acres of ground were purchased for the purpose at Sydenham in Kent. Thither the palace was transferred piecemeal from Hyde Park with a facility that in earlier times would have seemed the work of enchantment. But something upon a grander scale was to be produced by the new building than the old. Its strength and its dimensions, the treasures it should contain, and the rich scenery with which it should be surrounded, were to transcend anything that Hyde Park had exhibited; and accordingly all the science, talent, and activity in the empire were employed to construct the new edifice, and collect or create the rich stores it was to contain. Accordingly, while the edifice was rising, and the grounds laying out upon a scale which surpassed the ancient glories of Babylon

or Hecatompylos, its artists and agents were sent into every country to procure casts and models of their choicest specimens of architecture, statuary, and sculpture; and arrangements were made to bring together every produce comprised in the wide world of nature and art into this great museum of Sydenham. Not only, indeed, do these specimens extend to the earliest products of human industry, but to those of nature herself before man existed; and thus, no division has been left in the whole range of science without its worthiest representatives and illustrations. On these accounts, a thoughtful walk through the Crystal Palace is a pilgrimage through all time, and into every country. The observer wanders through the Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Alhambra courts; and in their specimens he sees the life and the history of man from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of the Abencerrages. From the verge of that dim and far-distant estuary in which the river of time is linked with the boundless sea of eternity, he passes upward through the classical, until he comes to the medieval ages, whose courts of illustration introduce him to the earlier part of the world that now is, and the dawns of that new civilization with which he is personally identified. And then follows the stir of the living age, in the courts of the various arts, sciences, and manufactures that lie before him—the picture gallery, the naval museum, the engineering models, the Indian court, the industrial museum and technological collection, the industrial exhibition, the agricultural machinery, and the machinery in motion—whose names alone are suggestive of their contents. The whole range of universal history, the whole progress of human improvement from the earliest ages to the present day, thus passes before his eyes like the movement of a peristrepheic panorama, and forty centuries glide on successively in the course of a few hours. The philosopher, the historian, the man of science, the lover of art or admirer of nature, the utilitarian and the philanthropist, the delicate fastidious man of taste and sentiment and the hard-handed, hard-working artisan have only to select, each for himself, his own favourite range in this vast museum of earth and time; and collected, as if for his own especial behoof, he will find an abundance that will leave him no room for ignorance, and a beauty that will satisfy his aspirations to the full. It is no wonder therefore if the exhibition of Sydenham has become what it was intended to be—a place of universal resort for the purposes of universal instruction and recreation. Honoured to future times be the names of those who devised such a palace as the dwelling of wisdom—who so combined all that is most alluring with whatever best tends to enlighten

and elevate—and who planted it so nigh to our great metropolis that its benefits can be circulated from the heart to the extremities of our empire! It may, indeed, pass away like an airy vapour, leaving no permanent ruins like those of the Coliseum; but its spectacles were far otherwise than those of gladiatorial shows, and its benefits will continue to be perpetuated when Roman triumphs are forgot!

While the industrial activity of Britain had been kindling at each step of advance until its enterprise had warmed into full glow, a still greater abbreviation of time and space as well as of labour was demanded, and mercantile impatience could no longer submit to the slow inter-communication of the mail or the post office

Deep-sea navigation by steam had not only been originated but perfected during the present period, so that no part of the ocean, however remote or stormy, was inaccessible to its visits; and giant ships, increasing yearly in magnitude, speed, and power, had begun a competition in naval architecture which has now swelled into that vessel of hitherto unmatched dimensions—the *Great Eastern*. It was now no longer a metaphor, but an every-day fact, that “time is money;” and the restless trafficker, who could waft his goods across the sea by steam navigation with a rapidity, punctuality, and safety, which to our fathers would have seemed fabulous, was irritated by the delay he encountered in passing from one town of the island to an-



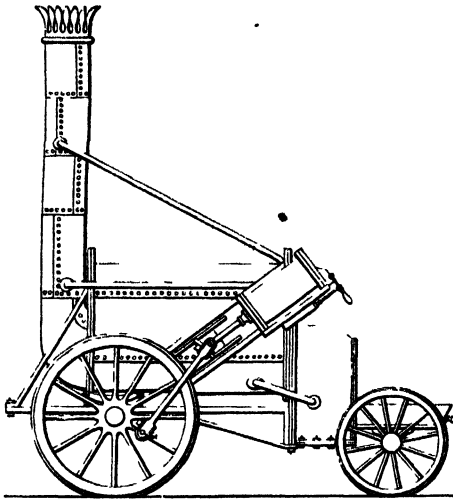
GARDEN FRONT OF THE CRYSTAL PALACE, SYDENHAM.—From a drawing by J. L. Williams

other. Could he not contrive to travel as rapidly by land as by sea? And might not the power of steam, which had accomplished the former, be equally available for the latter achievement? The possibility indeed had been surmised so early, that it seemed a matter of chance whether the steam-boat or the steam-carriage should have had the priority in point of existence. In 1759, Watt, at that time a young man in his twenty-third year, and resident in Glasgow, had the idea imparted to him by Dr. Robison, then a student in the university, “of applying the power of the steam-engine to the moving of wheel-carriages and other purposes.” But the destiny of James Watt, which was sufficient for any individual man, was to develop that power in a different

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direction; and thus, as far as he was personally concerned, the thought of steam travel by land was nothing more than a passing idea. But it was taken up by others, so that various attempts continued to be made for the application of steam to land conveyance; and although these were experimental trials, and were one and all unsuccessful, they were steps in advance to the mark. These preludings continued until George and Robert Stephenson (father and son) entered the field, to become the honoured founders of railway travelling. It had as yet been found hopeless to make the attempt on common highways, and against the obstacles of hill and valley; but the existence of tramroads in various parts of England, which at first were of wood, but afterwards were

seded in 1820 by iron rails, suggested the kind of pathway along which steam carriages could move. This plan was adopted in laying down the first



R STEPHENSON'S LOCOMOTIVE — THE "ROCKET," 1825

of the railways, called the Liverpool and Manchester railway in 1825, which served as the model of those that were afterwards constructed throughout the kingdom. Of these, the gauges are two: the broad, which is 7 feet between the rails; the narrow, which is 4 feet 8½ inches. The latter is adopted as the gauge for Great Britain. But besides constructing the path of travel, so that hill and dale should be reduced to nearly an even plane, and avoiding throughout its length every flaw from which danger might arise, the nature of the locomotive for this new and strange mode of journeying had to be studied as well as its highway; and it was quickly found, that this terrible iron behemoth upon which so much depended must carry its own fuel and water, and combine in perfection the qualities of compactness, lightness, and power. These requisites, as far as could be done at so early a stage of the trial, were secured by the locomotive made by the Stephenson, called the *Rocket*, which gained the prize in the competition, and was the first that was set a running upon the new railway. It was considered perfect in lightness, power, and speed, as it weighed only 4 tons, 5 cwt., drew after it 12 tons, 15 cwt., and moved at the rate of fourteen miles an hour, while its greatest speed was twenty-nine miles an hour.

The opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway was the commencement of a new era in human history. It was the first link of the chain by which *terra firma* was to be united from sea to sea. Railway travel was now to accomplish for cities and for kingdoms what steam naviga-

tion was effecting for distant islands and continents; so that while the circumference of the world might be navigated in a few months, a country might be traversed in as many days or even hours. A restless activity was awakened which time can never abate, and a sweep of action and change afforded to the short threescore and ten years of human existence, for which the lives of the antediluvians would have been too brief. It was not strange that this triumph of British intellect should be regarded with national complacency, and that the success of the first great experiment should throw British capital and industry into a new path. Railways accordingly were commenced and opened throughout the principal lines of traffic; and when these were exhausted, others were devised in localities where new trades and populations were to be introduced by the change. No district was too remote, no ground too rugged to escape that exploratory spirit which went everywhere in search of a fresh opening, so that in 1845 and 1846 the disposition had grown into an absolute frenzy, and is now remembered as the railway mania. Of the height to which it had grown, a judgment may be formed from the fact, that during these two years alone, applications to parliament obtained assent for the construction of 7238 miles of railway. Amidst such speculation, it was natural that families should be ruined by the thousand, and whole fortunes dissipated as by a whiff of steam. It was well however for the community at large that these railroads were more substantial things than promissory notes and mercantile bubbles. By 1850 the frenzy was exhausted, or sobered down to the construction of 356 miles per annum, and by 1858 to 340. From the official report of 1857 it appeared that, by the end of that year, 9116 miles of railway, including seventy miles of railway tunneling and fifty miles of viaducts, had been constructed and were in use, employing 109,660 persons, from managers, secretaries, and clerks, down to porters, labourers, &c. Of these railway miles, 6777 belonged to England, 1269 to Scotland, and 1070 to Ireland. During the whole of this period of railway construction, the capital that had been raised for the purpose amounted to £314,989,626. Such an outlay is sufficient to explain the numerous wrecks of fortunes it occasioned, as well as to attest the energy it called forth, and the confidence that had been given to its promises. That the return though slow was both certain and profitable, was now however vouched by the railway report of 1857. During that year, upwards of 139,000,000 passengers had been conveyed, giving a return of ten and a half millions sterling. To this sum, we must add the conveyance of light and heavy goods, and live stock

during the year, averaging thirteen and a half millions sterling. Thus, the railway returns for this single year amounted in all to £24,174,609. Onward to the present day the impetus of railway travelling has increased, so that almost every journey of more than a mile is performed by steam. In 1859 about thirty millions of people passed in and out of London alone by its various railway termini.

But loss of fortune was not the only evil entailed by the railway; there was also the danger of loss of life; and this was gloomily announced at the very commencement, when Mr. Huskisson was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway. It was to be no longer the deliberate downfall of a coach, in which the passengers, while emptied into a dry ditch, know whither they are going and what may be expected: it was rather a sudden crash or explosion, in which all were equally helpless, and where wounds and death in their most appalling forms might be multiplied an hundredfold. Nothing had ever been more completely devised to humble the pride of man than his helplessness in a railway-carriage, the masterpiece of his inventiveness and power: it is as if his spell had evoked a demon to do his bidding, but which at any moment may rend him in pieces or fling him to the winds. In a speed of motion, which upon the principal railways is often forty-five miles an hour, but which is sometimes raised to sixty miles, it was impossible but that terrible accidents should occur, and that they should at length demand the interference of the legislature. The matter was thoroughly investigated by a select committee of the House of Commons in 1858, and there it was shown that accidents on railways originate in three causes: these are, carelessness of servants—defective materials in the works of the conveying medium or the agent—and excessive speed. Of these accidents, about twice as many occur from collision between trains, as by running off the rail; and of these collisions, about five-sixths take place between passenger trains and goods trains, and only one-sixth by passenger trains running into each other. Not above one-twentieth have arisen from excessive speed, and in all these latter cases, they were caused by some imperfection in the railway. Most of the railway disasters were attributable to the crowding of trains timed for unequal speeds, and the want of punctuality; and to lessen the chances of these, powerful brakes for bringing up a train within the shortest distance had been used, but especially the road telegraph, that could announce the threatened danger along the whole line in a few seconds. Having these data before them, the enactments of parliament for the safety of railway travelling are such as

to meet every contingency, so that 200 of these apply to the London and North-Western Railway alone. And while the chances of danger have been diminished, the dread of them has abated. The weekly or even daily traveller can now inclose himself as confidently in the railway carriage that is to whirl him 500 miles along in the course of ten or twelve hours, as he would intrust himself to the cab that is to convey him a few streets off.

When this new mode of transit was adopted, the canals and public roads of our island had been brought to their highest state of perfection, and had given their best promise of future usefulness. But the new principle of motion had made them superfluous, and both mail-coach and track-boat began to be laid aside. Even for the conveyance of goods as well as travellers, the facility of the railway was preferred, and the wonders of Brindley and Macadam were forgot in the triumph of the Stephensons. An effort, indeed, was made in behalf of our canals so late as 1831, when a swifter mode of travelling upon them, by the use of light and sharply-modelled boats, was introduced by Mr. Houston upon the Glasgow and Paisley Canal. His experiments then showed, that passengers could be conveyed by this change at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and this without injury to the banks by such unwonted speed of canal travelling. But the universal impatience was too ardent for such poor progress, and few now travel by such a conveyance except invalids, or those with whom time is of little account. In the goods conveyance, they are also used chiefly for such articles as cannot well bear the expense of transport by the railway.

Having thus noted the progress and improvement of the means of comfortable living for the community at large, it is necessary to ascertain its practical results. In such a case, also, where the minutiae are familiar to the personal and local experience of every reader, we shall serve our purpose more satisfactorily by summing up the total of this experience in the general statistics of the present period with an occasional comparison with the past. In 1853 the population of the United Kingdom amounted to 27,500,000. But while this increase had gone on by the natural ratio, the produce of the wheat crops since the year 1760 had at least been quadrupled. For this population, therefore, which had little more than doubled during the interval, there had grown such an increase in the means of comfortable living, that the use of wheaten bread had become universal. Oats are now used almost wholly for horses, and barley for distilleries and brewing, while rye-bread is almost unknown. Of wheat and other grains,

and of pease and beans, the consumption in 1853 was about 49,000,000 quarters, and of these, 33,000,000 were used for the food of man alone, while of this human consumpt, more than one-half consisted entirely of wheat. Of these, the annual importations of foreign wheat after the restrictions had been removed, until 1852, had averaged somewhat more than 3,000,000 quarters, and during the last-mentioned year they amounted to 4,164,602.

The improved agriculture that had made our corn fields so productive was equally apparent in the rearing of our cattle, which, as butcher-meat, had increased in bulk, quality, and firmness, partly owing to the crossing of superior breeds, but still more through the improvements introduced into their feeding by the cultivation of clover, turnips, and mangold-wurzel. The consumpt of butcher-meat in London alone during the course of a single year may serve as a fair criterion for the United Kingdom at large. In 1852 the number of cattle sold in Smithfield was 256,948, of sheep 1,575,340, and of fatted calves, not including sucklers, 36,027. These in all were calculated as representing 297,071,530 lbs. weight, and, at the average price of 7d. per lb., would bring in money about £8,664,586. But besides all this there was abundance of hogs and pigs which were not taken into account. Much of this, indeed, goes from London to other towns and villages, yet from these as much butcher-meat is supposed to be imported into the metropolis in return. In this Smithfield report only the staple commodities of animal food are comprised; but the London annual bill of fare would be vastly augmented if we also reckoned the mountains of poultry and game, not to speak of fish, which are consumed by its 3,000,000 inhabitants. In passing from England to Scotland we find the increase of subsistence and improvement of diet still more remarkable. And here we have only to select Glasgow as the criterion. In that city, not only at the middle but even to the close of the last century, flesh markets were almost unknown, and the chief subsistence of families was generally a small cow or bullock killed and salted in November, which was made to last all the year. This is still familiar to the recollections of many in Scotland as the "winter's mart," which was the common resource over the kingdom. But in 1851 there were killed in Glasgow 29,569 oxen, 4443 calves, 123,188 sheep and lambs, and 5157 pigs, independently of the great amount of fresh and salted meats imported into the city.

In this brief enumeration it will be seen that for the 27,500,000 of the British population art and industry have done their utmost, and that for all there is food enough and to spare. But even at the most sumptuous wholesale feasts it will

happen, however plentiful the viands may be, that some of the guests have less than their share, and must depart almost as hungry as they came—that a competition will go on in the area for the fragments, and even a scramble under the table for the crumbs—and that a crowd of poor expectants who have waited on the threshold for their dole must betake themselves with a sigh to some more bountiful quarter. And thus amidst the growing and increasing plenty has it continued to be with the British community at large. Many toil for half a share, and many toil in vain; in some the enterprise is misdirected, and in others even the feeling of hunger is absorbed in a more prevalent indolence. Through fault or through misfortune "the poor shall never cease out of the land," let its abundance be what it may; and while the triumph of wealth is at the height the cry of destitution has waxed louder than ever. It seems, indeed, a necessary doom of national abundance to create and multiply its opposite, and the list of achieved fortunes to be balanced by an equal amount of deprivation. But while such a consequence would have been fatal to any other country, Britain during this period surmounted and is still able to surmount it by the numerous safety-valves she possesses in the form of colonies, in which the utmost of her poverty can find a home and sustenance, and the best of her unemployed energy an ample field of exertion. And it was well for our country that such lands of refuge had been in preparation for the coming of the evil day, and that they presented such scope for every variety of demand and occupation. In this way the younger sons of our aristocracy—men of noble name but scanty means, and who, but for such a resource, might either dwindle into tradesmen or degenerate into such titled paupers as are too often found in some parts of the Continent—can find civil or military appointments in our Indian empire sufficient for their necessities or even for their ambition. The man of small capital or of commercial talents and enterprise may become a sugar or cotton planter in the West Indies, or a comfortable landholder at the Antipodes. He who has no inheritance but a pair of broad shoulders or skilful mechanical hands knows that at the worst he has only to transfer himself to Canada, South Africa, or Australasia, where he will have not only the certainty of abundant wages, but the means of becoming a master instead of a workman, a landed proprietor instead of a ploughman. Even he who has consumed his last crust, and has no prospect for the morrow, can still at various ports find a vessel that will waft him free of expense to New Zealand or Australia, where the supply of labour is still the desideratum, and where, with moderate work, he may fare luxuriously

every day. These resources of emigration have been widely opened during the present period, and extensively used, not only on account of the facilities afforded for a transit to these regions at a merely nominal expense, and the speed and ease of the passage through the employment of steam, but also by the liberal institutions which the home government has granted to these colonies, so that a man finds himself as free a British subject at the other side of the earth as in the heart of Middlesex. Of the growth of emigration, therefore, during the present period, an idea may be formed from the numbers of emigrants during the three following years:—There were in

1831, ...	83 160 persons.
1841, ...	118,592 „
1851, ...	335,000 „

The consequence of such copious emigrational drains, which took place every year, was not only the immediate relief of the destitute, but a more abundant supply of work and wages for those who remained. These advantages have been especially conspicuous in Ireland, where they were most needed, from the continual overcrowding of the population beyond the means of subsistence, which was a fruitful source of anarchy, crime, and political discontent. In their case, however, the tide of emigration has been directed, not so much to our colonies as to the United States of America, which they seem to consider as their home next to their own island. The great emigration that took place from Ireland from 1846 to 1854, which so greatly alarmed our politicians, and threatened to depopulate the whole island, only redounded to its benefit by raising the wages and greatly improving the condition of the still abundant population who remained behind.

The immense number of emigrants in 1851, as compared with that of previous years, was the beginning of a new era in the history of British emigration. In our chief pastoral colony, Australia, many had become impatient of the slow progress of money-making as shepherds, and had betaken themselves to the gold fields of California, where fortunes could be made or hopes marred in the turning of a die. The report of the rich lumps of gold which were found in that quarter, was directing the new tide of emigration thitherward, when it was suddenly discovered that Australia possessed her gold fields as well as California, and of easier and more comfortable access. This discovery was first made in a district between twenty and thirty miles beyond Bathurst, a town about 125 miles distant from Sydney, and the honour of the discovery and its public intimation was due to Mr. Edward Hammond Hargraves. Beneath a soil so sterile that three acres were needed to pasture a single

sheep, masses of gold were lying within a few inches of the surface; the sands and the stones were impregnated with gold; whole rocks of gold lay buried beneath them, of which these were but the indications. A rush of the population towards Bathurst was the consequence, and the "Valley of Ophir," as the auriferous district was called, was soon covered with tents and filled with gold-seekers, while the fortunes that were realized caused the number of disappointments to be overlooked. But this success, instead of staunching, only whetted the general cupidity: there were ranges of mountains in the great Australian continent similar to the gold-producing ranges of California and Russia, and a short exploration sufficed to discover the hidden treasures of Ballarat, which were supposed to be tenfold greater than even those of Bathurst. This was enough to turn the tide in the direction of Victoria, hitherto only an offshoot of the parent colony of New South Wales: servants forsook their masters, shepherds their flocks, shopkeepers their traffic, in the new rush that took place, and in the turmoil all social order was unhinged and regular industry suspended. But it was not alone from the Australian districts that this concourse was gathered; the vessels that arrived were emptied of their crews, and officer and sailor alike hurried off to the diggings, leaving their ships unmanned in the harbour. From Australia the tidings were not long in reaching Europe, and while every town in Britain was infected with a mania for gold-finding, every European country caught the infection; and thus, the immense increase of emigration to these colonies which had commenced in 1851, the year of the discovery, was kept up for several years afterwards. Happily, however, after the gold nigh the surface was gathered, it was found that privation was to be encountered and toil endured, and the resources of science and skill tasked to the uttermost in winning these treasures as well as any other advantage, while the uncertainty was greater and the chance of failure more frequent. Accordingly, those whose impatience to be rich was not so ardent, or whose hopes were less sanguine, and those who had not strength, health, and nerve to endure the laborious ordeal of the diggings, returned to their regular employments, and left the gold fields to the superintendence of government, and the operations of practical scientific workmen.

Of the importance, however, of this great Australian discovery to the mother country of Great Britain, and the effects it is likely to produce on her enterprises of colonization and commerce, it is necessary to give a more distinct idea by arithmetical figures, rather than those of rhetoric. The annual supply of the precious

metals throughout the world is estimated at £47,000,000, of which their several sources and amount have been given as follows:—

From America, ...	£8,700,000
From California, ...	14,000,000
From Europe, ...	1,500,000
From Russo-Asiatic provinces, ...	8,885,000
From Australia, ...	19,000,000

In 1852 the yield from the gold fields of Victoria alone was 4,247,657 ounces, which at the low rate of 75s. per ounce, gives the amount of £15,928,714. It is well that this enormous increase, with which merchandise might have been flooded and swamped, was drawn off for other purposes than those of traffic, and in those of arts and ornament alone nearly one-half of the precious metals are absorbed or locked up. Even yet too the flow of gold, instead of contracting, is becoming wider through the recent discoveries of the auriferous sources in British Columbia, to which the gold-seekers who have been disappointed in other quarters are now directing their renewed spirit of enterprise.

The vast increase of wealth and population to our Australian colonies during this season of gold fever, although wonderful in the history of colonization, was nothing more than natural and to be expected. The cause was enough to attract myriads, not only from the mother country but from different parts of Europe, and even from China, whose inhabitants, setting at nought the prohibitions of their barbarous laws against emigration, repaired in great numbers to Australia. Strange therefore will be the blended population of all races which these colonies will exhibit a hundred years hence; and equally strange the blending of idioms, when this Babel of speech has subsided into one of the forms of the English tongue! It might have been thought that in a colony such as New South Wales, whose population was so largely mixed with convict materials, the first scramble of the discovery would have been accompanied with a frightful outburst of lawlessness and crime; but it is singular to remark, that the first eighteen months at the gold fields of Bathurst were unaccompanied with any remarkable addition to the criminal statistics of the law courts. Very different was the case at Victoria, to which the more reckless of the adventurers repaired, and where those who could not find gold for themselves were ready to snatch it from their more fortunate neighbours, or intercept it on its way to head-quarters. Of the amount of the emigration, an idea may be formed from the sudden rise of Victoria. In 1836, this Australian colony only commenced its existence. In 1851 its population had risen to 77,345 inhabitants, but in 1852, when the fields of Ballarat had been laid open, the population was increased

to about 200,000. In 1851 its revenue was £379,824, but in 1852 it was £1,576,801. During the latter year, fifteen steamers with emigrants arrived in the Australian ports, of which the greater part were landed at Melbourne. Since that period, the increase of Victoria has gone on so rapidly that it has about 500,000 of population; its imports are about £10,000,000 and its exports about £11,000,000; and it has an annual revenue of nearly £4,000,000; while its principal city, Melbourne, in 1857, numbered a population of 70,000, with 30,000 in the suburbs. Sydney, the capital of the mother colony, although now inferior to Melbourne, had in 1856 a population of 53,118; and while the luxuries and comforts of both are equal to those of London or Edinburgh, these cities possess a beauty of site, scenery, and climate, with which the capitals of our own country can scarcely compete. Besides these two colonies, this great island or continent has that of South Australia, rich in copper mines, and Western Australia, originally known as the Swan River settlement, which was established in 1829, the capitals of which are Adelaide and Perth,—and Queen's Land, a region of excellent pasturage. Out of the mixed population of Australia, considerably more than a million are of British birth or parentage, insuring the permanent establishment among them of Anglo-Saxon blood, language, and institutions. Who does not recognize in these, the germs of a future empire similar to that which we have planted in America? In this way, our several colonies in Canada, Australasia, and the West Indies are vast fields for British emigration as well as depôts for our future commerce; and in these her children, Britain may survive to distant ages when her own days are numbered.

From the emigrant experience which our country has been somewhat slow to gather, it is now generally understood that the weak, the sickly, the indolent, and that all of sedentary or literary professions can scarcely hope to better their condition as colonists. Strong arms; patient industry, and agricultural skill are certain to win their way to fortune; while the clerk or tradesman is at a discount, and even the Oxford student may starve, unless he can herd cattle or drive a dray. It was accordingly found in the reports of the late emigration commissioners, that for every single emigrant drawn from our six greatest manufacturing districts, four were drawn from six of our merely agricultural counties. But of all the communities who have departed from our shores, none have so greatly benefited as the Irish, whose sole possession and inheritance was the sad one of deportation. For them no work was too arduous, no fare too

humble, no difficulty too great; and in their new homes they roused themselves like giants from the sleep of years, and went onward with a dashing intrepidity and sturdy perseverance that outstripped their wondering competitors from England, and even from Scotland. A new life was opened to the delighted Hibernian when he found that he could actually become a man of substance; and he showed—what was more wonderful still—that he had the gift of discreet management about him as soon as he had something to manage. “In the United States, in Canada, and in Australia,” says Count Strzelecki, “I saw the Irish living as well as the Anglo-Saxons, acquiring their grumbling habits, and thus continually improving their condition.” But something more honourable still can be stated in praise of these Irish emigrants. While they were thus waxing comfortable and acquiring provident habits, they had neither forgot their former home nor the friends they had left behind them; neither absence nor prosperity had chilled them into selfishness, as is too often the case with other fortunate adventurers; and the first fruits of their success were transmitted to Ireland for the support of their starving kindred, or to furnish them with the means of emigrating to this land of promise, where they might become as independent and happy as themselves. But the amount of these remittances would be incredible were it not for the veritable source from which the information was derived. During the ten years that intervened from 1848 to the close of 1857, the sums thus remitted by Irish colonists, through the great commercial firms and banking houses, amounted to £9,937,000! or about £1,000,000 annually, independently of what was sent through other channels. This was the testimony given to government by these houses themselves, and from whom, in such evidence, no exaggeration could be expected. As long as Ireland possesses such noble hearts, the hope of her regeneration, in spite of the thwarting influence of priests and demagogues, may be cherished as a political certainty.

But alas that we must now exclaim, “Look on this picture, and on this!” We must turn from the Jove-like “presentment” to his brother—to him whom the same mother bore, and the same lap nursed, but only to blight the other, if not to drag him to destruction. While the march of improvement was thus going onward with such an accelerated speed, the multitudes who were left behind at every step continued to increase, until the benefits of progress itself seemed more than counterbalanced by the evils of which it had been directly or indirectly the cause. During these last thirty years, the cry of warning

and despair was loud enough to drown the jubilant shouts of triumph and self-gratulation; to excite alarm and provoke inquiry. And it was then found that beneath this alluring surface, a mass of popular crime and misery was festering that silently tainted the air with a deadly pestilence, and might at any moment burst forth with an all-overwhelming explosion. It was ascertained that a nation exhibiting the highest amount of virtue and intelligence also most abounded in the very extremes of these qualities, and that the height of national prosperity itself was the culminating point at which our swift and certain ruin was already commencing. Such was the intelligence conveyed by modern journalism, under which no individual however lowly can be unknown, or deed however secret concealed, and by which evils are explored, laid open, and denounced of which our fathers were contented to remain in untroubled ignorance. To these unwelcome revelations, which have awakened the benevolent inquiries and formed the perplexing problems of social science, we must now reluctantly turn: the subject itself is too widely known, and too deeply felt, to require either a lengthened or minute detail.

A fruitful primary source of these increasing evils was the defective system of education. While England was increasing in intellectual renown, by the master intellects she produced, and those improvements in science and literature by which the world at large was benefited, the fact still continued to exist, that she was the only civilized country that had no national system of education. We have already, more than once, alluded to the struggles which were made to repair this evil, and the causes from which the attempt was frustrated. No sooner was the proposal started than the religious jealousies of all parties were awake, and a uniform state education was found as hopeless as a uniform state creed. As a consequence of this, it was ascertained by calculation that even during the latter part of the present period there were nearly 8,000,000 of our population who could neither read nor write. These, too, did not consist exclusively of the poorest classes, as many of our farmers were under the same intellectual destitution. Of the character of our education, that of the upper classes was reckoned the best in Europe. This indeed was nothing more than might have been expected, on account of our richly-endowed universities, our public libraries, and the liberality of our aristocracy, who were willing to bespeak the best instructors, whether native or foreign, at any price. Of the middle and mercantile classes, it was found that the education was decidedly defective, even as compared with that of other countries, having more show than

substance, while the schools were rather cheap or comfortable boarding-houses than strictly educational institutions. For a still lower grade of society—that of shopkeepers and thriving artisans—the education was generally found of a more substantial and practical character, especially in town and city day schools; but this advantage was counteracted by the shortness of time given in the attendance of their pupils, who in early life were generally sent to learn a trade. But last of all were the schools for the masses, which were as defective as such institutions could well be. The teachers were seldom even half educated, consisting generally of the lame, the sickly, or deformed, who could not obtain a living otherwise; of the indolent, who thought that doting at a school-desk was more pleasant than handling a spade; and of broken-down tradesmen, who were good enough to manage a school, as they could manage nothing else. The school-room in the country was frequently an uninhabitable hut, and in the town, a chilly or ill-ventilated apartment; while both in town and country the children were so crowded together, that mutual sickness rather than mutual improvement was the usual result. Such were the generality of schools for male and female pupils of the lower classes throughout England and Wales; and where better buildings might have been erected for the purpose, and more efficient teachers appointed, these purposed improvements were frequently marred at the outset by the political and sectarian jealousies of the parents. And while from these several causes not one-half of the children of England and Wales, between the ages of five and fourteen, attended any school whatever, the education at these humble academies was of the most scanty and unsatisfactory description—a little reading, writing, and arithmetic, picked up in the midst of the confusion as they best might—while in the schools of a better class, also, these composed the whole curriculum. It was only in going higher still—to the costly academies and institutions of the mercantile and middle ranks—that these were found mixed with a modicum of geography, history, science, music, and drawing.

While the general education was thus so far short of the advance of the age, that it only perpetuated the old established ignorance, and increased the dead weight that was gathering at every step of progress—and while this ignorance multiplied crime, and increased the popular envy and discontent of the lower against the higher classes, there was another national evil by which the ranks of the lower classes were fearfully multiplied, as well as their condition sunk lower in the social scale. This was the manner in which land is tied up by entail, and the conse-

quent difficulty of selling or alienating it. As the privileged class of landholders continued to die out, their estates, instead of being thrown into the market, continued to accumulate in the hands of the survivors; and in consequence of this feudal fatality, shopkeepers, farmers, and thriving peasants were prevented from purchasing a few acres, and planting their families among the independent landholders. From the same cause, which converts small farms into large ones, the peasantry are shut out from the chance of rising into farmers. And thus our brave-hearted, independent, comfortable yeomanry, once the pride of England and its best defence, have almost disappeared from the country which they served so well. We are told that in 1770 there were not less than 250,000 freehold estates belonging to as many different families. In 1815, at the close of the French war, this number had diminished to 32,000. And yet there was no natural necessity for such decrease, as in 1847 there still remained about 11,300,000 acres in England wholly uncultivated, but capable of cultivation. And with our yeomanry, the healthy, cheerful, out-door sports of “merry England,” the games of cricket and football, the shooting-matches, running matches, and village dances have departed. Near our large, and especially our manufacturing towns, hedges are broken through, the grounds trampled down, and fruit-trees destroyed, especially on Sundays; and hence the necessity of high walls and fences, by which the walks of the working people are confined to narrow dusty roads. The commons and public village greens have been inclosed, and the games that enlivened them excluded. Thus circumstanced, the peasantry of England have few places of relaxation except the village ale-house, in the stimulants of which its frequenters drown the sense of their depression, until they become confirmed sots and drunkards. There also the village *quidnuncs* hold their treason clubs, listen to demagogues who indoctrinate them in the principles of chartism and socialism, and are trained for every change of political outbreak, from simple rick-burning up to a national revolution and agrarian spoliation. And as it is necessary for such an idle improvident course to have the means of ale-house indulgence, they there concoct their plans of poaching, house-breaking, theft, and highway robbery, by which they are enabled to act out their chief principle of “a short life and a merry.” It has been always thought that a country life, even at the worst, was less depraved than a town one; but recent investigations have shown, that in England at least the amount of crime in the agricultural counties is scarcely inferior to that of the mining and manufacturing districts. This was

proved by Lord Ashley from the statistics of the years 1841 and 1847. In passing from the rural to the civic sources of demoralization, we find that these, both in number and character, are adapted to the several divisions of the lower classes, and the multiplied cravings of artificial city life. The chief of them are low theatres in which Jack Sheppard morality is taught; fairs, and dancing taverns, which last are also frequently brothels; and in all of them the young of both sexes are trained by regular steps from the mere theft of a penny, the price of a theatre ticket, to iniquity upon its most daring or complicated scale. Then, there are gin palaces by the thousand, where small measures of the ardent spirit are sold at a low price to suit every grade of boyhood; and the shops of dealers in marine stores, where every kind of stolen goods are received, prompt payment given, and no questions asked. Of a somewhat higher class, and externally more decorous, though perhaps scarcely less corrupting, are the casinos, mask-balls, tavern-theatres, and betting clubs, with which our principal cities abound—and to these may be added the low horse-races that congregate the lawless population both of town and country.

Into the details of pauperism and moral depravity produced by such a state of things we have no desire to enter. We can only touch upon the generalities of such a subject, and yet their slightest disclosure is enough to produce a recoil of terror and disgust. Such was the increase of poverty during the present period, that in 1848 the number of paupers relieved by the boards of guardians amounted to 1,876,541 in England, or about one-eighth of the whole national population, independently of the hundreds of thousands who were relieved by private charity. Of the homes of such myriads of the destitute—whether in town or country, whether permanent residences or temporary lodging houses—their unhealthiness and discomfort baffled all description. But this was not the worst. Where people were crowded by tens, and even by twenties, into a single apartment, without distinction of age, sex, or character, the moral atmosphere of such a sty became more pestilential than the physical, and not only the crimes incident to such a state of living were unblushingly and openly prevalent among them, but those outrages against natural feeling which every community has doomed beyond reprieve. What could be otherwise when brothers and sisters, when parents and children, hardened to every moral feeling and ignorant as the brutes that perish, lived night and day huddled within a single room? Such a state of things was revealed by the investigations which were set on foot as would have been incredible of the lowest stages of barbarism and the darkest

epochs of society, far more of England itself, and the middle of the nineteenth century. It was a natural result of such promiscuous living, mixed with such squalor, destitution, and gross dissipation, that 60,000 still-born children (happier than those who survived) should be annually brought forth throughout the kingdom. It was also a natural result that the infants of such parents should be little prized at their entrance into life, and regarded as incumbrances and curses rather than blessings. Accordingly, society was suddenly startled by the revelation that infanticide had become an English crime, and was prevalent in the midst of us. Parents enrolled themselves in burial societies with a perspective view to the profit which they meant to realize upon it, and the infant, as soon as born, was deliberately doomed to death by the mother for the sake of the burial fees. A few drops of laudanum silenced the innocent victim for ever, and the price of its life furnished the means of more ample household comfort, if not of gross revelry and indulgence. In this way, parents could calculate upon their own children, as the farmer does upon his sheep for the market or the shambles. It was a crime which no statistics could reach, and no surmise could be made of how many hundreds or thousands had thus passed through the fire to Moloch before the alarm was given, and inquiry set upon the alert. It was indeed full time that the registration of every birth and death, under whatever circumstances, should be imposed as a universal duty, and a strict compliance with it enforced under heavy legal penalties.

While such had been the progress of secret and unpunished crime, the amount of open offences against the law, and the number of convictions, instead of being stationary, had continued on the increase. This is apparent by a comparison of the statistics of 1817 with those of 1857. During this interval of forty years, the population of England had increased from twelve to twenty-one millions, while the increase of our criminal calendar was more than doubled. Thus there were in

1817—Convicted, 911	Sentenced to death, 911	Executed, 78.
1857 " 2057.	" 21.	" None.

It will be seen from the merciful character of the last year, that our statute-books had been revised, that a reaction of clemency in favour of our criminals had set in like a spring-tide—that the punishment of death had been all but discontinued, while transportation, its milder alternative, had been abolished. The same tables also show, that convictions for crimes accompanied with personal violence had very greatly increased. There were—

	Year 1847.	Year 1857.
Stabbing or wounding, ...	26	308
Robbery, ...	184	378
Burglary, ...	374	473
Housebreaking, ...	153	568
Larceny in dwelling-houses, ...	148	246
Forgery, &c., ...	62	184

It was fortunate in such a state of things that the sharp spirit of inquiry was on the alert—that the means of publicity were so perfected—that zealous philanthropy was alive and ready for action. Public crimes might be dealt with by the law; but there was a whole world of offence lying beneath them which justice could not reach unless our free constitution had been subverted. First to check, and finally to eradicate this foul leprosy which was rooted so deeply and spreading so fast, must be instantly commenced, for the life of the whole community was at stake. Parliament accordingly interfered with enactments, and societies and associations were formed for the suppression of vice, the relief of destitution, and the moral and intellectual improvement of the lower orders. Never was “social science” so anxiously studied, never was British benevolence so active, so liberal, so self-sacrificing; and if anything can mitigate the horrors of the view, it is to be found in the benevolence that applied the remedy. The lowest depths of society were laid open, and a hell disclosed of crime and suffering over which the nation had been hitherto reposing in peace. But even into that murky abode Christian charity could enter to reform and regenerate. The plans for the benefit of the lower orders, although they form so distinguishing a characteristic of the present period, are yet so numerous, that to only a few of them we can afford a passing notice.

For the poorest of the poor the means of emigration have been multiplied both by government and colonial bounties; and those who are willing for work but unable to find it, may obtain not only a free comfortable passage to a new home, but profitable occupation there to the full, and in many cases a grant of land sufficient to establish them in honest independence. But as too many have neither enterprise nor industry for such an easy venture, or are too closely wedded to their old haunts and dissipation, means are adopted either to allure them from their vagrant profitless life, or compel them to respect the decencies of society. Their steps are watched, and their domestic economy controlled by a stricter surveillance. The wretched lodging-houses in which they congregated, and where they defied all law and common decency, have either been removed, or compelled to take out licenses, by which they are regulated as to their means of health and comfort, and the behaviour of their inmates. The narrow closed courts of

towns, among whose swarming families life was smothered and pestilences engendered, are opening to the air of heaven and the light of day. The sanitary regulations imposed upon these localities have been so many and minute, that diseases among them are neither so prevalent nor so infectious. With light and air, water has been more abundantly introduced, and thus personal cleanliness may be made the stepping-stone and commencement of a moral reformation. Piles of new houses are rising in our towns, expressly built for the accommodation of the poor, in which a small rental is required by such means of comfort and even of neatness, as the habitations of earlier erection for the better classes can seldom exhibit. Nor in this enumeration should we forget the public fountains, which are rising in every street, and at which the wanderer or labourer can comfortably quench his thirst, without the necessity of repairing to the gin palace or ale-house. The church accommodation for the poor has been increased; humble places for public worship opened; sermons expressly suited to the lowest of the destitute prepared, and open-air preaching more extensively practised, so that every shade of ignorance or vice can find its appropriate instruction, and every kind of threadbare or ragged clothing a place in which its wearer may appear without diffidence. It is significant of these religious agencies, that even our church dignitaries, who formerly scowled at them as ecclesiastical irregularities, are beginning to take part in them. For the children of such parents, also, ragged schools have been established, where industrial habits along with a good sound education are carefully inculcated; and going lower still, we have reformatory schools, where the young, already depraved, are broke in for the ragged school; and reformatory prisons, out of which the culprit may depart a wiser and a better man. In this way, strong, sharp, heavy utensils are breaking and delving into the deepest stratum of society, to reconstruct and strengthen the yielding foundations of our social edifice. Much indeed has to be done; but even already much has been accomplished, giving promise of better days for Britain in the good work of moral regeneration and advancement.

But the co-operation of the people themselves was most needed; an act of *self-reformation* was demanded, by which they should voluntarily combine for the improvement and elevation of their own order. For centuries the vice of drunkenness had been reckoned the chief of our national offences, the fruitful parent of more than the half of our social evils; and until this was abjured, it was felt that every moral appliance would be only a superficial or temporary remedy. And that the stigma which was branded

upon our national character had been too justly merited, a brief retrospection through the whole range of our national history will sufficiently confirm. It was the master-vice of the northern races from whom the greater part of the European nations were derived; but while the continental nations had outgrown this evil tendency of their fathers, it had continued to flourish in insulated Britain unmitigated and unchecked; so that even during the reign of the two first Georges, foreigners had been scandalized, when they visited Britain, with the spectacle of drunken peers, flustered clergymen, and thriving merchants who hiccupped in their speech when the hours of 'change were ended. The reformation, indeed, of this general evil had commenced, as it ought, among the upper classes; but it was not till the beginning of the present century, that to be "as drunk as a lord" was a comparison that could no longer hold good. It was only then that the vice had become unfashionable in the higher ranks, and discreditable among the mercantile aristocracy—that, under the influence of nobler aims, and a keener struggle in the contests of wealth or ambition, the better classes had freed themselves from the long-established tendency. But the demon, thus driven from high places, took a closer shelter in the lower, where, from the causes already mentioned, his hold became more general and more inveterate than ever. When the bulk of destitution and crime had increased through this evil alone to an amount beyond what society could endure, a remedy was sought, but was long in finding. Could the ignorant, the destitute, the despised, be weaned from drunkenness, as well as the rich, the noble, and intellectual? The trial was made, and near the close of the last period the Temperance movement commenced. This was followed by the preaching of Father Mathew, the apostle of the enterprise, and hosts of coadjutors whom his example inspired. A regular crusade was thus commenced against the popular iniquity; the resources of the platform and the press were plied as strenuously for the moral, as they have been for political reform; and temperance societies were established throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, whose members were soon numbered by tens of thousands. It had been discovered, also, that for a complete emancipation from the evil habit, the mere principle of temperance was insufficient; total abstinence therefore became the rule, and "touch not, taste not, handle not," the motto of the movement. It was thus alone that the confirmed drunkard could be reclaimed from his habit, and the weak and wavering from the temptations attendant upon friendly meetings, social feasts, and public merry-makings. In this way, the word "temperance" was made to assume a teetotal meaning. The

progress of this great collective movement during the present period of our history has been wonderful, although at first it was reckoned the most hopeless of all enterprises; and its success continues to be shown upon the thousands whom it has reclaimed from confirmed intemperance, and the myriads whom it has arrested on the threshold, and to whom it has proved an effectual monitor and safeguard. Its societies are felt to be cities of refuge, to which the proscribed drunkard can flee and be safe; and where his resolutions of amendment are strengthened an hundredfold by the new community into which he is welcomed, and the *esprit de corps* by which his future course is regulated. Let but this progress go onward as it has done, and the Temperance League may yet prove one of the most effective of all our social and moral reformers.

While such are the means employed upon that huge mass of our population which constitutes the lowest of our lower orders—so debased in its guilt, and so terrible in its brute force should it break loose—those which were devised for the orders immediately above the lowest were of a more intellectual character as well as earlier application. And first of these may be mentioned the exertions of the Press, which, at the commencement of this period, were chiefly impersonated in the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," and the publications of which were intended to form a cheap but complete library for the working man. Then issued those serial works which appeared in cheap weekly numbers, the *Penny Magazine*, the *Penny Cyclopædia*, *Chambers's Journal*—works which, notwithstanding their humble appearance and aim, had for their contributors men of such high mark in literary talent and reputation as formed a guarantee for their usefulness as well as promise of success; and these works, which were circulated among our working classes in hundreds of thousands, conveyed lessons in every department of science, literature, and general knowledge under their most intelligible and attractive forms. Even the fine arts also were not neglected in these penny publications, and the sums expended upon the pictorial illustrations of the first and second of these works were to an amount greatly beyond any that had hitherto been bestowed upon the costly publications which had been only within the reach of the wealthiest. It was soon found that a new impulse had been created—that the demand for such productions would not only defray the large expenditure, but secure a good mercantile profit—and a rush of serial publications followed, of which the *Penny Magazine* and *Penny Cyclopædia* were the exemplars, and in which such an amount of useful talented writing and highly-finished artistic engraving was con-

tained, as fifty-fold the amount of their price could not have previously purchased. It was a new temple of knowledge opened to the multitudes, of which the opening of the Crystal Palace that followed was nothing more than the natural sequel and consummation. The impulse of cheap publishing was extended to other works that hitherto, from their cost, had been sealed books to the multitude; and the writings of our best theologians, historians, poets, novelists, &c., were reproduced at a rate that made them accessible to all but the very poorest; so that the humble artisan could now afford to purchase such a library as none but the rich and the learned could have procured only a few years earlier. Indeed, none had now to remain ignorant and untaught but those who obstinately willed to be so. This expenditure in cheap books, also, instead of impoverishing seems to have enriched the purchasers, by introducing among them a more active industry and more provident economical habits. This was shown by the fact that £33,000,000 sterling lay deposited in the savings' banks, and that penny savings' banks were established as feeders to the former, and for the accommodation of those who could only deposit copper instead of silver. With the diffusion of literature and science by means of these cheap serial publications, it is interesting to mark that those connected with religion and morals had received a fresh impulse, and were keeping pace with the serials of a more light or alluring character. It was a hopeful proof that the public mind had been opened to something higher than mere literary amusement, or even intellectual instruction. Of the religious periodicals seventeen of the most popular have a circulation of 900,000. The tracts and other works of the temperance societies circulate at the rate of 300,000 weekly. The effect of all this reading upon the public mind is perceptible at a single glance. The trashy tales filled with silly romance and sickly German sentimentalism, which formed the light literature of the middle and lower classes, have disappeared. The more grave political works, by which they were taught to be discontented with their condition, and to look for no relief except in anarchy and revolution, have been thrown aside as waste paper. Those indecently immoral works and their vile embellishments, which found such an unblushing and profitable sale among our neighbours the French, and which threatened during the earlier part of this century to establish a footing among ourselves, have been so utterly discountenanced and put down that the greater part of society is ignorant of their existence. Even those flippant infidel writings of the Voltaire school, with which our literature was formerly inoculated in con-

nection with French immorality and French politics, are old-fashioned or obsolete; and, if a champion of unbelief puts forth his doubts, he knows that jesting will no longer serve for proof, and that his arguments will be subjected to a severe and sifting scrutiny. Works of a similar but less flagrant character—the Grub Street literature of the nineteenth century—have been driven from the middle to the lowest circles, where this abortive literature can scarcely secure its hold, or save itself from utter bankruptcy. While thus the course of reading has been so greatly changed, the intellectual character of the working classes has been elevated into a higher sphere. Let but a prize essay be announced for their competition, and who would judge that the articles returned were the productions of common workmen? And how would it have fared with such a trial half a century ago?

When we advance a step higher, and transfer our inquiry to the middle classes, we shall find that there also the same regenerating process has been going forward. This has been especially the case in the important matter of Education. From the want of a national system under the control of government, those who established themselves as preceptors were free so to do at their own good pleasure, and hence the strange instructors under which the boyhood of the present generation was in many cases nurtured. Our countrymen seem to have found out at last that, even if "reading and writing come by chance," the capacity of teaching these necessary branches is not thrown into the bargain, and that to give instruction is more difficult than to receive it. It was necessary, in the first instance, to teach the teachers, and establish such normal schools as had been set up in those countries where education is under state provision and government. Normal schools have accordingly been established in Britain, by which the standard of a common education has been raised, and its character improved, and where teachers for every department can be as carefully trained as the apprentices of any other trade or craft, and afterwards promoted according to their proficiency. It is true, indeed, that still we have scarcely a fourth part as many of these normal seminaries as one of the countries of Western Europe, and not a fourth part as many as are necessary to educate a sufficient number of teachers for the lower classes. But the reform commenced has been in the right direction; and, instead of complaining of the scantiness of the supply, we should rather congratulate ourselves that, in so short a time, so much progress has been effected. With instructors thus prepared, we have only to take into account the government schools already established, and the government inspectors who superintend them, to be

convinced that, although at a late hour, the reaction has commenced, under which our poor will at least be as well educated as those of other countries, and even the middle classes be able to vie in acquirements and general intelligence with the highest. With these educational appliances, which have chiefly reference to the young, we may take into account the numerous successful plans now in operation by which every class from the middle to the lowest is reached, and that tend to their general elevation and improvement. Among these we can only mention philosophical institutions, mechanics' institutions, lectureships for artisans, apprentices, &c., libraries and reading rooms, musical and art associations, for the most part supported entirely by the members themselves, and indicating in their encouragement and multiplication the benefits they have already imparted and the hopes they have inspired. Even the associations of certain London ladies for the improvement of the art of cookery, and the circulation among the lower classes of the best and cheapest modes of making good dishes, is a substantial sign of the true spirit of improvement. For where could reformation better commence than in domestic life, and amidst the enjoyments of a comfortable home?

In turning our attention to the progress of Science during the present period, we are at once arrested by the most wonderful invention of the day—that of the Electric Telegraph. Vapour had already been converted into the mightiest of mechanical forces, and gas into artificial sunshine; but it seemed the strangest achievement of all to manufacture lightning, and employ its speed for the conveyance of human thought. To what individual, or even to what country the honour of such a stupendous discovery is due, cannot be ascertained; and it has been claimed successively by Englishmen, by Germans, by Americans, by men of almost every country of Europe, who have all successively experimented upon this mode of communication, until the whole has terminated in the perfected telegraph of the present year. It thus resembles the art of printing or the manufacture of gunpowder—a hint or an idea started by we know not whom, but when once suggested, eagerly laid hold of, and acted upon simultaneously in different quarters, until an agency is matured by which the whole world may ultimately be brought into close communication.

After many experiments with the different kinds of electricity, it was found that the voltaic was the best, as being the most easily insulated, and therefore susceptible of the greatest range in its transmission. The voltaic battery, which is the agent of transmission, is of simple character, consisting of a series of pairs of plates of dissimilar metals, with a solution of acid and water, and

on making metallic connection between the plates, the electric current is immediately produced, and is transmitted to the distant station, where it produces the signals. Sometimes, instead of a voltaic battery, the power of a magnet, operating on a coil of wire, is employed to produce the current, and this is the agency employed in the magnetic telegraph. But whether the battery or the magnet be employed, the first and most obvious step was to establish the telegraph along the railway lines, and this has been done by the wires which accompany every railway. But such a means of correspondence could not long be confined to railway lines, and accordingly connecting wires began very speedily to branch off from the iron roads into the inland localities, until town was linked with town, and village with village, by a network of telegraphic wires that extended over the whole island.

This was much, but still not enough for Britain, whose greatest interests lie beyond her own shores. It was necessary for her welfare, that the extent of her telegraphic communications should be equal to the range of her commerce, and the remoteness of her colonial possessions, so that she might as freely communicate with the great cities on the Continent, and her settlements in the four quarters of the globe, as with her own towns and districts. But could the mysterious emissary pass through the ocean depths as well as over rocks and mountains? At an early period in the invention of the electric telegraph, the possibility of transmitting the voltaic current under water was the subject of study in India by Dr. O'Shaughnessy, and to the success of his experiments in the river Hooghly in 1839 the merit of the discovery has been generally assigned. It was found that the resistless power could pass onward unchecked through the water as well as through the earth and air, and that nothing would be needed except such tractors as could resist the corrosive agency of the water, or the submarine rocks and sand with which they would be in contact. To make subaqueous conductors was therefore the next attempt, and this was accomplished without much difficulty. These submarine cables for international communication where the countries are separated by the sea, consist of a core of copper wire surrounded by gutta percha; and the rope thus formed is surrounded and finally cased with an armour of stout iron wires. With these protections, a cable of the requisite length is extended from bank to bank, or from shore to shore, conveying state secrets or commercial tidings as safely and rapidly as the wires along the railway. The progress of the discovery, and the uses to which it was turned, were commensurate with its importance, so that before June,

1854, such connecting conductors in the form of wire ropes were laid between Dover and Calais, between Dover and Ostend, between Dublin and Holyhead, between Donaghadee and Portpatrick, and between England and Holland, and Denmark, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island, and Piedmont and Corsica. The last great attempt, which was to connect Britain with the United States of America by a gigantic submarine cable extending across the Atlantic, has indeed proved a failure, but hopes are still entertained that this will be ultimately accomplished.

The form of writing in which the messages are conveyed by the electric telegraph has been not the least difficulty of the invention, the aim being to discover a kind of short-hand or cypher that could be quickly noted and easily read off; and after many experiments, three different plans were matured, which have now come into general use. The first of these in priority of time, was that of Professor Wheatstone and Mr. Cooke, of which the first trial was made on the 25th June, 1837, and is commonly called the "needle instrument." It is founded upon the principle of the deviation of the magnetic needle when under the influence of the electric current; and the operation is performed by one or two needles, by the movements of which the letters of the alphabet are indicated. The message thus expressed is read at the rate of from twenty to forty words per minute. This kind of needle-telegraph is the one most used in England and Scotland, over a compass of about 25,000 miles of wire. But that which is most extensively used, both on the continent of Europe and in America, is known as the Morse telegraph, and operates on the principle of electro-magnetism. A small lever, attached to the armature of an electro-magnet, is attracted at the instant that the current is transmitted, and the signals are given by means of the "clicking" sounds which it produces in its alternating movements. Formerly one end of the lever was made to produce a series of indentations upon a slip of paper, and hence it was termed the "recording instrument;" but this method is now generally abandoned in favour of the system by sound. By a third method, known as the "type-printing telegraph," the motions of the lever are so connected with an intricate system of mechanism that the message is actually printed, as it arrives, in Roman letters. A fourth plan, called the "chemical telegraph," was the invention of Bain, an obscure clockmaker from Watten in Caithness, and is founded upon the principle of electro-chemical decomposition, a mark being produced by the point of an iron stylus on chemically prepared paper at the instant of the transmission of the successive waves of electricity from the distant station.

The same wondrous power of the electric agent in writing and printing, irrespective of its benefit of swift transmission, was found available for the service of the fine arts. We allude to the art of Electrotypes, which was invented less than twenty years ago by Jacobi, a Russian, and Spencer, an Englishman, simultaneously. The processes by which it works are both delicate and numerous; and therefore we shall state, in general terms, that the agent employed is a voltaic battery, which operates by precipitating a metal in chemical solution upon a given object: the metal so dissolved, and applied in a continuous layer upon the object, may be made to adhere, in which case it supersedes the old processes of plating and gilding; but when applied without adhering, it gives an accurate likeness or facsimile of the surface on which it is laid. In this manner, it produces exact imitations of coins and medals, copies stamps, seals, and plaster casts, imitates fruits and vegetables, casts moulds for the foundry, and reproduces printed characters, copperplate engravings, wood-cuts, and daguerreotype pictures. The first use of it made in England by Mr. Spencer was in letterpress-printing, and this appears now to be one of its most valuable applications; but the principle once obtained, suggested many other purposes to which the electrotypes might be applied, and the processes accordingly became more complex and refined, until the reproduction of the highest works of art in sculpture and engraving was the result.

While the lightning has thus been converted into a letter-writer, courier, printer, and engraver, the sun, by an almost equally marvellous process, has been transformed into a draughtsman and portrait-painter. That beautiful invention, the camera obscura, had long been known, by which the scenery of a whole city or landscape could be collected together by a skilful arrangement of lenses, and reflected in all its brightness and distinctness upon a whitened surface, within a darkened tent or apartment. By this aid, the artist or the traveller had steadily before him the objects he wished to delineate; and he knew that a transcript of these, as they presented themselves in the condensed resemblance, would be more faithful to the reality than the artistic copy taken from the original itself. But these beautiful pictures, and the living moving objects with which they were animated, were like shadows upon the wall—they disappeared with every change of light and shade, and left no trace behind them. Could they not be arrested in all their vividness, and stamped upon the receiving surface into a permanent painting? The possibility of effecting this was first suggested by the blackening of salts of silver, as in the case of

those fluids used as marking-inks, and the permanent writing they impressed on linen or cotton cloth; and the hint thus caught, was improved into the invention of Photography.

Of the departments of this art, the first place is due to the daguerreotype, so called from its inventor, M. Daguerre, a Frenchman. After experimenting upon the subject for several years, he announced his discovery to the world in 1839. By it, a surface of pure silver being caused to combine with iodine and also with bromine, a delicate film is produced on the surface of the plate, extremely sensitive to light, and capable of retaining every image impressed on it. This was the first principle of the invention; but the delicacy and durability of the impression depend upon subsequent preparations too numerous and too minute to specify. This was much; and the first daguerreotypes that were produced were gladly welcomed as the beginning of a new era in pictorial art. But when the costliness of the material and the difficulty of the process would have checked the multiplication of these sun-pictures, it was discovered that other substances were capable of being so impressed; and the calotype, otherwise called the talbotype, from the name of its inventor, Mr. Fox Talbot, came into general use. By this plan a card or sheet of paper, or plate of glass, after undergoing a certain preparation, and being sensitized in a bath of nitrate of silver, could receive and retain the image in the camera obscura, and be capable of producing copies of itself. Such were the origin and first principles of those two forms of photography, the productions of which are now so numerous as to be found in almost every house, and which possess a fidelity of resemblance to the original, and a delicacy of execution, which leave the efforts of the painter and engraver far behind. The value of the invention, not only for its own productions, but as a powerful auxiliary to the fine arts, was speedily discovered; and photography, recognized as a separate art, has been yearly improving both in its processes and its productions. Briefly we may state, that these improvements resolve themselves into the following heads: 1. The preparation of the sensitive surface; 2. Its exposure to the image sought to be impressed upon it by the camera obscura; 3. The development of the image by chemical appliances; 4. The fixing of the image by dissolving out the sensitive surface, so that the light shall no further affect it. But it is not merely as an aid to the arts of sculpture and painting, or as a cheap ready substitute for their costly productions, that photography is a useful invention. By it the astronomer has already done something, and may hope to do more, in producing pictures of the phenomena of

the heavens in all their transient aspects and revolutions. By it the meteorologist can secure a register of the minutest changes of night and day. By it the lecturer and schoolmaster can exhibit the faithful transcripts of those objects which mere language would be insufficient to describe. By it even justice can arrest the fugitive criminal, by sending forth veritable copies of his likeness, instead of the vague or equivocal descriptions which were usually contained in the printed hue and cry.

Among the physical sciences, in which such advances have been made during the present period, Chemistry occupies the foremost place. Nothing less than this could be expected, when the materials of its study are the air we breathe, the food we eat, the liquids we drink—the elementary bodies in their simple or compound state, by which abundance, health, and comfort are secured, and sickness and pain averted. And yet, for thousands of years men were contented to follow what was blindly called the law of nature, and apply its rules without knowing why or wherefore; until towards the close of the last century, when the characteristics of the elementary bodies or simple substances which enter into the composition of what we see around us were heedfully investigated and classified. It was only then that chemistry was resolved into a regular science, and studied with a due appreciation of its importance. The revelations with which this search has been rewarded are now being turned into daily account, by an infinity of ingenious processes, from the manufacture of the finest pigments to the baking of a loaf. But British research would not rest contented with the mere honour of discovery, or the gratification of an intellectual curiosity; and hence, every important new result to which its inquiries have arrived, has been combined with the *cui bono?* The satisfactory answer has been given in the operations of bleaching, dyeing, and calico-printing, by which the value of our commercial commodities has been so greatly enhanced; in the preparation of gunpowder, salt, drugs, soap, paints, perfumery, &c., and in the manufacture of porcelain, pottery-ware, glass, paper, &c. In the improvements which are daily taking place upon these articles, the eminently practical character of British intellect has maintained its wonted ascendancy, while the world at large has been benefited by the fruits of this idiosyncrasy.

It is not, however, to our manufactures alone that the discoveries of chemistry are applied. The necessities of a growing population, the desire of profit, even the honourable ambition of producing a blade of corn where none grew before, have turned our national energies to improved modes of Agriculture, and the effect has

been exhibited in the reclaiming of waste lands, and in more abundant harvests from the fields where the old processes of cultivation have been superseded by the new. The agriculturist has now been taught that vegetation is a chemical as well as a vital process—that the vegetable world has life as well as the animal. A still more difficult task which he has to learn, is the selecting and apportioning of the different kinds of the plant-food to the nature of the soil and the vegetation that is to be sustained on it. And then, again, when a soil is exhausted, he must be skilful in the application of those particular kinds of manure which are suited to its nature and condition, and the best fitted for renewing its strength and restoring its nutritious properties. Thus, the farmer can no longer plant and sow indiscriminately, or according to his own wishes, or scatter the manure-heap at random; if he intends to pay the doubled or tripled rent of his acres, and have a comfortable reversion, he must abandon that slothful world-wide adage, “our fathers did so before us,” and cultivate his fields according to the new rules and processes by which the whole system of agriculture has been revolutionized. He has thus become in some degree a chemist without knowing it; and a skilful employer of its materials, without learning their Greek names, or subjecting them to a scientific analysis. But he knows that his ground yields thrice the amount which it vouchsafed to his grandfather, and that this increase has been owing to the introduction of those changes which his grandfather would have scorned as new-fangled, or condemned as a distrusting of Providence. The same redundancy of a growing population, which compels the Chinese to girdle their mountains with terraces, cultivate every inch of soil, and treasure up every particle of waste matter for manure, is apprehended also for Britain; but to encounter this emergency, the well-tried energy and industry of its children are aided by the rich resources of chemical science, under which the rock itself is becoming a yielding soil, and the morass a dry fertile territory. The renewal of an exhausted soil, and the production of a profitable rotation of crops, are now the most important questions in our new agricultural science; and the creation of artificial, as well as the improvement of natural manures, with the best adjustment of them to the particular soil and season, are the lessons chiefly studied by the young farmers of the present day. Of these artificial manures which have been largely used in modern agriculture, directed by chemical science, the principal have been kelp or barilla, guano, bones or bone-dust, sulphate of lime or gypsum, nitrates, potash, and lime. For the further fertilization of our fields, and the still greater increase of their produce, a question is

now at issue, in which the interests of British agriculture are deeply involved—we mean the conversion of the sewage of our cities into manure. The condition of the Thames at London, and of the Clyde at Glasgow, and especially the state of those inland towns where no neighbouring river can be converted into a drain and common sewer, has arrested the general attention; and chemical research is actively employed about the best means for deodorizing this sewage, and converting it from an increasing source of miasma and pestilence into a means of agricultural abundance.

In the science of Astronomy, England has not been unmindful of her distinction as the birth-place and home of Sir Isaac Newton; and the discoveries of Sir William and Sir John Herschel, Dr. Maskelyne, Mr. Bishop, Mr. Hind, Mr. Lassell, Mr. Airy of Greenwich Observatory, and Mr. Adams of Cambridge, have largely added to a science which so much depends upon close patient observation, and an accumulation of facts alone—whose infinity of objects thousands or even millions of years spent in watching and registering would be insufficient to comprise. Much, however, has been done during the present period, in the enlargement of star maps and star catalogues, so that the cosmical relations of the whole heaven have been defined, and the earth's place in it as a mere point in the universe ascertained and fixed. Nor has the practical been lost sight of in the contemplation of these remote and inaccessible objects, and the discoveries of astronomy have been turned to the essentially British purposes of navigation, by calculating and fixing more accurately the position of a ship at sea. The steps by which this important object was attained, have been carefully noted in that national work, the *Nautical Almanac*, which was commenced in 1767, in connection with the parliamentary commission for the “discovery of the longitude at sea.” As astronomy was of such vital importance to the commercial interests and political welfare of our country, the study of the science was promoted by the establishment of the “Royal Astronomical Society of London,” having for its office-bearers the chief astronomers of Britain, and for its associates the principal astronomers of Europe. Another society, by which the preceding has been greatly benefited, named the “British Association for the Advancement of Science,” was opened in 1831. Our chief observatories are those of Greenwich, Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, and the Cape of Good Hope; and from the principal one (that of Greenwich) there are telegraphic wires connected with the wires of the principal railways, by which its communications, and especially its time-signals, are conveyed over the island. But

notwithstanding these public institutions for the advancement of the science, some of the most important astronomical discoveries of the present period have been made by amateurs, at their own private expense or by the aid of their friends. Such has been especially the case with Mr. Lassell, a merchant of Liverpool, who built an observatory for his own use, and discovered an eighth satellite to Saturn, one to Neptune, and two to Uranus—Mr. Hind, who discovered many new asteroids—and Mr. Adams, who in 1846 discovered the new planet Neptune. The accession of this last-named planet to our system was the result of abstract mathematical reasoning so profound, and analysis so subtle and searching, as to show that future discovery is not left wholly dependent on observation and telescopic aid. But one of the most striking indications of the love of astronomical science for its own sake, was the construction of Lord Rosse's gigantic telescope. The luminous masses called nebulae, so thickly sown over the whole heaven, had perplexed scientific inquiry; and although Sir William Herschel mapped 2500 of these mysterious star-clouds, and his son Sir John added 500 clusters to the celestial chart, the nature of these luminous strata, which were concluded to be neither fixed stars nor planets, still continued unknown. To add also to this perplexity, some of these nebulae, which at first appeared only shining spots, presented, when viewed through powerful telescopes, the appearance of distinct stars, while others, though subjected to the same scrutiny, were still as incomprehensible as before. It was chiefly to explore these dim, remote, tantalizing masses that Lord Rosse constructed his wondrous telescope, with the labour and anxiety of years. The tube has a focal length of fifty-three feet, and a clear aperture of six feet; of its two specula or mirrors, one weighs $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons, and the other a little more than 4; and the instrument itself is placed between two immense piers, 70 feet long and nearly 50 feet high. But whilst the immense range of this cyclopean telescope led to remarkable discoveries among the hitherto unexplored regions of nebulae and star-dust, it also revealed dimly beyond them new regions of mystery, that demand yet larger and more improved powers of vision. But the ardour of science has only been stimulated by these past successes, and fresh endeavours are certain to follow, by which new fields of the boundless universe will be opened, and the harmonious laws of their administration be more amply and correctly understood.

Amongst the youngest of the physical sciences is Geology, which may be said to have originated in the early part of the present century. Its object is to investigate the ancient natural history of the earth. The inquiries of the science

divide themselves into two branches—viz., physical geology, or the examination of the mineral structure, formation, and succession of the rocks constituting the crust of the earth, and the laws which have regulated their origin and distribution; and palæontology, or the study of the fossil or petrified remains of extinct animals and plants embedded in the ancient sedimentary rocks. Geology thus derives its materials as a science from the three kingdoms of nature, mineralogy, zoology, and botany being its principal tributaries. On account of the recentness of its origin, as well as the extent and importance of its range, a more than usually ample detail of the history of a science which is only coeval with ourselves will naturally be expected.

From an early period the more obvious phenomena of geology attracted the attention of the cultivators of natural science in the enlightened nations of the eastern and the western world; but it was not till the other physical sciences were established upon a solid basis that it began to assume a philosophical form. Previous speculations on the subject usually resolved themselves into cosmogonies, or attempts to account for the origin of the globe, an inquiry manifestly beyond the range of scientific investigation. Towards the close of the last century, the celebrated Dr. Hutton of Edinburgh published his theory of the earth, a work in which a clear conception of the legitimate objects of the science was first announced in this country. Throwing aside the bewildering dreams of the cosmogonists, Hutton set out by declaring that geology was in no way concerned with questions as to the origin of things; and although his work is avowedly theoretical, his theory was founded upon a large induction of facts, and anticipated some of the most important principles which have been generalized from the multiplied observations of the last fifty years. Geology thus born, could only, like other sciences, be developed by opposition; and this, fortunately, was not long wanting. A lively controversy was waged for a considerable period between the followers of Hutton and those of Werner, a German professor of mineralogy, on the merits of their respective theories—the latter school ascribing the formation of the ancient rocks of every description to chemical precipitates from a chaotic fluid, the followers of Werner being therefore named Neptunists; while the disciples of Hutton called in the agency of subterranean fires to account for the production of the crystalline or unstratified rocks, and the elevation of submarine strata, and were hence called Vulcanists. Werner, however, had the merit of first determining the order of the succession of rocks, in so far as their superposition could be ascertained within a limited

area, by their mineral characters. In the meantime, William Smith, a mineral surveyor, succeeded by a series of independent researches, pursued under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, in establishing the succession and relative antiquity of the secondary rocks in England by their organic contents. A new and efficacious instrument of investigation was thus placed for the first time in the hands of the geologist, enabling him to connect the vital with the physical phenomena of a science of the earth, and geology, now brought within the pale of inductive reasoning, ceased to be speculative and visionary. A neutral school took its rise in London in 1807, in the establishment of the Geological Society, the members of which formally agreed to abstain from theories, to devote themselves to the accumulation of facts and observations, and patiently to await the results at some future period. In the year following, France contributed its share to the infant science, by giving to the world the great work of Cuvier and Brogniart, on the organic remains found in the neighbourhood of Paris. Geology is therefore indebted to three different nations for its advancement, in the early part of the century, in three of its great branches of inquiry—to Germany, for accurate views of mineralogical geology; to England, for the classification of stratified rocks by their fossils; and to France, for the first light thrown upon the deposits of the tertiary period. The science has ever since been sedulously cultivated in Europe and America, and has grown with unexampled rapidity, every year adding to the breadth and stability of its foundations, and the depth and significance of its results. The observations promulgated by the founders of the science have been confirmed and extended over a large portion of the globe. The same kinds of rocks are found to recur in groups, with unfailling regularity, from the equator to the pole. By the study of the ancient forms of life, the geologist has been able to classify the stratified rocks into great life-periods, each characterized by forms of animals and plants peculiar to itself, yet all exhibiting recognizable features of a plan of structure, which, although subject to a boundless diversity of adaptations, shows that the laws of organization and of life were the same in the remotest epochs that they are now, and that the same infinite wisdom and goodness have been manifested in the creation and preservation of living beings in all ages. While geology confirms the testimony of revealed truth as to the comparatively recent period at which man appeared on the earth, it also affords unequivocal evidence of the previous existence of tribes of animals and plants, which were successively removed from the surface of

the globe, at intervals of inconceivable duration, and replaced by new races, suited to new physical conditions, and called into being by successive acts of creative power.

Apart from its philosophical interest as a science, geology possesses an economic value which is attracting the attention of the governments of Europe and America, and leading to the adoption of measures for rendering geological observation subservient to the development of mineral resources. The ordnance survey of the British Isles, which has been for many years in progress, now embraces the geological survey of the country, and the results are laid down in the ordnance maps. A museum of economic geology has been established in London along with a school of mines, to which is added a mining record office, where an account is kept of all subterranean operations, and the value of their products. Similar surveys have been in progress for many years in more than half of the United States. In private enterprise, much money is now saved to landed proprietors, which was formerly wasted upon efforts to discover coal in rocks, where the geologist would at once pronounce such a discovery to be impossible. Agriculture is also reaping solid benefits from the practical application of mineralogical geology to the improvement of the soil. The principles of the science have in like manner been made available in the construction of artesian wells. While in these and other ways geological science is ministering to our material prosperity, comfort, and health, the discoveries of the science are subjects of growing interest amongst all classes of the people. As a subject of study, geology ranks next to astronomy in the stupendous nature of the problems it presents to human inquiry. Its noblest triumphs are to be found in its contributions to natural theology, and the light which it reflects on the being and attributes of God. In no country has the science been cultivated with more zeal and success than in Great Britain; and the names of Lyell, Buckland, Murchison, Sedgwick, Phillips, Hopkins, Hugh Miller, and a host of others, will always be proudly associated with the period of our history, that witnessed the rise of the stately fabric of the modern geology.

In the period now under consideration (1830–1860), or rather from the commencement of the general peace which followed the downfall of Napoleon to the present day, enterprise, having for its object Geographical and Scientific research, acquired an unusual degree of vigour and persistence. Discovery, it might be supposed, must grow rare as the world grows old, and little remains to be discovered; but the fact is, that the world, considered as an object of inquiry, never

grows old: intellectual progress extending the range of vision, or changing the point of view, continually finds novelty in fields apparently exhausted.

When Great Britain in 1815 disbanded her army and reduced her navy, the pressure of the now unoccupied aspirants after fame and adventure was felt chiefly at the admiralty, and by the African Association. At the admiralty a secretary, fervently admiring the achievements of Hudson, Baffin, and Frobisher, and disposed to revive the long-exploded project of a north-west passage to India, aided with his influence the professional ardour which sought employment at any risk. The consequence was that four ships were fitted out in 1818, two to proceed to the North Pole, and two to Baffin's Bay, the latter expedition under the command of Captain John Ross, to endeavour to make their way to the Pacific. This was the first of a series of expeditions to the Polar regions, so remarkable in themselves, and through the force of circumstances so perseveringly, though unwillingly continued, as to deserve being recounted somewhat in detail.

Both these expeditions totally failed to discover the proposed passage, but as the existence of the range of mountains, said by Captain Ross to stretch across Lancaster Sound, and close it on the west, was denied by his officers, the disappointment in that quarter tended rather to inflame than to damp curiosity; and in the following year (1819), two ships were sent out under Parry, who had accompanied Ross, to repeat the attempt to penetrate through Lancaster Sound. At the same time Franklin, who with Buchan had sought in vain for an open sea about the North Pole, was sent overland from Hudson's Bay to explore the coasts eastward of the Coppermine River. Parry's expedition was remarkably successful. Though he did not make the passage to the Pacific, he crossed the meridian of 110° W., and obtained the £5000 voted by parliament for that feat. Franklin's party endured dreadful sufferings, which were ill compensated by the exploration of a few hundred miles of coast.

Encouraged by the popularity attending Parry's bold advance westwards, the government no longer hesitated to fit out expeditions for the Arctic regions. In 1821-23, the same officer examined Repulse Bay and the neighbouring shores. In 1823, a vessel, despatched to enable Captain Sabine to make experiments with the pendulum as near as possible to the pole, reached lat. $80^{\circ} 20' N$. In 1824 Captain Lyon sailed to examine Wager Inlet. In 1824-25, Parry commanded a third expedition, which had less success even than his second. At the same time

Franklin repeated, with better issue, his attempt to survey the northern coasts of the American continent, and was most effectually aided by Dr. Richardson. The boats of a vessel sent to the Polar Sea by Behring's Straits to co-operate with Franklin, traced in 1826-27 the coast of the continent eastward till within 150 miles of the most western point reached by that traveller. In 1827, Captain Parry started on his fourth voyage, his design being to travel over the ice from Spitzbergen to the pole, but he found it impossible to get beyond $82^{\circ} 45'$, as the ice drifted southwards, while he travelled over it in the opposite direction.

So many disappointments after a flush of success produced a revulsion of feeling, and the government now resolved not to equip any more Arctic expeditions. But Captain J. Ross, aided by private munificence, started in 1829, discovered the peninsula which he named Boothia Felix, and having spent three successive winters in the ice, returned in 1833. His long absence awakened public interest. Captain Back, sent to seek intelligence of him, descended the Great Fish River (1833-35), and in 1836 examined to little purpose the inlets on the northern side of Hudson's Bay. The Hudson's Bay Company also despatched an expedition in 1836-39, which fulfilled its purpose of completing the survey of the northern shores of the continent, from Behring's Straits to Boothia Felix, and the subsequent expedition of Dr. Rae from the same quarter carried this survey still further to the north.

The comparative success and small cost of the land expeditions, led by experienced fur-traders, proved the folly of sending out ships to winter in the ice, and it was generally understood that Arctic voyages were at an end, when it was announced, in 1845, that Sir J. Franklin was about to repeat the attempt to find the north-west passage. This expedition was probably conceded as a boon to the aged secretary of the admiralty on his bidding farewell to office. Three years elapsed and nothing was heard of this expedition; government then, aroused by the general alarm, sent forth three expeditions in search of the missing one, viz., one to Behring's Straits, that of Sir J. Richardson overland, and Sir James Ross to the Boothia peninsula. These were followed by the expeditions of Collinson and Maclure, of Austin and Ommaney, of Belcher and Kêllett, and finally of M'Clintock, besides several others not fitted out by the government. Maclure alone passed through from Behring's Straits to Baffin's Bay, and may thus be said to have discovered the north-west passage, and M'Clintock ascertained the fate of the missing ships: Sir J. Franklin died a natural death in the strait which bears his name, and his com-

panions, wintering in King William's Land, which was explored by James Ross in 1834, were destroyed by cold, hunger, and disease.

Thus in the course of forty years at least fifty ships were sent out with picked crews, and provisioned for two or three years, to solve a problem of no practical value. Their narratives, however, all bear witness to the energy and good discipline of the British navy. The expedition of Sir James Ross to the Antarctic regions in 1844, had for its object scientific observations, which determined approximately the position of the south magnetic pole.

The activity of the African Association was for obvious reasons less enduring. In 1818 the region south of Tripoli, extending to Murzuk and Ghât, was explored by Ritchie and Lyon, and the latter published a narrative containing much valuable information. It still remained, however, to cross the desert to Negroland. This was undertaken, in 1823, by Denham and Clapperton, who were well received by the ruler of Bornu, the first of these travellers penetrating southwards, while the other proceeded westwards to Haussa and Sokatu, the Fellatah capital. The latter point presenting peculiar attractions, Clapperton had no sooner returned, by way of Tripoli, from his first expedition, than he started on a second, to reach Sokatu from the coast of Guinea, and to trace the great river of that country, the Quorra, to the sea. The latter and more important part of the zealous traveller's plans was frustrated by his death, but his servant, Richard Lander, in returning to the coast, traced the river, which at the present day is popularly, but with very little reason, called the Niger (the Joliba of Park, who descended it to Boussa), to the Bight of Benin. Several attempts were made by Laing, Gray, Dochart, and others, to penetrate to the interior through the country of the Mandingoes, and the first-named of these travellers was murdered on his way from Twat to Timbuktu; but as none of these attempts had such results as would entitle them to more than a passing notice in a brief sketch, we hasten on to enterprises of more recent date, and of greater importance.

In 1847 Mr. Richardson, connected with the press in Malta, succeeded, by an excursion to Ghât, south-west of Tripoli, and by papers on the trade of that region, in attracting the notice of the foreign office, and his offer to lead an expedition to Bornu was accepted. Two Germans, Drs. Barth and Overweg, were charged with the scientific branches of the mission. After much waste of time and loss of property, the expedition arrived on the borders of Negroland, and there separated, its members pursuing each his own course. Richardson died soon after. Over-

weg lived to visit Tacoba, and to sail on Lake Tsad, but left at his decease no legible journal of his proceedings. All the objects of the expedition devolved therefore on Dr. Barth, in whom resolution and physical strength were fortunately united to a spirit of inquiry. He penetrated southwards to Adamawa, in lat. $8\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N., the most southern possession of the conquering Fellatah, crossing in his way the great river Benue, at its junction with the Faro. The Benue is the upper course of the large river which joins the Quorra in lat. $7^{\circ} 50'$, and which, through some mistake of its first discoverers, received the name of the Chadda. The discovery of a navigable stream flowing through the most fertile countries of Negroland, and easily accessible, was of vast importance, and measures have been taken to turn it to account.

Dr. Barth made an excursion to Baghirme, crossing two navigable streams, which fall united into Lake Tsad. He also spent a considerable time in Haussa, and in the Fellatah kingdom of Sokatu. He then travelled south-westwards to the Quorra, and crossing it took the southern road to Timbuktu, where he spent some months, and then returned along the northern bank of the river to Haussa and Bornu. The most curious of his multifarious chapters are, perhaps, those which describe the tribes of the desert and the mixed races of Asben.

For many years a trade of unknown extent has been carried on between the colony of the Cape of Good Hope and the native tribes scattered over the adjacent interior. The Cape traders are often absent for two years, and return from distances of which they take little account, with their waggons laden with skins and ivory. It is said that in 1837 a Boer drove his waggon to the Zambeze. All these travellers heard of the great lake in the interior; and when English sportsmen, incited by the example of Captain Harris, began to frequent the country of the Bechuana in pursuit of large game, it was easy to foresee the direction in which exploration would advance.

In 1849 the sportsmen Oswell and Murray, accompanied by the missionary Livingston, first reached the banks of the Lake Ngami. But then, as well as in the following year, they were defeated in the attempt to reach the country of great rivers, said to lie further north. In May, 1853, however, having vanquished all difficulties, they stood on the banks of the great river, which they then called the Sesheke, and conjectured to be identical with the Zambeze of the eastern coast. Animated by this conclusion, Livingston ascended the river (now called the Lœambye), towards the N.N.W., crossed the Casabi and Quango into Angola, and at Loanda, the capital

of the Portuguese colony, announced that he had discovered the Zambeze flowing through the middle of the continent. On his return to the interior down the Leeambye, in 1855, he descended this river to the falls, where it is dammed up by a rocky ledge, then went north-west over the highlands, till he came on the Zambeze, which he descended to the sea, and pronounced it to be navigable for large vessels to the interior. Having returned, however, to the Zambeze, in 1858, to complete his discoveries, he has ascertained that river to be navigable only in boats of light draught, and not much further than Tete. The connection of the Zambeze with the Leeambye remains still unproved.

The existence of a lake of great extent, from north to south, called Nyassi, on the eastern side of Africa, was proved in 1845 by Mr. Cooley, who produced, in 1852, a map showing the route to Ujiji, on the shores of the lake. The particulars collected by the missionaries near Mombas gave this inland sea an enormous extent. Thus magnified, and situate too, as it was supposed, in the famed region of Monomuzi, it is no wonder that it should attract travellers of the more enterprising and enduring class. In 1857, Captains Burton and Speke commenced their journey into the interior from the coast near Zanzibar, and after nearly eight months of severe toil, reached Ujiji, and navigated the lake, called by them Tanganyika. Captain Speke also visited another lake (Nyanza) lying to the north-east of the former, to which hearsay information attached much importance. It is to be feared that these travellers, unacquainted with the language of the natives, have too often made use of their experience only to decorate their own preconceived opinions. The country and great empire of Uniamoezi, described by them, is certainly unreal; and we hesitate in following them to the supposed southern limits of Lake Tanganyika, and the countries to the south-west. But they have unintentionally proved that there are no difficulties or dangers to be encountered in this part of Africa which a prudent traveller may not easily overcome.

Respecting Australia, we might briefly say that the discovery of its interior has been effected entirely during the last thirty years. If our acquaintance with that interior be still incomplete, yet it has advanced with astonishing rapidity. The mountains first explored by Hume, thirty years ago, are now thickly peopled with miners. The rivers Murray, Darling, and Murrumbidgee, now navigated, were discovered and traced downwards by Major Mitchell in 1836. In the glens of the granitic mountains, about the sources of these rivers, lie the auriferous deposits which have rendered Australia the richest gold-

producing country in the world, California alone being excepted. Eyre explored the whole southern plain from east to west. Sturt examined the desert interior north of Spencer's Gulf. Mitchell, and subsequently Leichhardt, explored vast tracts of comparatively good country on the eastern side. The western side was penetrated by the expedition of Grey and Lushington. Rae and others have surveyed the interior near Swan River; while Gregory has thoroughly examined the vicinity of the Gulf of Carpentaria and the northern shores.

The New World, it might be thought, is by this time fully known, and offers no longer any room for geographical discovery. Even the most inhospitable wilds of North America are constantly visited by the indefatigable hunter and fur-trader. But civilization, the main-spring of which is intercourse, requires exact knowledge, and therefore we feel justified in classing among new and important discoveries the survey recently made by Captain Palliser, between the Red River (flowing into Lake Winnipeg) and the shores of British Columbia, which has resulted in the discovery of more than one pass through the Rocky Mountains, in which the construction of a railway would be practicable. The line thus carefully surveyed cannot fall much short of 1500 miles in extent. As the auriferous veins or detritus which have stimulated so wonderfully the growth of California, and have raised St. Francisco in a little time to the rank of a rich and populous city, seem to extend also into British Columbia, and to hold out promises of rapid growth, the practicability of a railway communication with it across the continent is highly interesting and important.

To the same class of scientific labours, which completes the work of discovery, belongs the trigonometrical survey of the British Islands, which, growing continually more perfect in its execution, is now approaching completion. The triangulation of India, too, is complete, and embraces an arc of the meridian of sixteen degrees. It will materially aid in the construction of railways, which are destined to infuse new life into the industry of India.

Another branch of scientific labour, more closely allied to discovery, is that of the hydrographical surveyor, who is in general little taken notice of, though he works hard for the obvious benefit of mankind. It is a surprising fact, that within the last forty years probably not less than two-thirds of the accessible coasts of our terraqueous globe have been surveyed by officers of the British navy. We can speak with certainty as to the coasts of the British Islands, Newfoundland, the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, the shores of Arabia

and Africa, Australia and New Zealand, America (excepting the United States), the West Indian Islands, and several groups in the Pacific. The survey of the Chinese and Japanese Seas is now (1860) in progress. When the nature of this work is considered, the perseverance and skill required for its execution, and its permanent effect on general commerce and the welfare of the whole human race, it seems entitled to our highest admiration.

Hitherto we have contemplated the improvement of the sciences in their application to the arts of peace, and to the benefit of humanity at large. But we cannot yet flatter ourselves with the thought that the good has been wholly unalloyed; and while in some cases this improvement has merely ministered to the selfishness of our nature, in one striking instance it has been made the agent of man's vindictiveness and love of destruction. We allude, of course, to the changes of modern Warfare, by which it has been rendered more deadly and ruinous than ever, and the beginning of which we had occasion slightly to notice in our account of the campaigns of the Crimea and India. By the introduction of the Minié and Enfield rifle, a fearful certainty is given to the aim of the distant marksman; while against the destructive and far-reaching cannonade of the Armstrong and Whitworth artillery, it seems as if no human architecture could stand. We shudder as we read of the rifled cannon-ball winging its flight for miles, striking the object aimed at as if it had been but a few yards off, and crushing men and ramparts until its course is exhausted. While science has thus increased the range, and given certainty to the deadliness of the soldier's missiles, the electric telegraph has been brought into full play for the movements of the campaign and the operations of the battle-field, so that the plan at headquarters can be instantly communicated over the whole range of action. War as a science has been changed, but only by becoming tenfold more ruinous; and while the means of offence have been thus improving, the means of defence have been undergoing a correspondent alteration. On land, the ramparts of stone that were lately thought to be impregnable, are to be superseded by stronger and more scientific masonry, or exchanged for artificial mounds of earth, which artillery cannot shake; and steam-ships are already launched and ready for action, so completely covered with an armour of malleable iron, that the cannon-ball at certain angles rebounds from them without inflicting serious damage. And whither is this warlike revolution to conduct us? How is it to terminate? "In universal peace," is the hopeful reply. Men will no longer go forth to war when the certainty of being slain be-

comes absolute, and when little chance of personal distinction is left to them amidst the wholesale and indiscriminate carnage. In the meantime, one great advantage is secured by the change before the arrival of the millennial day. It is, that mere brute force and courage can no longer be the only available arm of warfare, or a civilized nation be overrun by one that is barbarous. Science is now the great military arbiter of the destiny of nations, and their civilization has become their best and surest protection. The glory and the triumphs of such conquerors as Attila, Tamerlane, and Genghiz Khan have for ever passed away.

We have thus simply indicated rather than described the intellectual tendencies of the present day. Feeling as if enough had already been achieved in general literature, and in the sciences of ethics and metaphysics, the mind has sought new worlds to conquer, and in the plenitude of its might and activity has laid hold of the physical sciences, in the assured confidence of a similar success. And this too, chiefly with a reference, not to the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity or restless mental activity, but practical and substantial results. The spirit of the age is eminently utilitarian, and not a particle of matter escapes its research with the view of turning it to a useful account. To abbreviate time and space by the wondrous agency of steam and electricity, to increase the measure and multiply the means of subsistence and comfort, to improve health and lengthen life—even to extinguish war by so enlarging its destructive agencies, as to make war itself a hateful and a losing game to all parties—these have been the chief attempts of the last thirty years, under which the world has been revolutionized, and a new career commenced, the end of which it is overwhelming to anticipate.

With such a tendency, and amidst such successes, it is not to be wondered at if the previous zeal for the cultivation of Literature should have suffered some abatement. While it was felt, indeed, on the one hand, that little more in this department was left to be done, it was found on the other, that new fields had been opened in the material world as interesting as those of the mental, and also more tangible and substantial, where the most refined intellect could find its proper objects of study, and ambition or philanthropy erect the best trophies of its success. A great and useful discovery in physics, by which the human race at large is to be benefited, is not imprisoned within a single language, or only appreciated by the highest in taste and intellect. If therefore we have fewer metaphysicians, critics, poets, moralists, historians, in the present than the preceding period, we can console our-

selves with the thought that it is because our master-intellects have found other fields of occupation, of which we are daily reaping the fruits. A new movement of the human mind has commenced, of which the present is the transition period between it and the old: and that period is chiefly occupied with those literary celebrities who either were the lights of the former generation, or whose aptitudes are more for literary than scientific research. We had till lately, and in unabated vigour, the octogenarian De Quincey, whose eloquent writings in every literary department extended over half a century; and Leigh Hunt, who, as political writer, journalist, poet, and essayist, delighted two generations and the boyhood of a third; and Lord Macaulay, who, after a brilliant career as statesman, orator, biographer, essayist, and reviewer, achieved for himself his last and highest distinction as an historian of England. But the most eminent of them all, as well as their concentration, is the venerable Lord Brougham, that living connecting link between the old intellectual world and the new, who after winning the highest distinction in the literature of the one, has advanced into the science of the other with an ardour and activity still unabated and unchecked. Then we have Thomas Carlyle, the merciless iconoclast of idol theories and modern philosophical paganism; and the Duke of Argyll, the able expounder and advocate of physical science; and Mr. Gladstone, the eloquent denouncer of that Neapolitan tyranny which has formed so strong a barrier against Italian regeneration. Many other names might be given to prove that the spirit of literature has not yet died among us, and that its lustre is only overcast for the time by the inauguration of a new era, and the more popular character of its pursuits. Of these, we shall only mention the names of Froude, Grote, Napier, Dr. Arnold, and Alison, in history, and Lord Campbell in biography, as sufficient to be suggestive of others. In biography, indeed, there will never be a lack of authorship, as long as eminent men exist, or friends and relatives to embalm their memory; and hence the monthly issues from the press of "Lives" and "Memoirs" in unabated profusion, and with all their former variety of excellencies and defects. The same plentiful supplies continue in the departments of classical, theological, and antiquarian learning, and also in light or miscellaneous periodical writing; for these are departments which will continue to be loved and prosecuted for their own sake to the end: but even in these we miss such high names as aggrandized them some thirty years ago, or at least, we feel no such interest in finding them out, and holding them up as the lights and guides of the day. In reading over the lists of living authors, there is

one peculiarity that cannot fail to strike even the most unobservant. It is the great number of female names as compared with any former period. Nor are these confined as before to the merely imaginative departments, to novel writing and poetry, but are extended over those from which they had been formerly excluded; so that in biography, history, and the fine arts, in antiquarianism, even in theology, ladies are distinguishing themselves by their writings, and commanding the homage of that sex into whose exclusive province they have so worthily entered. Well is it that woman is thus showing herself a "help meet for man," let man become as learned and intellectual as he may! A new era for the sex is dawning, and woman's full rights as well as her true mission are beginning to be better understood.

Although science has now obtained the predominance over literature, one literary department is still left not only undiminished, but of greater influence than ever. Man is not only an imaginative being, but his imagination, as it is the earliest, is also the strongest of all his intellectual faculties, and let whatever study predominate for the time, its cravings must be satisfied. As this faculty also is so generally inherent, even where the others may be scanty or inert, every one must have an ideal world of his own, to which he can retire from the daily toil and dull realities of the present; and whether it may be the minstrel's ballad or the impersonations of the actor, the romance, the allegory, or the tale, it is the resting-place upon which he falls back, according to his own particular tastes and capacities. But in the advance of society to its present point, many of these resources have necessarily dropped off at each stage of progress, while invention was unable to discover something new to substitute in its stead. Thus the troubadour passed away; thus the romance was flung aside as a dull absurdity; thus, too, even the drama has ceased to charm, and its "beggary account of empty boxes" been converted into firewood. And what then remains? The novel, and nothing but the novel. It alone has survived, because its fictions were founded upon reality, and not upon giants, knights, and enchanters, incredible loves and battles, and impossible reverses; and it continues to increase as a literary power by how much it combines high feelings and startling incidents with the character of reality and truthfulness. These circumstances will account for the present prevalence of novel writing beyond any former precedent, and for the high standard that has been imposed upon it. Almost every man and woman—nay, almost every child, is more or less a novel reader, and must have novels worth reading. The demand of course

has created a correspondent supply, and the ablest intellects of the day write novels. Hackneyed plots and dull frivolities will no longer be tolerated, and therefore the novel, while an attractive tale and a true picture of life, must also instruct, purify, and elevate. In consequence of this demand, almost every theory of history, politics, morals, theology, science, is to be found incorporated in the novels of the present day, and illustrated with an eloquence, clearness, and impressiveness to which learned formal essays cannot always attain.

As the novelists of the present period are so numerous, a list of even the principal writers in this department would exceed our limits. But this becomes the less necessary, as they are so generally known and appreciated. Foremost, perhaps, in the list may be mentioned the name of Charles Dickens, who, under the homely name of Boz, took the public by storm in his well-known publication of the *Pickwick Papers*, and has maintained his popularity unabated to the present hour. Of scarcely inferior note is W. M. Thackeray, whose vigorous sketches of life and character are heightened with the reflectiveness of Fielding, and almost the causticity of Swift, and who, with greater toleration for the weaknesses of humanity, and a higher enthusiasm for its merits, might perhaps be more popular still. Then, we have Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, the statesman as well as novelist, who at an early period of life commenced a brilliant career by his first popular work, *Pelham*; who continued for a time to be the delineator and eulogist of fashionable coxcombs and essenced *roués*; but who afterwards forsook these heroes of his youth, for characters of a higher stamp, and subjects of a more ennobling character. One of our most distinguished novelists, also, is Benjamin D'Israeli, whose name has already so often occurred in our pages but under a different capacity—who, like Bulwer, was a writer of novels before he became a statesman, and whose favourite themes have been the grandeur of the Jewish race, and the high destinies that yet await them. All these writers achieved a high reputation while still young, and have continued to maintain their pre-eminence against a whole world of competition, so that the annunciation of a new work from any of them is enough to set the whole novel-reading world on tiptoe. Of the names inferior to these of the first rank, we can only mention Kingsley, Warren, Collins, Reed, James, Carleton, Lever, Lover, Grant, Ainsworth, Anthony Trollope—the popularity of whose works is attested at every railway station, and which are almost as common in the hand of every traveller as the railway ticket. But further we will not attempt to enumerate, as

the list would otherwise “stretch out till the crack of doom.” In an age of such female intellectual activity, and in a department where ladies are so fitted to excel, by their quickness of observation, tact, and delicacy, they fully divide the popular estimation with the other sex, and assert their equality in talent, however different in kind. Of these female novelists, the first place is due to Charlotte Brontë, whose writings exhibit a wonderful combination of masculine vigour with feminine delicacy; Miss Mulock, who is equally at home in the ages of romance and the scenes of modern everyday action; Mrs. Gore, the prolific delineator of all the lights and shadows of fashionable life; Mrs. Marsh, whose well-known series commenced with *Amelia Wyndham*; Miss Evans, the author of *Adam Bede*; and though last, not of secondary account, Mrs. Trollope, who delighted the previous as well as the present generation by the *vis comica* of her caricature sketches. But here, also, we must abruptly close the list against the crowd of coming names all more or less worthy of notice. Our scantiness of enumeration, however, both of male and female novelists is the less to be blamed, when we remember how rapidly such names rise into notice, and how quickly they disappear and are forgot. This species of writing, as it is the most common and prolific of all literary reputations, is also the most evanescent. The novel is read and the amusement is gone. The author's aim was perhaps nothing more than to amuse, and he has had his reward. The tale of yesterday can no longer call us back when the tale of to-day is at hand.

In the foregoing period of our history, the chief amount of literary effort was bestowed upon periodical literature, in which department the highest place was occupied by the monthly magazines and quarterly reviews. These were the arbitrary dictators and influential guides of the past generation, not only in literary but political opinions, while the *prestige* they had won was well supported by the high names and superior talent which these publications were able to command. But much of this influence has passed away, partly through the elevation of the general intellect which they mainly contributed to effect, and partly by the diversion of the public tendency into different channels. The intellectual impatience of the age, also, which has been so largely increased by telegraphic communication and railway travelling, will no longer contentedly wait for three long months, or even a single month, to learn the oracular verdict of the magazine upon events which are passing at railway speed. Still, however, the power of habit remains, although the interest in these publications has abated, and readers cannot

lightly abandon the periodical from which their literary bias was derived, and their views of men and books established; and therefore these works continue to issue from the press, although with a diminished circulation. Of the quarterly journals, there are at present 35, and of the monthly magazines about 300, published throughout the United Kingdom.

But the great literary power which now predominates beyond all others, not only in Britain, but over the whole civilized world, is the *NEWSPAPER*. This, which has been called the Fourth Estate in our own country, and which has frequently a voice more potential in the government of the kingdom than that of king, lords, and commons united, may also justly be termed the *maire de palais* of despotic monarchies, and the tribune of republics. It is not to be wondered at, also, that this ominous broadsheet should be so all-prevalent in its influence, when we remember its origin and its uses. In its rudest state it is the voice of a government announcing its will to the public, and instructing the subject in his duties. Going higher still, it becomes the expression of the popular voice to the rulers, proclaiming the public wants and wishes, and upon what terms the people are willing to submit to rule. In this way it is the barometer of the political horizon, in which statesmen can read the propriety of their measures, or be warned of disaster and change. It is nothing more than natural, therefore, that in an age of general intelligence, and with such abundant means of printing and transmission, there should be newspapers in almost every language; and that these should chiefly consist of a daily or weekly history of the government, and popular comments upon its proceedings. It is equally natural that such means of general intelligence should be regarded by rulers with a suspicious eye, and this especially when the rule is unpopular, or when some aggression upon the liberties of the people is attempted. When such an attack is to be made upon the popular rights, the first step of the usurpation is to arrest the journals, while on the other side the "liberty of the press!" is the first war-cry of resistance. Such being the nature and importance of the newspaper, it could not be otherwise than that Britain should become its indigenous soil—that there it should take root and flourish—and that having attained such pre-eminence, it should comprise among its contributors so large a proportion of the intellect of the day. But it is not merely as a great source of political intelligence, and exponent of national or party feeling, that the newspaper is valued among us. As a commercial country the interests of Great Britain are identified more or less with every land, and

without prompt regular tidings from all their markets, our national resources and mercantile enterprise would be alike suspended. And even to those who are indifferent to politics or commerce, the newspaper is so essential, that like other regularly used luxuries, it has become a necessary of life. It comprises not only the news of the whole world and the whole empire, but also of the particular town or district which each reader inhabits; and its columns satisfy the curiosity with which he awakes in the morning, and furnish him with topics of conversation for the day. On these accounts, the absence of his broadsheet would be almost equal to the loss of his breakfast. While among the literary and intellectual no kind of reading is taken up with greater zest or punctuality, there are tens of thousands who may be said to read nothing else, and whose intelligence, such as it is, has been derived chiefly from the newspaper.

As a free constitution and the liberty of the press are so essential to the existence of this department of journalism, Britain and the United States of America are naturally the countries in which newspapers are most abundant. In France they would be far more abundant than in either of those countries, in consequence of the restlessness of the national character, and the rapid important changes of the government, were it not for those numerous restrictions under which they are so often coerced by the ruling powers. The origin of the newspaper in England was generally supposed to have been in 1588, the epoch of the Spanish Armada, and that the *English Mercurie* was then published by order of Queen Elizabeth, to allay the popular alarm; but late inquiry has shown that this report is a fiction, and that the specimen of the *Mercurie* preserved in the British Museum is a literary forgery. It was not till the beginning of the seventeenth century that newspapers were issued in England, under the name of a "pamphlet of news," at first irregularly and at long intervals, until the reign of Charles I., and the civil war which ended in the establishment of the Commonwealth, brought the spirit of journalism into its natural activity. Even then, the influence of this powerful political weapon was appreciated, and the two great parties in the state had their rival newspapers, of which the spirit was as keen, and the language more violent, coarse, and abusive, than would be tolerated in the present day. But it was at the accession of Queen Anne, when talent was so abundant, and public events of such importance, that the newspaper acquired that high political ascendancy which has been going on to the present hour. It was in her reign, also, that the first tax was laid upon the newspaper. Ostensibly, it was as a fruitful source of revenue

that the government stamp was imposed upon it; but the real design was, the suppression of libellous articles and attacks upon the ruling powers. The duty imposed was a halfpenny upon papers of half a sheet and less, and a penny upon those which ranged from a half to a single sheet, and it commenced operation on the 19th of July, 1712. But this attempt to suppress the liberty only increased the license of the press; and it was soon found, that the most profitable of all martyrdoms, as well as the best chance of popular distinction, was to incur the penalty of fine or imprisonment for libelling the powers that be. It also provoked a variety of fraudulent attempts to elude the tax, which had risen from a halfpenny and a penny to fourpence. This was especially between the years 1831 and 1835, when scores of unstamped newspapers had started up, inculcating republican doctrines and revolutionary violence, and when the number of prosecutions for such offences was more than 700, in the course of which nearly 500 persons had been punished with imprisonment. In short, it was found out that this tax upon knowledge was not only useless but pernicious, and that at best, a revenue of £553,000 from 36,000,000 stamped newspapers annually, was but a poor compensation for the mischief. In 1836, therefore, the tax was reduced from fourpence to a penny, and on the 15th of June, 1855, was wholly repealed. Thus was the public press set free after the restraint had lasted 143 years, and been from the first a plentiful source of demoralization, crowded jails, and popular discontent. The effect of this repeal of the tax on newspapers was, that eighty new ones were established in 1855, and twenty-seven in 1856, of which twenty-six were metropolitan and eighty-one provincial. In 1857 the total number of newspapers published throughout the United Kingdom was 711, of which 289 were on the side of liberal politics, 173 conservative, 246 neutral, and 3 democratical.

In that department of the history of progress in English literature which we devoted to Poetry and Poets, we found the subject so abundant, especially during the last of the preceding periods, comprising the close of the reign of George III., and the whole of that of his successor, that it seemed to bear an undue proportion to the other literary departments. But this was inevitable on account of the poetical richness which forms so essential a characteristic of the English mind. What country, indeed, at least in the whole range of modern history, has produced poets in such abundance, and poetry of such excellence? Athens had her era of Pericles, and Rome the reign of Augustus, and these were sufficient to make the poetical renown of either country imperishable; but England has enjoyed not one

but four great poetical epochs, each of highest excellence in its especial characteristics. This was much, especially when we remember that poetry, instead of being a perennial flower, is like the aloe, which blossoms only once in a hundred years, and often not more than once during its whole existence. And has the bright tree of England been exhausted by four centuries of periodic exuberance? Even if it must be so, there would be little room for dissatisfaction or complaint. The eras of Chaucer and Gower, of Spenser and Shakspeare, of Milton and Dryden, of Wordsworth and Byron, have each of them a mighty influence and a deathless remembrance, so that our country can afford to hang her well-worn harp upon the wall, and give place to younger nations. That harp, indeed, is still heard, but it is only in the echoes of its latest notes, or in the murmur of the wind through its strings. Such, compared with that of thirty or forty years ago, is the poetry that still lingers among us, and a few sentences will suffice for its notice.

The first name we select among the poets of the present period is that of Lord Macaulay, with whom poetry was but a recreation from more absorbing studies by which his fame will be more lastingly perpetuated. His poetical productions, which are few, under the titles of "Lays of Rome," and "Lays of the Huguenots," are characterized by that rich imagination, delicate taste, and mastery of language which distinguish his prose productions, and show that his lordship might have become eminent in poetry, if it had formed his chief pursuit, instead of an occasional amusement. Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, besides being one of our most distinguished novelists, has also won what may prove a more permanent reputation as a poet, so that his satires on fashionable life, his plays of the "Lady of Lyons," "Duchess de la Valliere," "Richelieu," and his romance-epic of "King Arthur," will probably be perused after his novels have been superseded by others of fresher date. We had also a popular dramatic author in Thomas Noon Talford, whose three productions, the "Athenian Captive," "Ion," and the "Massacre of Glencoe," the first two being constructed on the classical model, were among the last flashes of the national dramatic spirit, and seemed only given forth to grace its final extinction. Superior perhaps in real poetical power to any of these, and who might have won a still higher place but for the nature of his subject, is Bailey, the author of "Festus." This large production, imbued with the metaphysical spirit of Goethe's "Faust" and Wordsworth's "Excursion," is a daring inroad upon the present established order of things, and prophetic anticipations of a social;

political, and moral millennium for the world; but although the ambitious character of the subject, and the vivid original poetry by which it was illustrated, made it to be hailed by a few chosen admirers as the dawn of a new poetic era, "Festus" has failed to justify these expectations, and is now almost unread. Of these poets of the day, however, it scarcely can be said that any of them would have won even a second place in that bright constellation which had previously faded away into the daylight of its renown. After these, may be mentioned without particular note, Coventry Patmore, author of the "Angel in the House;" James Ayton, professor of rhetoric in the university of Edinburgh, author of "Lays of the Cavaliers;" W. R. Jamieson, author of "Nimrod," a dramatic poem; Robert Browning, author of "Bells and Pomegranates," and "Paracelsus;" and R. H. Horne, author of "Orion," a drama, and "Ballads and Romances." We might even add to the number by the names of poets still less distinguished, but that their distinction is of too limited and temporary a character to entitle them to commemoration. It happened, unfortunately for them, that they appeared at a time when the standard of poetical excellence had been raised so high, and the public mind sated with the previous profusion. It was still more unfortunate for them that they were born in such an age of utilitarianism and physical science, when even the "winged words" of poetry were outstripped by the messages of the electric telegraph, and their music drowned by the thunder of the steam-engine and the shriek of the railway whistle. But is there nothing poetical in this utilitarianism? It is the very soul and life of poetry—poetry in action instead of mere dream and reverie. The spirit is not dead; it is only changed into a nobler form, and exalted to a higher sphere. Even the railway and the electric telegraph are magnificent epics, which nothing but the highest imagination could have conceived; an Iliad has been fought in India by Havelock and Clyde, and an Odyssey travelled in Central Africa by Dr. Livingston. Such is the form which poetry has assumed among us, and by which even the wonders of past imaginations have been embodied into act and reality. It is poetry performed not written—expressed in deeds not words; and when it returns to its earlier form, the change will be indicative of a season of rest, either through utter exhaustion, or as a preparation for fresh activity.

In the preceding enumeration of the poets of this period, it will be seen that one name has been omitted, and this the most distinguished of them all. He alone is the link that connects the present day with the yesterday in which Wordsworth,

Scott, Campbell, Coleridge, and Byron dwelt among us, and as such, he well deserves the distinction of a separate notice. Alfred Tennyson is our one great poet, and in him the qualities that distinguished several of his great predecessors constitute a combination of excellence that worthily entitles him to his present pre-eminence. The public career of Tennyson commenced in 1830, when he was little more than twenty years of age, with a volume under the unattractive title of "Poems, chiefly Lyrical;" but this, and subsequent attempts, notwithstanding their high merit, failed at first to secure the public notice. It was only by the steady perseverance of a mind loving poetry for its own sake that he was enabled to overcome this general indifference; and when the suffrage of the world was at last won in his behalf, the measure of its admiration made ample amends for previous neglect. Tennyson's chief poems are "The Princess," "In Memoriam," and "Maud," and his last and most popular, the "Idylls of the King." In quantity, his productions are comparatively scanty, extending as they do over a period of thirty years; but they are distinguished by a carefulness of thought, a melody of versification, and happy selection of language, which indicate the anxious study bestowed on them, so that their appearance is only after long intervals of constant meditation and revision. Their spirit also is impressed, through such a long-sustained process of study, with a solemn melancholy, mixed with profound thoughts and earnest spiritual aspirations, that constitute the chief secret of their attractiveness and popularity. Not the least triumph of Tennyson's genius is, that he has adopted an old worn-out subject and contrived to invest it with new youth, beauty, and attractiveness. It is the subject of chivalry, and not the chivalry of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, when it was purified from its old rudeness and extravagance, and ennobled by the refinements of modern civilization; but the chivalry of the days of the French paladins of Charlemagne and British heroes of the Round Table—the days of errant knights, giants, dwarfs, dark forests, and flying dragons. It was thought that Tasso and Ariosto had exhausted these themes; that Sir Richard Blackmore had made them contemptible; that Cervantes had laughed them out of existence; and that the failure of even Sir Walter Scott to resuscitate them in his "Bridal of Triermain," had stamped the attempt of revival as a hopeless impossibility. But even this wondrous emprise our new poet has successfully achieved. In some of his smaller experimental attempts, and especially in his latest work, the "Idylls of the King," he has recalled from the dust of their graves King Arthur and his queen Guin-

ever, the bold knights Launcelot, Tristrem, and Galahad, Merlin the mighty enchanter, and the soldier-pilgrims of the San Graal, and clothed them with such reality and beauty, that we follow their steps and sympathize in their destinies as if they were the heroes of a present life, instead of the dreams and ghosts of an early world and barbarous state of society. In this manner to recall the dead, and invest them with fresh interest and attractiveness, was a greater feat than to create a new theme, and people it with correspondent characters. But he has succeeded because he has identified his old heroes with the feelings of modern life, and animated them with the highest aims and purest aspirations of the present day, and this too without violating the truthfulness of the picture. King Arthur is a model sovereign for the nineteenth century, and yet not less the prince of the Round Table and Pendragon of ancient Britain; and his knights become the noblest of modern gentlemen by merely unbuckling and laying aside their armour. And thus too with his heroines, so that our modern ladies can weep over the sufferings of Enid and Elaine, or kindle with indignation at the heartlessness of Guinever. Should the twentieth century produce for us a new race of poets as well as a new world, will they be as fortunate in the selection of their themes, and their treatment of them, as Alfred Tennyson?

Of the resources upon which the literature of Britain is mainly dependent, we have hitherto given no account. It will at once however be seen that, without the extraneous aid of Public Libraries, the national authorship would be reduced to very limited dimensions. For works of general scholarship, and requiring extensive research, no private collection of books would be sufficient, and even the novel or the newspaper must be sustained from other sources than the writer's imagination. But here, every literary want is supplied by the public libraries, and the liberal principles upon which they are conducted; and the student in every department of the wide range of science and literature can there find his appropriate source of information. The oldest of these great national treasures of knowledge were the libraries of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford; but independently of these, there are spread over the kingdom extensive book collections, either the property of public bodies, or the bequests of individuals, to which access can be obtained by the studious, and the resources of which are coming more into daily demand and use. For the conservation also of knowledge, and of every book worth preserving, a law was passed so early as the reign of Queen Anne, by which eleven copies of every new work entered in Stationers' Hall were presented to as

many of the chief public libraries, especially those of our universities, until A.D. 1835, when in six of these cases the privilege was rescinded, an annual sum being paid to them out of the consolidated fund by way of compensation. It was a relief not only to the publishers, who found this tax of eleven copies a serious drawback upon their profits, but to the colleges themselves, that were beginning to be deluged and all but swamped by the widening flood-gates of modern authorship.

But what may be called exclusively the great national library, on account of the magnitude and value of its collection, and the uses to which it is applied, is the library of the British Museum. Containing nearly 600,000 volumes, and 40,000 MSS., it is one of the most valuable literary collections in Europe, and in point of the number of its volumes, only second to the Imperial Library of Paris. Of these, 220,000 volumes were from gift or bequeathment, the first donor being Sir Hans Sloane, the originator of the British Museum. His bequest was followed by the royal donation of George II., who conferred upon the library, by grant under the great seal, the library of the Kings of England collected from the time of Henry VII., and manuscripts from a much earlier period; by that of George III., who enriched it with a wonderful collection of 34,000 pamphlets, contained in 2220 volumes, published in England between the years 1640 and 1660; and by that of George IV., who bestowed upon it the royal library collected by his father. Not less bountiful were the private donors, who are too numerous to particularize, one of the latest of whom was the Right Honourable Thomas Grenville, who, in 1846, left by bequest 20,240 volumes, valued at upwards of £54,000, to the Museum library. But besides these donations, the library still retains its right to a copy of every book entered in Stationers' Hall, and makes purchases of valuable libraries throughout Europe, these additions forming an increase of about 13,000 volumes annually.

So immense an accumulation in every language, of every period, and upon every department of human study, is adequately furnished for the purposes it was designed to serve, and the accommodation of those who use it. An ample reading-room, properly lighted and heated, well served by a numerous staff of attendants, and provided with all the apparatus for reading and writing, leaves the student no cause to regret that by the rules of the institution, he can only use the books within the premises, instead of carrying them to his own home. Equally liberal also are the terms of admission, so that with a simple recommendation from some literary person or even known respectable householder, an applicant is at once admitted to the full use and range of the

collection, let his rank, station, or country be what it may. Here, then, the chief amount of British authorship is daily, weekly, and yearly to be found collected, the veritable living men and women whose names only are known in the provinces, and regarded with veneration or wonderment; and here those works are elaborated which swarm from the press with an abundance and facility at which our ancestors would have been astonished. As intellect also is of no sex, here may be found among the hundreds who regularly assemble within that crystal dome, ladies mingled with gentlemen, but each pursuing his or her separate task apparently unconscious of the presence of another. One is extracting notes from a pile of volumes, or carrying on a hunt of hours or days after a stray fact, date, or name. Another is transcribing from an old smoke-dried or half-burned MS., which none can read but himself. Another is dashing on with pen in full career, and against time, in the lighter departments of literature, where imagination is half the game, and where the work of research is confined to an occasional glance at two or three volumes lying before him. What strange varieties of country, of station, of physiognomy, of intellectual occupation meet within these walls; and what results are there produced, from the ponderous folio to the fugitive essay or tale! No conversation the while—no whispering—nothing is heard but the slight rustle of the pen upon paper, or the occasional roll of the truck-wheels along the oaken floor, conveying volumes too heavy to be carried—while foreigners, astonished at such silence among so great a multitude, cannot comprehend how mind can possibly live in such an atmosphere. But it is a true British characteristic; and like the awful silence of a British battle-charge, it is the expression of confirmed, concentrated resolve. After the library of the Museum, it is the less necessary to mention the other libraries of London, conducted as they are upon a more exclusive principle, and where the books, instead of being studied upon the premises, are lent to the applicants under special recommendation. The chief of these are the Lambeth Palace, Sion College, and Red Cross Street libraries.

While England and the capital are so extensively supplied with the means of study, the literature of Scotland, although not so fortunate in royal and noble donations, has also its collections, under which the authorship of the north has grown and expanded to its present ripeness. And first of these is the Library of Advocates at Edinburgh, which was commenced in 1680, and which, of all the other Scottish libraries, still retains its right to a copy of every work entered in Stationers' Hall. Besides resembling the lib-

rary of the British Museum in this particular case, the Advocates' Library is also open to the studious, who, with a proper introduction, have free access to all its contents. As might be expected, it is especially rich in works of law; but besides this department, it possesses a valuable store of old Scottish poetry and Spanish literature. In 1849 its total amount of printed volumes amounted to 148,000, which in 1857 had increased to 172,000; and besides these, it has 2000 volumes of MSS., valuable in the civil, but especially the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. Similar to that of the Advocates', is the Library of the Writers to the Signet, containing 45,000 volumes. Still more abundant in its catalogue than the foregoing, is that of the Library of the University of Edinburgh, which possesses 100,000 volumes; but its chief value consists of its collections in every department of medical science. Such were the resources from which, in former years, and especially the earlier part of the present century, Scottish authorship principally drew its supplies, and Edinburgh became the Athens of the literary world. But the centralizing power of London, which has so greatly increased of late years, is especially manifested upon the literature of Scotland, by attracting within its own world the greater part of our northern authorship, so that the public libraries of Edinburgh and the Scottish colleges are less frequented than before.

In turning our attention to the progress of the Fine Arts, the department of Painting demands especial notice. During the preceding period, the talent and great power of execution displayed in some of the large works of Hilton, Etty, and Haydon seemed to justify the expectation of the lovers of art, that a school of grand historical painting worthy of the British nation was at last to be established among us. But this cherished hope has not as yet been realized; the advance in this the highest walk of art has not been commensurate with the progress in its other departments. The cause of this short-coming, however, is certainly not to be traced to deficiency of genius, but the want of adequate encouragement. Talents of the highest order, devoted to a production which demands the labour of years, require the fostering patronage both of church and state; and it has chiefly been by such aid that the schools of historical painting on the Continent have risen to their present eminence. But Protestantism discountenances the artistic delineation of sacred subjects, and its places of worship exclude them; while our government has only been lately awakened to the duty of encouraging the fine arts, and that, mainly, on account of their connection with our mercantile prosperity. Hence it is, that so few grand historical or scrip-

tural pictures have been produced. Another cause of this discouragement is to be traced to the scale upon which our historical paintings were generally executed. Among our artists the feeling seemed to be prevalent, that vastness of scale was necessary for the proper development of a grand historical subject, until, as in many of the works of Haydon and Etty, the human figure attained such colossal proportions, that the size of the pictures totally unfitted them for the walls of a private mansion. Our civic and public buildings also, which might have displayed them with propriety and effect, continued to have their halls unadorned with works of art, or occupied solely with the portraits of their founders and benefactors. The consequence was, that these productions remained unsold, or went a begging for purchasers at wholly unremunerative prices.

While the highest department of art was thus discouraged, an event occurred that promised to inaugurate a new era in its history, and prepare it for a fresh career. Mention has already been made of the destruction of both Houses of Parliament by fire on the 16th of October, 1834. As it was necessary to erect new buildings for the seat of legislation, it was resolved that these should comport with the grandeur of Britain in the nineteenth century, and be an enduring monument to future ages of its wealth, power, and attainments. For such a purpose the fine arts were essential; and accordingly, in 1841, a royal commission was appointed to consider how far the national edifice might be made conducive to their encouragement and advancement. The commissioners decided that the houses should be decorated with paintings in *fresco*; and in order to obtain a fair estimate of the talent that might be called forth, so that their patronage might be justly distributed, they instituted a series of competitive exhibitions. The first of these, a competition in cartoons (the preparatory designs for fresco painting), took place in Westminster Hall in 1843. The subjects selected were from history and poetry, and the figures were of life size. Eleven premiums were offered, and the trial was so satisfactory, that the number of premiums fell greatly short of the number of approved productions. In 1844 a competition in fresco painting and in sculpture was equally satisfactory; and in 1845 the actual frescoes were exhibited from six given subjects. These trials were followed in 1847 by a competition in oil painting, which was also considered to be successful. Such were the means employed by the commissioners to test the powers of our native artists in a method of painting which they had not hitherto practised. Throughout all the competitions, the premiums, with some two or three exceptions, were awarded to young, and at that time comparatively un-

known artists, few of established reputation having taken part in the competition. Such was the result of one portion of the plan of the commissioners, which, in its whole extent, comprehended a vast scheme, in which painters, sculptors, and decorators of every kind should be employed, and the fine arts developed and advanced in all their different departments. The establishment of painting in fresco as an ordinary and familiar method with our artists, which it has so greatly tended to promote, is of itself no mean achievement in the progress of British art. It is true, indeed, that in the paintings for the houses, little has as yet been effected, the few frescoes already executed being but a small portion of the contemplated work, while most of them have failed to become popular. But it is not difficult to account for this disappointment. Of the subjects, some have been selected from so remote a period of our history, that the public no longer remembers them, or has ceased to sympathize in them; while others are mere idealisms or allegories, which none but the designer can understand or the interpreter explain. Still we do not, and we need not, despair. The failure, if failure there has been, is only temporary. The spirit that has been awakened, and the national encouragement by which it is animated, will, we doubt not, so advance the art of historical painting among us, as to exalt our artists, at least to an equality in this department with those of Germany and France. The effect of the competitions for the adornment of the Westminster Palace is not to be estimated from the pictures on the walls alone, but from the impulse it has conveyed and the emulation it has kindled. It is much that the fine arts should at length have found such a great national field for their arena of trial and display, with a whole nation for the on-lookers and rewarders.

While the progress of historical painting, taking the term in its highest sense, was so inadequate, and its sphere so limited, it was natural that artists who would have chosen this department, should seek a safer and more remunerative outlet for their particular tendencies. Those therefore who devoted themselves to the delineation of the human figure, and the expression of human action and passion, betook themselves to scenes of domestic interest, or the illustration of the poems and novels of the most popular writers. In this way, the works of Shakspeare, Milton, Cervantes, Molière, Le Sage, Goldsmith, Scott, &c., which afforded so ample a scope, were largely drawn upon by our artists. But latterly this profusion had somewhat sated the public taste; a general craving followed for something more fresh and original; and the artists themselves were ready to

respond to the call, by entering into a wider field, and illustrating the drama of life with a deeper comprehension of its universal interest and boundless variety. Instead, therefore, of painting at second hand the ideas of life and action as presented by certain favourite authors, they now aim at original illustrations of the ever-varying phases of society. Many pictures have thus been produced of late years full of profound thought, tender pathos, cheerful vivacity, and quiet humour, honourable alike to the just appreciation of human nature, and the high professional skill of those who produced them.

Independently of this original spirit in design, a great advance in precision of drawing and carefulness of execution has been accomplished during the last thirty years. Among some of the most successful artists of the early part of the present period, and particularly those of the Scottish school, the necessity of definite drawing and correct detail seemed to be held in little account. This was especially the case in landscape painting, where a loose generalization was adopted, which, though not seldom productive of a highly poetical expression, fostered a careless and slovenly style of execution among younger artists, and greatly tended to vitiate the public taste. But, happily, the representatives of a more correct school of art predominated, men who could draw with accuracy and precision; and since their example obtained the ascendancy, the evil has been checked, and the current turned into the right direction. Thus, the drawing of the British school is already greatly in advance of its former position; and although to correctness of form greatness of style has yet to be added, we doubt not that the onward progress of taste will soon lead to this more difficult attainment.

At this point we may advert to a new system of art that has arisen among us, by which further progress in poetical creations of beauty and grandeur has been threatened with a most unwelcome impediment. We allude to what is called pre-Raphaelitism, the great artistic heresy of the present day. A knot of painters, who assumed the singularly inappropriate name of pre-Raphaelites, have propounded, both by their paintings and writings, such principles of art as would reduce the artist to the most prosaic of mortals. The veritable Italian pre-Raphaelites at the end of the fifteenth century were the most ideal of painters; their modern representatives are the most material and naturalistic. In opposition to the imaginative in painting, which, in addition to poetic conception, demands selection of objects, harmony of arrangement, and all the graces of style, the pre-Raphaelites of the modern school taught that nature in its most material and ungainly forms was to be copied

with implicit exactness. In their first productions this doctrine was rigidly fulfilled; and the public were astounded by pictures in which the total absence of beauty of form or the graces of composition were combined with the most pains-taking accuracy of detail and excessive minuteness of finish, and in which accessories, hitherto inadmissible in works of art, were obtruded with ostentatious distinctness. Their theory seemed to regard the beautiful as a temptation and a snare to beguile them into the dangerous paths of idealism, and models beneath the standard of nature's beauty came to be recognized as the most fitting subjects for their pencil. Here, too, the evil did not stop; for notwithstanding their eccentricities, these artists were men of earnest purpose, and some of them gifted with high abilities; and, however repulsive might be their earlier productions, it is not to be denied that they evinced great power, and sometimes possessed a quaint deep tenderness that almost redeemed their ugliness. Of late, more than one of the pre-Raphaelite brethren have given striking evidence of a renunciation of their first faith, by productions which, while still retaining all the meritorious accuracy and high finish of their earlier pictures, are poetical creations marked with deep thought and tender sentiment. That they have the power to confer benefit upon British art may be fairly assumed; and when they abandon the trite, the vulgar, and repulsive, and paint nature in her greatness and beauty, they may achieve for themselves a high position which shall be universally, and not merely *partially* acknowledged.

As our artists are so numerous, and their qualifications so various, we must confine ourselves to the general indications they have given during the last thirty years, and this too with a very summary notice. We have already stated that the *genre* pictures of the British school of painting hold one of the highest places among kindred works in Europe; and in regard to colour and effect, they are in advance of most of the modern continental productions. In marine painting—a department in which it ought to excel as a national distinction and characteristic—it may be said to occupy the first rank, being scarcely equalled by the productions of the French school, which approaches nearest to our own in excellence. In landscape, the rich scenery of the south, and the picturesque grandeur of the north, with their rapid changes of storm and sunshine, have had an inspiring effect upon our painters, whose productions in this class of art are not surpassed by those of any other nation. This excellence is especially apparent in their faithful realization of daylight and the varying effects of the atmosphere, qualities in which they very

favourably contrast with the recent works of France and Germany. In portraiture, much of the old conventionality prevails; and while an occasional effort is successfully made to abandon stereotyped arrangements and formal positions, for a better pictorial treatment, the portrait painter still seems to be too readily satisfied with a mere faithful presentment of his sitter. But in spite of these perpetuated drawbacks, which seem common to this department in every country, the British school of portrait painting still holds a respectable rank in art. To our animal painters the highest praise may be accorded. It is true, indeed, that in this department our artists have not yet reached the dash and vigour of the animal painting of the great school of Brabant, but on the other hand, they excel these old artists in natural expression, refinement, and vivacity.

While the progress of the British school of painting has been on the whole so satisfactory during the present period, and so full of promise for the future, the new invention of photography, which at first seemed to threaten a diminution of the artist's occupation, has been one of the elements operating upon this improvement; and by reverting to our previous notice of this invention, the manner and character of its operation upon art will at once be perceptible. The exactness, minuteness, and finish of sun-drawing, and the readiness with which a sun-picture can be taken and transferred to the artist's portfolio, to be studied at leisure, have reduced the careful study of nature to a less onerous task. By this process, the precision of form and disposition of light and shade are brought vividly and continuously under his notice, and an increased facility and power in reproducing them imparted. Hence the importance which is now attached to photography as a separate department of art, and the care with which it is cultivated and improved in all its branches. And while its delineations have tended to raise the standard of excellence in drawing among the artists themselves, the effect they have produced upon the popular taste at large, if less apparent, has not been less decided. In almost every street of our principal cities, photographic specimens of landscape, architecture, and portraiture arrest every eye; and the crowds that are familiarized with them are insensibly acquiring a correctness of taste which will no longer be satisfied with mere showy and superficial generalities.

In the history of the British school of painting during the middle of the nineteenth century, and the means adopted to elevate the general taste, the public collections now demand especial notice. And first of these is the National Gallery of Paintings, the earliest of our govern-

ment institutions for the promotion of the arts, but which did not originate until 1824, when parliament voted £57,000 for the purchase of Mr. Angerstein's collection; and this, with Sir George Beaumont's valuable collection, which he presented to the nation, was to form the nucleus of the National Gallery. The first consisted of thirty-eight, the last of sixteen pictures, most of them the productions of the old masters. For some years the collection went on slowly, being chiefly increased by donations, the most important of which was the bequest of the Rev. Holwell Carr, of thirty-five pictures, all of them, except one, being valuable productions of the old masters. In 1858-59, the gallery contained 330 pictures, of which 154 had been purchased, and 176 presented or bequeathed. This is no doubt but a small number as compared with the galleries of the Louvre, Dresden, Madrid, Berlin, and Munich; but considering its intrinsic value, and the short period of its existence, it does not need to shrink from a comparison with any foreign gallery. In 1847, Mr. Robert Vernon presented to the nation his collection of 157 pictures, all of them except two being by British artists alone. They were generally of more than average excellence, and some of them of very superior merit, and of themselves were well fitted for the commencement of a gallery of native art. Of still higher importance was the Turner collection, bequeathed by that prince of landscape painters to the British nation in 1851, and of which mention has already been made.¹ It is formed entirely of his own productions, and consists of 100 finished paintings in oil, some hundreds of finished water-colour drawings, and several thousands of studies and sketches; and these he bequeathed upon the easy condition that within ten years a suitable place should be prepared for their accommodation. Next in order of time was the donation of the Sheepshanks' collection, which was presented by Mr. Sheepshanks to the nation in 1857. It comprises 234 oil paintings, the productions of our best British painters, ranging over a period of fifty years; and is especially rich in the productions of Leslie, Mulready, Stothard, Collins, Webster, and Landseer. It was stipulated by Mr. Sheepshanks, that a well-lighted and otherwise suitable gallery, to be called the "National Gallery of British Art," should be forthwith erected by government, in which his pictures should be kept, with whatever other paintings might afterwards be contributed. In consequence of this stipulation, a convenient and well-lighted building was erected at South Kensington, in June, 1857, and opened to the public, free on certain days of the week, and for a small fee on the

¹ Vol. iv. p. 477.

other days of the week, when students are admitted. By these Turner, Vernon, and Sheepshanks' collections, and the specimens of native art originally belonging to the National Gallery, many of the best specimens of the British school, extending from Hogarth and Reynolds to the close of the present period, have been brought together and preserved for public use.

Closely connected with these collections is the "National Portrait Gallery," the chief aim of which is not so much to cultivate the public taste in art, as to animate the national patriotism by a commemoration of the great and good characters by whom our public annals are adorned. The veritable likeness of such personages is contemplated with emotions not only irrespective of artistic feeling, but of nobler and higher character, and the exhibition of such a series of silent portraits will ever be more available with the bulk of the community than the most eloquent harangues and eulogies. The want of a gallery of this kind had long been felt, and the subject being brought before government by Earl Stanhope (then Lord Mahon) in 1856, a grant of parliament was made to the amount of £2000 for furthering such a national object, and the institution itself was commenced at the end of the following year, with twenty-three portraits, fifteen of which were purchased, and eight were donations. In 1858 thirty were added, of which eighteen were obtained by purchase, and twelve by donation. As a "National Portrait Gallery" ought to be a Valhalla, into which nothing but genuine worth and greatness should find admission, the rules of selection have been made sufficiently stringent. The portrait must not only be an authentic one, but the original must have been a British worthy in the true sense of the term. When a donation is offered, the approval of at least three-fourths of the trustees is necessary for its acceptance. To guard the selection also from artistic bias or party prejudice, the trustees are composed not merely of artists and connoisseurs, but of historians, antiquaries, politicians, men of every party, but considered to be free from sectarian or party exclusiveness. And that time sufficient may be given to test the worth of every candidate for a niche in this temple of fame, it is decreed by their second regulation, that "no portrait of any person still living, or deceased less than ten years, shall be admitted by purchase, donation, or bequest, except only in the case of the reigning sovereign, and of his or her consort, unless all the trustees in the United Kingdom, and not incapacitated by illness, shall, either at a meeting or by letter, signify their approbation." The parliamentary grant of £2000, which is to be annually continued, insures funds for the necessary purchases. This National Gallery was first

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opened to the public on the 25th of January, 1859; the number of portraits which it contained at the close of that year being ninety-seven. Were but the portraits of the British worthies contained in the British Museum, Hampton Court, and the National Gallery, added to this collection—a wish which probably may yet be fulfilled—our "National Portrait Gallery" would be worthy of the nation that has produced such men, and the liberality and public spirit with which such memorials have been accumulated.

Two galleries of paintings still remain to be mentioned, which, although not strictly national property, are yet open to public inspection. The first of these is the collection of Hampton Court Palace, chiefly formed by bringing together the pictures from the other royal palaces, and which for these twenty years has been freely thrown open to the public. It consists of 1850 pictures, among which are the seven cartoons of Raphael, of themselves sufficient to give a character and standing to any collection. While many of the pictures are of inferior merit, there are fine specimens of the Italian and Dutch schools, and the collection is rich in the works of foreign artists who practised in this country, including those of Holbein, Vandyke, Lely, and Kneller. The other is the Naval Gallery of Greenwich Hospital, founded chiefly by Mr. Locker, one of the commissioners of the hospital, in 1823. It is a truly national collection of the portraits of our distinguished naval commanders from the days of Hawkins, Raleigh, and Drake, ending with Nelson, his contemporaries, and immediate successors; and of the pictures of our great sea-fights, from the destruction of the Spanish Armada to the battle of Trafalgar. This valuable collection consists entirely of donations; and as soon as the plan was proposed by Mr. Locker, George IV. enriched it with portraits of English admirals from the collections in Windsor Castle and Hampton Court, an example which was soon followed by private individuals, so that the gallery is rich as a biographical record of historic worth and heroic associations. The sight-seers of London and their numerous visitors, in consequence of the opening of these two galleries, have now made Greenwich Hospital and Hampton Court the favourite places of their holiday pilgrimages.

While so much has been effected in England for the improvement of art in so short a period, a similar movement, though in a more limited degree, has been going on in Scotland, and Edinburgh as well as London possesses its National Gallery of Paintings. The building for the purpose, one of the choice architectural ornaments of the city, was erected partly from funds supplied by the "Board of Trustees for Manufac-

tures in Scotland," and partly from a grant by government. The foundation stone was laid by the prince consort on the 30th of August, 1850, and on the building being completed, it was opened to the public in 1858. The collection consisted of—1. The pictures collected by the directors of the Royal Institution, and first exhibited to the public in 1831; 2. The pictures, bronzes, &c., bequeathed by Sir James Erskine of Torrie, to the college of Edinburgh, and deposited with the board for exhibition, under a deed of agreement; 3. The collection of ancient and modern works, commenced in 1829 by the Royal Scottish Academy; 4. Pictures, the property of the board, acquired either by purchase or gift for the National Gallery; 5. Modern works purchased by the Royal Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts, with funds set apart for this purpose by their charter; 6. Pictures deposited or lent for fixed periods. The whole collection amounted to 294 paintings, and 37 marbles and bronzes, but lately it has received several valuable additions. It is a worthy pendant to those larger galleries of art in London which belong to the empire at large; and as a school of study, it bids fair to promote that artistic excellence in which Scotland, although the latest of kingdoms to enter into the competition, has already done so much.

The opening of picture galleries to the public was calculated to do much towards extending a just appreciation of works of art among all classes of the people, and to stimulate a desire to possess objects affording such pure and elevating enjoyment. But good pictures are costly luxuries, which only the rich can afford, and even the more ordinary and unpretending productions of the easel were within the reach of a comparatively small section of the community. Hence the establishment of Art-Unions, which have been multiplied throughout the kingdom, and the productions of which are to be found upon the walls of every house of ordinary pretensions. Their commencement was in Edinburgh by a few private individuals in 1833, when a society was established under the name of the "Association for the Promotion of the Fine Arts in Scotland." This example was followed in England by the establishment of a kindred society in London in 1837; and the impulse thus given was soon followed by the principal cities of the United Kingdom, each establishing an art-union of its own. The purposes of these unions are twofold: the first, to encourage artists by giving liberal prices for their best productions; the second, to place within the reach of all, really good examples of the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving. These aims are secured by the committee of the art-union, and the money contributed by the

subscribers. Their plan of operation, as first proposed, was limited to the purchase of pictures and the disposal of them among subscribers by lottery; but it was soon found expedient to offer something more than the mere chance of obtaining a painting. Accordingly, one of the best prize pictures, or some other work of excellence, was selected for engraving, and a copy of the print given to each subscriber—who has thus not only the chance of winning a valuable painting, but the certainty of getting an engraving fully worth the amount of his subscription.

The history of the progress of these art-unions has strikingly manifested their acceptability, as well as the greatness of the want which they were designed to satisfy. At their commencement in this country, their operations were mainly confined to the localities in which the several societies were established. But of late years their operations have been so extended as not only to comprise the whole British islands, but a great part of our colonies also. From this circumstance, the engravings they have produced have been very widely disseminated, while it has not unfrequently happened that one of the leading prizes has fallen to the lot of a person residing in Australia, the West Indies, or the Cape of Good Hope. The patronage they have extended to art, and the influence they have exercised, may be surmised from their monetary statistics. At its first allotment of prizes in 1834, the Edinburgh society had raised for the year, £728, while in 1859 the subscriptions for the year had reached £5894. In 1837, the first year of its existence, the London society raised £489, while in 1859 the annual subscription had risen to £15,210. In 1841, the first year of the Glasgow society, the sum raised was £1224; but in 1855, the year when the subscriptions had reached the highest point, they amounted to £20,281. From its commencement in 1837 to 1859 inclusive, the total amount raised by the London society was £254,143. Of this sum, £138,662 was expended on paintings and other works as prizes, and £64,624 on the production of engravings, the balance of the sum collected being required to defray the working expenses.

While art-unions have grown so great and achieved so much, it has been objected, that the tendency of these institutions is to degrade art by the temptation they hold out to artists to lower their works to the standard of a popular taste as yet young and immature, and to be more solicitous to impart to their productions those showy superficial qualities that will suit the market, than those which a cultivated judgment is needed to appreciate. It is also asserted that the engravings, whatever may be their intrinsic value, become worthless by their

profuse distribution. But to the first of these objections it may be answered, that not only is the possession of a *mediocre* picture better than none at all, but that the growing knowledge and discriminative judgment of those who choose the pictures, whether they be the union committees or the subscribers themselves, are an ever-increasing safeguard against this depravity of choice. And with regard to the engravings, a very slight consideration suffices to show that the object of art-unions can only be attained by the engravings becoming common; that their aim is, that such works may no longer be reserved for the delectation of the wealthy, but diffused among the homes of the middle classes, and even those of inferior grade; and that from these household ornaments aspiring genius should early become conversant with the true and beautiful in art. And that such a result is the necessary consequence of art-unions, picture-galleries, and other such public institutions, has been evinced during the last thirty years. Their combined influences upon the people at large, and the increasing demand they have created, have made the present period remarkable for the profusion and variety of its art products. At no former time was there even an approach to the countless productions in engraving, lithography, statuary, and photography, of every variety of excellence, that now issue forth in such abundance; and it may already be asserted, that art, though in a form sometimes lowly enough, has found its way into every household, and thrown its silent influence, whether immediately or indirectly, over every mind.

In this brief sketch of the history of painting during the last thirty years, we have contemplated the cultivation of art for its own sake, and with reference to the pleasureable emotions of which it is so pure and so fertile a source. But in such a practical and utilitarian age as the present, something more than the mere luxurious sentimentalism and poetry of art was demanded. It was found that while our manufactures had been so greatly improved and so widely extended, we were still decidedly inferior to the continental nations in all that relates to beauty of form, design, and decoration, and that this inferiority depreciated certain classes of our manufactures in the foreign markets, where those of France and Germany, although not intrinsically better, obtained an unmistakeable preference. This fact bearing so closely upon the national prosperity, naturally impressed itself upon our government, and originated a very important branch of state patronage—the establishment of government Schools of Design for the education of designers employed by manufactories in an adequate knowledge of ornamental art. These

schools were first established in 1837, and after undergoing many changes, they have at last subsided into a *department* under the Committee of Council for Education. Originally instituted as schools of design, not only art, but even processes of manufacture were attempted to be taught in them: they then became “schools of ornamental art,” and they are now Schools of Art, in which ornament constitutes one of the branches of education, and many elementary drawing schools are now connected with them. It was full time indeed to originate such an improvement; for until the establishment of these schools, our pattern-makers were almost our only designers. With the application of a design to the technical requirements of a specific manufacture they were quite familiar; but through want of a proper education they were utterly inadequate to its original production. Hence it was that the patterns in English manufactured goods were either modified copies of designs prepared for other purposes, and often sadly misapplied by the transference, or actual copies from patterns on foreign fabrics.

The influence of these government schools of art, and others that had sprung up in connection with them, was soon perceptible in the improved taste exhibited in our manufactures; but the competition in the Great Exhibition of 1851 sufficed to convince us that much greater improvement might still be effected. The mechanical skill displayed in the specimens of English manufactures was universally recognized; but this was contrasted by their inferiority in point of design—their design and decoration being to a very large extent either puerile attempts at originality, or adaptations in the worst French taste, the *Rococo* or debased Louis-Quinze style—a style which the French themselves had generally forsaken for the ordinary *Renaissance* of the period of Henry IV. But the Great Exhibition of Hyde Park gave a lesson upon the subject which our manufacturers were not slow to learn, and the improved taste that has since appeared in manufactured goods and ornamental articles is abundantly apparent. In this application of art to the practical and useful, the manufacturers of articles in pottery and glass have taken the lead, but closely followed by the workers in iron, in bronze, and in brass. Then succeed our workers in the precious metals, bookbinders, house decorators, and manufacturers of textile fabrics; while the rear is brought up by the makers of house furniture and cabinet work, in whose productions the improvement, although as yet the least decided, can still be distinctly recognized.

After this general sketch of the history of British art in painting during the last thirty years, the other departments of the fine arts may

be dismissed with a brief notice. In Sculpture, our artists of the day have not fallen behind their predecessors; and their productions, whether in portraiture or the ideal, still maintain the high reputation in grace, beauty, and truthful delineation, for which they had become distinguished. Our inferiority, however, in public and national monuments still continues to be complained of, notwithstanding the few happy exceptions with which some of our principal cities and churches are ornamented. Sculpture, indeed, has never attained the popularity of painting; and the cause of this may be found in its fewer resources and more limited range of expression. In Britain, also, these disqualifications have been seriously increased by the wearing nature of our climate and the iconoclastic character of our people; so that hitherto our public statues, which might have contended with the war of the elements, have been injured or defaced by rude popular violence or thoughtlessness. But even already the era of a better feeling has commenced, that can appreciate the productions of the sculptor as well as those of the painter, and our monumental statuary is indicating the effects of this revival. It is, indeed, no small encouragement to those who work in stone, marble, or bronze, that their commemorative or national productions can be set up without being smeared by rude pencillings, or scratched with knives, and that, whether under cover or in the open air, the image is as safe as the living man. Among our recent productions of this nature, Foley's equestrian statue of Lord Hardinge, executed for Calcutta, speaks much for the growing improvement of this department of sculpture in Britain. The same may be said of the twelve statues in marble of leading members of the House of Commons, from Hampden to Grattan, executed under the superintendence of the royal commission of the fine arts, and lately placed in St. Stephen's Hall, Westminster. They attest the dawning of a better spirit in the style of our monumental sculpture, and present a happy combination of the realistic and ideal. It has hitherto been unfortunate for sculpture, as it was for painting, that its revival in a Christian age was too exclusively based upon the mythological creeds and somewhat loose morality of ancient Greece and Italy. This practice of sculptors, continued to our own time, in their choice and treatment of subjects, has hindered the general popularity and acceptability of their works. Not a few of them seem to think that the naked or semi-naked human form is almost the only object fitted for the employment of their art; and in consequence of this erroneous impression, they continue to produce what are called classical subjects—subjects drawn from antique history and mythology, with which only the

scholar and connoisseur can sympathize, and the titles of which are little else than apologies for the exhibition of undraped humanity. Other sculptors, however, under a wiser inspiration, have turned their attention to the heroines of our British poets; and in these, as well as in kindred imaginative works, drapery is as freely used as the nature of the subject demands, and truthfulness thereby imparted, without the sacrifice of ideal beauty and lofty sentiment. Learned critics may differ on the relative merits of the two classes of sculpture to which we have adverted; but certain we are that there can be no question as to which of them is most in unison with the taste and requirements of the present day. In descending from original and monumental, to reproductions in sculpture upon a miniature scale in Parian porcelain and metal by electro process, we only allude to a well-known source of domestic enjoyment by which so many homes are adorned, and by which a taste in statuary promises to be as highly and as widely cultivated as that which prevails for painting.

In Architecture, the national progress during the last thirty years has not corresponded with the general movement, notwithstanding the imposing buildings which everywhere meet the public eye. Stately halls for the accommodation of literature and science, palaces and palace-warehouses, lyceums, athenæums, and gymnasia, continue to rise in increasing rapidity, each eclipsing its predecessor, and attesting the growth of our wealth and the increase of our public spirit; while the general conclusion continues to be repeated, that all has not been realized as yet which might have been expected. But although much of this complaining may be referred to that captious spirit of discontent which abundance is so apt to create, it must be confessed that there is still ground enough for dissatisfaction. The chief causes of our short-comings in architecture are also not far to seek: they are legibly impressed upon our public buildings, which, however stately or imposing in their appearance, are chiefly copies or imitations of an early period of society, rather than original designs correspondent to the middle of the nineteenth century. Our architects, instead of daring to think for themselves, and follow out a style of their own, still timidly confine themselves to the lessons of the old schools; and the result is imitations of the classical, but especially of the mediæval and revival periods of architecture, in which faithful copying or clever adaptation is the highest merit. This imitative spirit has been especially evinced in the revival of the Gothic style, which now predominates in our new ecclesiastical edifices. The increase of the population

and still more, the general revival of religion in Britain towards the close of the last century, had turned the public attention to the building of new churches, while the Gothic, exclusively termed "the Christian architecture," was subsequently reckoned the fittest style for their construction; and this feeling was further deepened and confirmed by the increasing Popery and widely-spreading Puseyism of the last thirty years, which identified religion with the form of worship that had prevailed during the earlier stages of Christianity. And yet, instead of being the exclusive type of the Christian faith in stone and lime, the Gothic, it is well known, only commenced at a late period of ecclesiastical history, only predominated a few hundred miles to the east and west of the Rhine and in England, and was not matured until the beginning of the fourteenth century. In the revival of this style, which has now been continued for forty years, the vastness and enduring solidity from which the ancient sacred edifices derived their grandeur and imposing appearance, have to be sacrificed to the principles of modern utilitarianism, so that our new cathedral structures have the aspect without the substance of their massive time-honoured predecessors. But still, much has been done by this revival of Gothic architecture both in the renewal of old churches and the construction of new; and until a better style is created, it will continue to satisfy the public taste, as the one most in harmony with religious feeling, and the fittest type of what is reverentially termed "the house of God."

But the great and enduring monument of British architecture in its present state of transition, is that stupendous and magnificent building, the Palace of Westminster, commenced in 1840, and now completed after a labour of twenty years—a short period compared with its colossal magnitude and infinity of detail. It covers an area of more than eight acres of ground, contains 1100 large apartments, and more than 100 staircases, while its corridors and passages comprise a journey of two miles. The height of its towers, which are among the loftiest as well as the most massive in Europe, is more than equalled by the architectural and engineering skill that had to dive deep into the precarious soil of a river's bank, to lay a foundation adequate to sustain such a mountain of stone. To enter into the details of such a vast superstructure would be superfluous, not only as they are so numerous, but as each is more or less the subject of criticism and controversy. We can only state, for the present, that a twenty years of labour, and more than £2,000,000 of expenditure, bid fair to be repaid by the grandeur and beauty of this national pile; and that almost every change in the

original plan—and they were numerous—instead of being dictated by a niggardly economy, only tended to increase its magnitude, its splendour, and its cost. Of course, a diversity of opinion exists, and will continue to exist, upon the architectural merits of the Westminster Palace, and what one party of critics will applaud as striking beauties, will be equally decried by another as striking blemishes. But all will coincide in the declaration, that as a whole, it is the masterpiece of our modern architecture, and the fitting monument of our national wealth, enterprise, and liberality.

After mentioning the Westminster Palace, we might advert to the other public works which have arisen in such abundance during these thirty years. But to all of them, unfortunately, the same objection more or less applies, that they are but *refaccimenti* of old styles, instead of the creation of a new; and that they would apply as fitly to any preceding century as to the nineteenth. Even that palace itself, with its imposing aspect and rich variety, is, after all, an Italian design with medieval details;—the master-piece of some of our best buildings, which display an original genius even in adaptation. Such is the condition of architecture as one of the fine arts, notwithstanding the numerous public edifices, and splendid mansions of the wealthy and the noble which have been reared during the present period; and however social and domestic comfort may have been improved by their internal arrangements, the outside is a resemblance of what has been accomplished in an earlier and ruder day. But even already this servile spirit is abating. The desire of improvement in this, as in other departments, is impatient for a new and better development, and there is genius enough among us, when thus aroused, not only to plan works of constructive skill, but to combine the scientific and the useful with what is truly beautiful and pleasing. A step in advance to this change was the Institute of British Architects, which was founded about the year 1835, "for facilitating the acquirement of architectural knowledge, for the promotion of the different branches of science connected with it, and for establishing an uniformity and respectability of practice in the profession." Another important step has been the use of iron in building, by which gracefulness and lightness are combined with strength and stability, and new forms imparted to which stone is inadequate. In such indications, we detect a hopeful spirit of change and the promise of architectural improvement, in which Grecian temples and Gothic cathedrals will no longer be the only types of excellence.

Of the progress of Music during the present

period little can be said. During these thirty years, no musical composer of note has appeared in Britain; and in the absence of original productions of our own, we have been obliged to content ourselves with those of Italy and Germany. It was otherwise both in England and Scotland three centuries ago, when each country had a national music of its own, and a musical spirit that seemed to insure a succession of musical geniuses equal to their poets. But this commencement so full of hope was not developed, and during these hundred and fifty years, music as a science has been almost wholly thrown aside, and the voice of national song either silenced, or converted into dissonant bawling. To account for the arrest after so much promise, several theories have been offered; but if we remember that this cessation was coincident with the rise of our commercial spirit, the true solution may perhaps be discovered. An earnest spirit was awakened, in which substance not sound was the object of pursuit: the notes of the banker superseded those of the minstrel, and every sweet sound whether of wind or string, was drowned in the clink of gold and silver. Thus, while we became the wealthiest, we also became the least musical of nations; and when we could no longer create music of our own, we were contented to buy it from our neighbours, along with other foreign luxuries. Such in general terms may be accepted as the history of British music till near the close of the preceding period, when a new effort was made to revive it by public concerts, and societies formed for the cultivation of the science, and the promotion of its practice among the people at large. Nor were their efforts unsuccessful. These attempts to popularize the subject were apparent even in our village clubs and common street minstrelsy, and the general ear was awakened with harmonies to which it had long been a stranger. To be convinced of the greatness of the change, let any one but recollect the music of our streets as it existed some forty or fifty years ago, and compare it with that of the present day.

This recall of the national spirit to its old affection could not pass unnoticed, and it was hailed by sincere lovers of their country as the best means of national improvement. It was hoped that the charms of music would banish the desire for grosser indulgences, especially among the lower orders, and prepare them for the operation of better influences: and accordingly, the attempt was made nearly twenty years ago to establish vocal music in our schools as a branch of popular education. The system patronized by government was that of Wilhelm, adapted to English use by Hullah; and from the

simplicity of this method, it was hoped that boys and girls would learn to sing, without waste of time and with little effort. "Schoolmasters," says an English clergyman, "according to the more merciful spirit of modern discipline, were to beat time instead of beating their scholars; and schoolmistresses were to instruct their respective charges in the art of calculating intervals, as well as counting stitches. Every little urchin was to learn sol-fa-ing as soon as he had got through his A B C, and crotchets and quavers were to become as familiar to him as pot-hooks and round O's." The effects of this teaching, although not all that was wished or even hoped for, have still been so far satisfactory, that they have created a general tendency in favour of music which will lead to higher proficiency, and may eventually produce native composers not unworthy to be classed with the great German and Italian masters. For the present effects of this tendency we have only to instance the numerous concerts of our towns, the superior style of their performances, the critical discrimination they have kindled, and the relish with which they are enjoyed—as well as the eager crowds who repair to them, and the very moderate prices by which they are changed from a rare and costly luxury into an enjoyment of which all can partake.

In the present chapter we have purposely omitted the department which properly comes under the term of "Manners and Customs;" and the cause of this omission it will be easy to surmise. It would indeed be superfluous to detail to the present generation the forms of their own domestic life, and their social habits and amusements, which will only be interesting and instructive to our successors, to whom therefore the task of recording them may be bequeathed. But one great feature of the present age cannot thus be passed over in silence. We allude to the great Volunteer Movement, which has converted so large a portion of our citizens into soldiers, our island into a camp, and our public offices into barracks as well as places of business. This, also, the latest as well as the most important of our national events, will form an appropriate termination to our history.

Notwithstanding our victories in the Crimea and India, an impression had been forced upon us by the occasional blunders and disasters of these campaigns, that our military organization was far from being complete. It was also felt that war as a science was assuming a new form, which we should do well to study for the sake of our national safety and stability. This necessity was all the more urgent in consequence of the independence of wind and tide which steam had given to navigation, by which we might be in-

vaded at unawares, and compelled to fight the battle at our own doors, and for our very existence. The provident alarm upon these subjects was so general, that all parties of the government were obliged to yield to it. The state of our land and sea defences was therefore the chief subject of consideration in parliament during the year 1859; and the facility with which Britain might be thus visited, as well as our insufficient state for resistance, was very generally acknowledged. It was from France that the chance of invasion was to be apprehended. Notwithstanding our new and intimate alliance with that country, the defeat of Waterloo had never ceased, it was alleged, to rankle in her recollection, and provoke a desire for retaliation—nay, even our defenceless condition was of itself a sufficient provocation to a people so devoted to war, and so subject to act upon the changeful impulses of the moment. Should it come then to this crisis, which it might at any hour, the chances would be greatly against us. When one nation, it was remarked in the House of Lords, determines to apply all her energies to making money, and another to making preparations for war, it is obvious enough with which of the two nations the money will ultimately be. The idea, indeed, of France effecting the permanent conquest of Britain, was scorned by all parties as a disaster too great to be imagined, and the final expulsion of the invaders from our shores was regarded as a certainty; but in the meantime, a successful march upon London, and the destruction or sack of our metropolis, would, independently of the lasting disgrace, inflict such a loss upon the nation as a whole century might be insufficient to repair. And with what facility such a blow could be inflicted was shown, not only by the military resources of France, but the efficiency of its navy, which already was equal, if not superior to our own. Thus, the French, as was observed by Lord Palmerston, could bring an army together, place it on board without exciting observation, and land it in a few hours on our shores. In the same spirit, the peaceful professions of the French emperor, and his obvious interest to maintain a friendly connection with Britain, were met and answered. He ruled by the popular suffrage, and might be compelled to yield to the popular wish. He could not be relied on, because he was placed in a position in which he could not rely upon himself. He must be governed by circumstances, and it would be wrong to leave our country to the mercy of such contingencies. Let us but put ourselves into a state of preparation for a successful resistance, and even Louis-Napoleon himself would rejoice, as it would furnish him with the best of arguments to his

subjects against any such attempt. Such were the principal arguments adduced in favour of the means of security and defence to be adopted by government, and which were now officially announced by the Earl of Ripon, the under-secretary of state for war. Volunteer corps were to be enrolled throughout the whole island. To promote the purposes of this enrolment, it was the intention of government to issue twenty-five stand of arms to every hundred men (subsequently increased to arms for each man), on the four following conditions:—That a safe range of 300 yards should be provided for practice; that a proper place should be appointed for keeping the arms; that the rules of each corps should be sanctioned by the government; and that a periodical inspection should be made by a proper military officer. In the event, however, of an actual invasion, the government would be prepared to supply every corps with arms. Drill sergeants from the disembodied militia should be provided for each corps, who would be paid, not by the government, but by the corps themselves. It was intended also to allow a limited number of members of the corps, at their own expense, to attend the school of musketry at Hythe. The government likewise contemplated the formation of artillery companies, which would be supplied with instruction, guns, and ammunition, by the royal artillery. The weapon of the new embodied militia was to be the Enfield rifle. The government plan, which was thus announced on 1st July, 1859, was accepted by all parties as the most expedient arm of national defence, and a circular, dated 13th July, authorizing the formation of volunteer corps of rifles and artillery, was despatched from the war office to the lieutenants of all the counties of the United Kingdom.

This decision was nothing more than a response to the general wish, expressed in many an ardent petition as well as offer of gratuitous military service; and, as soon as the royal assent was announced, corps were formed, standards raised, and the work commenced. Everywhere was to be seen the march and countermarch of the new levies; everywhere was to be heard the clang of the bugle and the crack of the rifle. The rapidity with which the fields and waste grounds of our island were arrayed with armed battalions, and the military precision which soon pervaded the evolutions of these citizen-soldiers, dispelled every fear of invasion and every surmise of insecurity, and foreigners themselves were obliged to confess the innate heroic spirit of the British character, and how promptly a "nation of shopkeepers" can be changed into a nation of formidable warriors. It was the rising of a people fearless of danger, and possessing

more than others what was well worth defending. To test the proficiency of the corps of the different districts, and encourage their military ardour by a great national review under the eye of royalty, a display of this nature was given on the 23d June, 1860, at Hyde Park, composed of 20,000 volunteers. The stalwart forms, gallant bearing, and admirable discipline of this uncompelled, unhired soldiery, and their military obedience combined with their consciousness of moral freedom, was a spectacle which perhaps no country but our own could have exhibited in such perfection. It carried the mind back to the days of the Commonwealth, when the London trainbands, derisively termed "the thimble and bodkin army," and composed of shopkeepers, 'prentices, and industrious citizens, were transformed into soldiers that conquered wherever they fought, and whose deeds the legions of Cæsar never surpassed. This inspiring display of the national heartiness and military resources roused the emulative spirit of Scotland; and, as her majesty was about to pass on her way to her Highland home of Balmoral, it was resolved to inaugurate her arrival in Edinburgh with a review of the Scottish volunteers. The day appointed was the 7th of August, 1860, and the place that extensive level ground called the Queen's Park, between the palace of Holyrood and picturesque range of hills called Salisbury Craigs. Then and there such a military muster took place as Edinburgh had never witnessed since the great gathering upon the Borough Muir previous to the national calamity of Flodden; but here how different were the auspices under which the descendants of the gallant array of James IV. were assembled! It was indeed still a competition of Scotland with England, but a competition of brotherly affection, in which each nation was to vie with the other in alacrity and preparation for mutual defence against a common foe, with the queen of both lands as spectator and judge. On this occasion 21,000 volunteers from every part of Scotland were manœuvred in the park, and at least ten times that number of spectators were clustered upon the banks of the lake and the slopes which bounded the amphitheatre, looking down upon that magnificent moving pageant of war, and the sovereign who stood beneath the shade of the royal banner receiving the homage of each corps as it passed by. And who of all those spectators could still be fearful of invasion or doubtful of the issue? The confidence that enhanced the universal gladness of the spectacle was like the awakening from a troubled dream into health, security, and daylight. These reviews of London and Edinburgh were enough to restore the public tranquillity, and give assurance of the national safety. With

at least 150,000 such citizen-soldiers, which at a short notice could be doubled, and their numerous well-trained corps of artillery, composed of the scientific and educated classes, and already fit for regular service—with these, in addition to our defences on the sea and our regular army, it was thought that we had well insured our shores against the attempt of a hostile landing. And so also, apparently, think the enemies of Britain, whose loud threat has subsided into silence or an unmeaning murmur. The glory or the profit of such an attempt is completely outweighed by the chances of utter discomfiture. Nay, even the alliance between France and Britain is thereby the more confirmed, by showing the uselessness of mutual quarrel, and the influence which their combined strength may exercise upon the troubled politics of Europe, and the welfare of the world at large.

But it is not merely in general or political considerations that we are to read the advantages of this great volunteer movement. The benefits it has conferred upon society in a social and moral point of view are so important that, even had the alarm of invasion been nothing more than one of our national periodical panics—and as such it has often been ridiculed by an extreme party of politicians—the bustle of preparation, the drill, the marching and countermarching, the jostling of arms with the regular operations of industry, have been well worth the interruption, the trouble, and the sacrifice. The long cessation from war had made us the less prepared for its coming, and the study of it even as the means of self-defence was in course of general abandonment. The mercantile spirit was obtaining too exclusive possession, and the point of honour degenerating into the question of who could the most adroitly drive a bargain, and the soonest realize a fortune. The occupations of the shop, the warehouse, and the counting-house were not only absorbing the whole mental energies, but even the physical capacities of young ardent manhood; so that, while there was little opportunity for those active out-door sports which best develop the physical qualities, that chivalrous sensitiveness by which a nation is best protected, and without which it languishes and dies, was giving place to an ill-judged confidence in the power of wealth, and the sufficiency of our industrial resources. These consequences of such a long and prosperous course of traffic were heedfully noted and heavily deplored by thoughtful, patriotic philanthropists, while they were unable to discover a remedy so powerful and so universal as would suffice to arrest the evil. And then, happily for us, the remedy of remedies which they could not find was brought to us from an unexpected quarter. We

were to be invaded, and this too by France, the country with which, of all others, we had been in rivalry for ages, and whose enmity we had most to fear. It was a national alarm, but it was also more, for it was regarded as a national insult; and, stung with the thought, the whole nation started from sleep, snatched up their weapons, and rushed forth to meet the danger. Even if the cry of warning was groundless, it broke the spell, warned us of what might eventually be our fate, and roused into full activity that ancient spirit under which our land has grown so prosperous and so great. It has infused a new life into our mercantile character, the tendency of which will be to introduce a chivalrous uprightness and dignity into the transactions of the mart and the operations of the workshop. Even the step, the look, the bearing of our young men are undergoing a transformation that betokens a soldierly openness, activity, and confident self-reliance, in lieu of those slouching steps, and careworn, money-reckoning looks by which our streets and public haunts were crowded. The future merchant-princes of Britain are thus in training to occupy that proud position which should be held in princely character, and into which nothing that is mean or sordid should enter; and, while peer and peasant are serving in the same ranks, and united in one common military fellowship, the invidious separations of rank and wealth, which have so long been a social evil among our people, will be qualified and abated. This volunteer movement, instead of a temporary, promises to be a permanent institution; and, by the moral and social changes which it has already originated, it may even yet, without being needed for actual conflict, become the best safeguard of our country, by the new life it has infused, and by the fresh impress which it will stamp upon the community.

Having thus brought onward the course of our narrative to the events which are passing before our eyes, and movements which await their development, our task is ended. And yet, how pregnant is the present with matter for history which future ages will peruse with wonder! Time and space have been controlled, so that years have become sufficient for the changes of centuries; and amidst the fancied stability of to-day, we know not what to-morrow may bring forth. Europe is still heaving with stormy elements, that are full of a portentous futurity; and even before the present generation has

passed away, what thrones may be over-turned, what nations committed to a prosperous rise or mournful extinction? "This is not the world into which I was born," is emphatically the exclamation of our old men; but how much more justly it will be repeated by their successors! And what, amidst these mutations, will be the destiny of our own Britain? Has she already reached that culminating point beyond which all is a progress of decay? Or does she possess that innate vigour and vitality which will secure for her an old age extended beyond the usual term of the life of nations? These are considerations that force themselves upon us, as we close the volume, and look wistfully into the future. They are questions which all will be ready to propound—but who can answer them? Let us hope, however, as we may, we cannot expect any nation to be immortal; and that each must pass away in turn, and give place to younger communities, seems necessary for the progress of humanity at large. Even with this mournful conviction upon us, we are consoled with the thought that Britain has not lived in vain. Selected by the great Ruler of Nations to be the standard-bearer, not only of political freedom, but religious truth, she marched at the head of the world's pilgrimage onward and heavenward through the wilderness; and when darkness gathered, she turned from the erring counsels of men to the pillar of fire, the unfailing light of eternal truth, and carried onward the heaven-bestowed banner in the right path, notwithstanding the murmurings and rebellion of the multitude. And thus her sacred commission, her long career of unexampled greatness and prosperity, and the blessings it has imparted to the world at large, are the best assurances that the evil day will be late in coming; and that when come it must, her decay will be gentle, and her end amidst honour and regret, while those nations that succeed her will be enriched with her discoveries, enlightened by her wisdom, and animated by her example. Even when her cities become mouldering ruins, they will still be the honoured resting-places of the world's pilgrimage; and the events of which they are the memorials will be recorded in every language, as a glory of past ages which time can only beautify and brighten. In this hope let us find our consolation. Such a prospect, next to imperishability itself, is the highest, noblest, and most desirable of national destinies.

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